The way that things are done around here: An investigation into the organisational and social structures that contribute to structural power within the Australian swim coach education pathway.

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Declaration of Originality

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for a degree or diploma by the University or any other institution, except by way of background information and duly acknowledged in the thesis, and to the best of my knowledge and belief no material previously published or written by another person except where due acknowledgement is made in the text of the thesis, nor does the thesis contain any material that infringes copyright.

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List of Publications

The author acknowledges that the following papers derive from this PhD thesis.

Zehntner, C., & McMahon, J. (2015). The impact of a coaching/sporting culture on one coach's identity: How narrative became a useful tool in reconstructing coaching ideologies. *Sports Coaching Review*, *3*(2), 145-161.

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Statement of Ethical Conduct

The research associated with this thesis abides by the international and Australian codes on human and animal experimentation, the guidelines by the Australian Government's Office of the Gene Technology Regulator and the rulings of the Safety, Ethics and Institutional Biosafety Committees of the University.

Abstract

This investigation sought to investigate relational experiences of Australian swim coaches engaged in a formal education process that is embedded in the coach development and accreditation pathway. By utilising narrative ethnography and autoethnography, stories of experience were recounted, recorded and analysed in order to reveal the social and relational structures that influenced the (re)production of coaching practice in and through the coach education process.

The impetus for this investigation stemmed from my personal experiences in the Australian Swimming coach development pathway and what I considered to be a fractured coaching self. Concerned with the significant rise in coach burnout (Altfeld, Mallett, & Kellmann, 2015), as well as the identified need for coaches to develop reflexivity (Cassidy, Jones, & Potrac, 2009; Denison & Avner, 2011), this investigation sought to extend knowledge in regard to the relational and structural elements that influenced coach practice within Swimming Australia's prescribed coach education process. The findings of this research were important for two reasons. First, there was a need to understand the effect that social conditions occurring in the educative process could have on coach practice and self. Second, previous research by McMahon, Penney, and Dinan Thompson (2012) revealed how coach practitioners utilised pedagogies that negatively affected athletes; therefore, the educative process for coaches, namely the coach development pathway warranted further investigation.

Autoethnography and narrative ethnography were utilised in this research in order to offer opportunities for alternate points of view. Narratives were used to elaborate instances of significance in my own as well as the participant coaches' experiences of the education process. It is hoped that those who engage with the stories can vicariously experience without having to endure, and in doing so this process can "promote the development of understanding[s] and the recognition of" (Moon, 2010, p. 17) points of view that differ. I utilised the researcher's authoritative voice through the application of a thematic narrative analysis of the social and structural elements that influence coach learning. Thematic analysis was a two-step process that saw the narratives probed for instances of conflict or tension (Riessman, 2008) and then scrutinised, explained and theorised from a disciplinary perspective (Smith & Sparkes, 2012). The application of Bourdieusian and Foucauldian theoretical perspectives assisted in the analysis of the data. Through this process, it was revealed how the structural and social impediments to coach learning and the effect of these impediments can lead to tension, resistance, breakdown, and the docile recycling of taken for granted practice.

It was also revealed that mentor coaches, agents of the sport's governing body and therefore the governing/accreditation body, applied a number of disciplinary instruments in order to produce compliant coaches. In so doing, they reproduced culturally accepted practice described as legitimate knowledge that is subsequently expressed through coach practice. These disciplinary instruments consisted of organisational structures and include elaborate hierarchical mechanisms that impeded coach learning and encouraged non reflective practice.

Disciplinary instruments also include social structures in which an individual coach's actions were acted on by another in such a way that their development was compromised. The investigation revealed the compliance-resistance quandary, experienced by participant coaches who undertook formal swim (the shortened version of swimming is the common form and will be used from this point) coach education programs, which can lead to tension and breakdown. Further, it was also revealed that there was misrecognition of relationships of power and power structures in the coaching sub-culture and coach education pathway.

There are elements of both social and personal significance in the findings of this research. While the research process formalised the metacognitive process of my personal coaching development, it also helped me to reflect on taken for granted practices and in so doing, aided me to develop a sustainable coaching identity. With consideration of the coach's role in the development of athletes, the findings of this research contributed to knowledge of the inherent structures, within the coach education pathway, that also might be considered as impediments to coach learning, and in so doing lead to docile coach practice. When a coach is unwilling, due to external pressure, or unable, due to prescriptive coach education, to reflect on controlling social conditions, they may themselves become obedient to taken-for-granted practices. This is significant as the accreditation and training bodies (Swimming Australia and Australian swim coaches and teachers association) intend that the coach education process is empowering and inclusive (ASCTA, n.d.-a).

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My supervisors, thank you for your support, sage advice, timely and meticulous consideration of my work and for allowing me to lead this investigation.

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For granting me study leave to finish this journey.

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

The following table describes the various abbreviations and acronyms used throughout the thesis.

Abbreviation	Meaning
ASC	Australian Sports Commission
ASCTA	Australian Swimming Coaches and Teachers Association
EP	Excellence Program
HREC	Human Research Ethics Committee
NCAS	National Coach Accreditation Scheme
PETE	Physical Education Teacher Education
SA	Swimming Australia Limited
FINA	Fédération internationale de natation

Figures and Tables

The backstory - Personal impetus

In order to ground my personal narratives that form part of the data for this investigation and to clarify why I undertook this project, I find it pertinent to provide a backstory. This backstory provides a chronological, narrative history with reference to my introduction and involvement in competitive swimming and pathway into coaching swimming. The backstory seeks to add depth and additional verisimilitude by allowing the reader a frame of reference with which they can reflect on my actions and feelings as expressed in the narratives.

I was born and grew up in mining communities in Central and Northern Australia in a fairly close-knit family. I have two sisters, one younger and one older. Due to the extreme temperature experienced north of the Tropic of Capricorn, our family, like many others were drawn to the local swimming pool. From as young as two, I would cling to my mother's arms or the side of the pool as my older sister learned how to swim. I cannot remember receiving formal swimming lessons but at eight years of age, I remember identifying with the term 'swimmer'[1]. This was perhaps assisted by the fact that I was named Under 8 swimming Champion of Tennant Creek (Northern Territory). At this time, I participated in organised swimming training, though I cannot distinctly remember my coach.

After two years in Tennant Creek our family moved to Darwin, where we remained until I graduated from secondary college (17 years of age). From age eight through to 17, I trained and raced for local swimming clubs. In the first

[1] In this case as in the rest of this investigation 'swimmer' refers to someone who participates in competitive swimming.

instance, I swam for the local club closest to my home. After a number of years at this club, a school friend made me aware of another club and a coach who was achieving excellent results with his swimmers. After making the switch to this club, I remained a member until I became head coach of the club at age 24. It is with this club that I achieved many successes, both personal and professional. It is also during this time that I became immersed in the sub-culture of swim coaching for the first time.

Over the course of the next 20 years, I taught and coached swimmers of ages ranging from toddlers (aged 3-4 years) to masters[2] swimmers (as old as 85 years). I have coached elite age-group swimmers who competed nationally and at state open championships. Throughout my coaching career, I have also worked with and for coaches and administrators of advanced standing and with extensive experience, including elite age-group coaches and coaches who have worked at an international level. I currently hold Australian coaching accreditation and am a paid member of the Australian Swim Coaches and Teachers Association (ASCTA). I am currently the head coach of a masters swimming club, and work with a small group of young swimmers who are making the transition from advanced learn-to-swim into formal squad training. With reference to my rich past experiences in the Australian swimming culture, I acknowledge that I felt the flows of power in key relationships and felt acutely the structural impediments to my progress through the coach development pathway.

[2] Masters swimmers are competitive adult swimmers aged 18 years and older.

For a majority of my coaching life, I did not feel that I ‘fit the coaching mould’ and lost a clear sense of purpose. It was many years later when I was working as an academic and after resuming coaching swimmers that I reengaged with the internal debate surrounding my coaching identity. At this time I became familiar with the use of narrative and qualitative research methodology, I also became familiar with the term disciplinary power. I began to relay my personal stories to my partner, an Australian representative swimmer, and now an academic investigating athlete experiences. With her encouragement, I unconsciously began the process of indwelling by immersing myself in these embodied experiences; thus starting the process of reflection, analysis and ultimately research.

Dovetailed with this process of indwelling was an interest in the post structural philosopher Michael Foucault. My growing understanding of how discourse shapes human relationships meant that I began to scrutinise how power is associated with sports coaching cultures. My personal impetus profoundly shaped the development of the research question for this investigation and the epistemological underpinnings of the methodology. It is important to note here that my experiences are not assumed to be representative of all beginning coaches’ experiences of the swim coaching sub-culture in Australia, however, intuition suggested that this was a consideration worthy of further exploration.

Research questions.

The extended period of thoughtful consideration leading into this investigation shaped my understanding of how knowledge about relational experiences of coaches can be acquired (epistemological beliefs) and subsequently shaped my engagement with personal and participant narratives. The use of qualitative research methodologies were used purposively to connect personal experiences with the cultural (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). Sparkes and Smith (2014) suggested that this already close relationship between the researcher and the research indicates that my values align with the constructionist epistemology where I seek to understand and interpret from a personal point of view (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Sparkes & Smith, 2014). With reference to Miles and Huberman's (1994) inductive-deductive continuum though, this process can therefore not be considered purely inductive as is the case with a grounded theory approach. My approach acknowledges that as the investigator I cannot completely divorce myself from learned theoretical knowledge and as such follow a more deductive approach where I start with both; a considered stance with regard to the orientation of the research (elaborated in the research questions below), and an organising framework (bracketed theoretical themes) when grouping or coding data.

This research aimed to investigate relational experiences of Australian swim coaches engaged in a formal education process embedded in the coach development and accreditation pathway. In so doing, I aimed to investigate the extent to which mentor coaches, agents of the sport's governing body and by

association, the sport's governing/accreditation body, monitor and (re)produce individual coaching practice.

Therefore, the research question for this thesis was:

> *What are the perceived organisational and social structures evident in coach learning within the Australian swim coach education pathway?*

Upon completion of this research, I will be able to identify:

(i) What disciplinary[3] practices (if any) have been utilised by formal mentors, agents and the governing body within the coach education pathway;

(ii) The effects of these practices (if any) on mentee coach practice and self.

[3] For a full elaboration of discipline and disciplinary techniques, see 'Conformity' in Chapter 2 Literature below.

PART A: Introduction, Literature Review and Method

Warm-up[4].

Despite the fact that there is limited scientific evidence supporting the use of a warm-up routine prior to exercise it remains a well-accepted practice. The taken for granted acceptance of a warm-up is analogous with the political intent of this investigation and serves as counsel to the reader. With deference to this, at the beginning of the four parts of this thesis, I prepare the reader for what is to come with a short passage that elaborates the main elements that follow.

The first part of this thesis includes an introduction to the study, a review of literature relating to factors influencing coaches within the coach education pathway as prescribed by Swimming Australia, the social theorists utilised in the analysis of narratives, and the method I undertook to realise the aims of the investigation. Primed with this knowledge, the reader can immerse themselves in the narratives that make up the data for this investigation.

[4] Can be generally described as a routine performed by athletes prior to training and competition in order to improve performance and/ or reduce injury (Bishop, 2003)

Chapter 1: Introduction

Introducing the study.

For as long as I can remember, I have enjoyed contributing to the success of others. Coaching for me is about contributing to the success of an athlete. Success from an athlete's perspective can be broadly defined as the achievement of a desired outcome (Kidman & Hanrahan, 2010), but the social aspects of this relationship can cloud the achievement of 'success'. Traditionally, winning and losing are viewed as the possible outcomes of sport participation, however as Smoll and Smith (1996) explained, coaches can have a profound impact on the lives of the athletes they coach, not just in terms of their athletic development and sporting outcomes. Just as the relationship an athlete has with their coach yields outcomes both positive and negative, so too do the relationships in which coaches are immersed, particularly in relation to coach education and development. This sociological investigation considered the sub-culture of Australian swimming coaches and sought to illuminate aspects of coach learning relating to the legitimisation and internalisation of structural power.

There is a growing body of research that is contributing to our knowledge of the sociocultural factors that influence sporting development (Carless & Douglas, 2013; Denison & Avner, 2011; Denison & Winslade, 2006; Johns & Johns, 2000; McMahon, Penney, & Dinan-Thompson, 2012), however these researchers focused mainly on athlete development without considering the significant other that contributes to sporting performance. This research sought to contribute to the scholarship of coach development and coach education by illuminating tensions inherent in the sub-culture of swim coaching. Tensions can

result from a range of influencing factors such as high levels of stress and exhaustion (burnout) (Hjälm, Kenttä, Hassménan, & Gustafsson, 2007), social structures that may lead to apathy (Denison & Avner, 2011) or disengagement (Zehntner & McMahon, 2015).

Coach burnout has a significant impact on the person experiencing it and the people surrounding them (Raedeke, Granzyk, & Warren, 2000). This was highlighted by McMahon and Penney (2014) who noted that decreased coach performance due to burnout has a significant impact on coaching practice, subsequently affecting athletes. There are no statistics for the dropout of swimming coaches in Australia, however Raedeke (2004) reported an annual dropout of swim coaches in the USA of approximately 35%. This figure is not surprising given the demanding roles that coaches undertake.

In this research, I draw on my own personal coaching experiences as well as the experiences of other former and current Australian swimming coaches. The intention of this research was to investigate social structural aspects of the Australian swimming coach education pathway, and how these relate to power. Structural impediments relating to power can have a number of significant effects that can be illuminated through the application of an ethnographic methodology. Subsequently, the following questions were explored:

a) Does power encourage conformity and a form of docility in coaching practice?
b) Is power involved in the growth and development of coaching practice?

c) Does power contribute to the breakdown and subsequent cessation of coaching practice?

In order to problematize coach education and informal coach development, stories of experience are examined in relation to prominent post-structural theorists. Insight is developed by first clarifying the structural elements present within the sub-culture of swimming coaches in Australia and then foregrounding the effect that these structures, with relation to power, have on coaching practice. This problematization is key to improving coach learning, reducing the attrition rate of coaches and potentially improving the athlete experience.

In Goffman's book 'The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life,' the author describes an inopportune intrusion thus: "when a member of the audience inadvertently enters the backstage, the intruder is likely to catch those present flagrante delicto" or out of character (Goffman, 1959, p. 184). In this way, well-kept dark secrets are exposed and a common result is embarrassment (Goffman, 1959). It was the intention of this investigation to unearth backstage performances, hidden social structures and the un-talked about influences within a sporting culture. This is done purposefully, not to embarrass but so that coach learning and coach development can be problematized and understood so the effect of power on coach practice can be discussed.

Project boundaries

This research sought to expose and clarify numerous social structures, relating to power, within a dynamic and complex culture of swim coaching in Australia. It is difficult to decide what avenues to explore when undertaking such a large research project, and to this end I have chosen not to investigate structural

impediments from a gendered perspective. This in no way suggests that gender is a non-issue, but rather that it warrants a rigorous and complete investigation in its own right. Gender of coaches within the coach development pathway is acknowledged as a potential line of inquiry worthy of future study.

Thesis structure.

In order to promote the understanding of numerous complex social theories in relation to stories of experience, a non-traditional approach was utilised in the arrangement of this thesis. The thesis comprises four main parts, presented in detail below.

Part A - Introduction, Literature Review and Method.

Chapter 1, the *Introduction* follows the personal impetus and contains contextual, orienting information for the reader. This chapter also introduces the investigation and elaborates the research question.

Chapter 2, the *Literature Review* contains a brief review of literature relating to coach education, coach development and social theory to ensure the reader will be equipped to begin the process of interpretation of the data presented in Part B. The various analytical lenses utilised in this investigation are explained as is their use in similar research reported.

In Chapter 3, *Methodology and Method*, I describe how and why narrative ethnography and autoethnography were utilised as the research methodology. In addition, literature relating to the use of this research methodology within parallel sporting cultures is examined in this chapter. This chapter also contains the procedure undertaken in this investigation.

Part B – Participant and Personal Narratives

Chapter 4 introduces the coach participants by contextualising their experience and their progress through the continuum of coach education. This chapter also justifies some of the formatting decisions made in the presentation of narratives in order to enhance understanding.

Chapter 5 to Chapter 10 are dedicated to the individual participants' lived experiences, containing co-constructed narratives detailing their lived experiences; this comprises the data foregrounded in this investigation.

Part C – Thematic Narrative Analysis

Chapter 11 reveals how local concepts in the data were grouped and then organised into subthemes and themes. This data presented in this chapter explains and justifies the connections between these local concepts and the overarching themes that are used in the analysis of narratives.

Chapters 12, 13 and 14 provide the reader with a detailed elaboration of the relevant sociological theory before analysing the narratives in the form of a realist tale (see methodology).

Part D – Conclusions and Recommendations.

Chapter 15 presents the contributions to new knowledge, conclusion and recommendations.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction.

This chapter provides the reader with orienting information regarding swim coach development in Australia. Literature relating to the methodology utilised in this investigation is reviewed at the beginning of chapter 3. This investigation is reflective in orientation, combining the analysis of personal narratives in with the narratives of peers in the field of coaching to complete the data set. It is expected that the findings of this project can effect social change by illuminating the dynamic interplays of power and structural impediments to change associated with the current coach education model alluded to by numerous researchers (Cassidy, 2010; Piggott, 2012).

Theoretical concepts are first explored in their original form and then within the context of the coaching culture in general and mentor relationships in particular. Initially this section of the review aims to provide the reader with a framework of analytical concepts with which they can interrogate and make meaning from the complex interpersonal relationships that coaches are immersed (Denison & Avner, 2011; Jowett & Cockerill, 2003; Lang, 2010). As the reader progresses to the data presented in Part B (Narratives), they can begin the process of interrogating the stories. This will be complemented by a more detailed elaboration of individual sociological theory and analysis contained in the thematic chapters in Part C (Analysis and Discussion). In this way, the initial weight of theory is reduced and the reader can slowly build an understanding of the layers of theoretical complexity without sacrificing understanding.

The first part of this review introduces and contextualises swim coach education in Australia. In particular, the use of mentoring in coaching and the development of coaching hierarchies is reviewed. Following this, I review literature relating to the structural elements that regulate coach practice and finally how coach education can produce resistance, compliance and docility.

The second part of this literature review illuminates theoretical concepts considered relevant to the interplays of disciplinary power within the sporting culture and mentee-mentor relationship (Colley, 2003; Foucault, 1979). Foucault's concepts are developed first as they illustrate overarching structural elements and larger "systems of thought" (Hacking, 2004, p. 278) for the reader. For example, where and how normalising judgement is utilised by individuals within the narratives was investigated. Normalising judgment describes the organising framework wherein disciplinary power and the control of individuals encourages the development of truth within a particular culture (Foucault, 1979). In order to provide a more detailed and complete elaboration of how disciplinary power was enacted within discrete interactions experienced as a consequence of coach education or development, Goffman's (1959) concept of dramaturgy was utilised. In this way the reader is empowered to dissect interactions at a number of key levels. Potrac and Jones (2009a) utilised dramaturgy to unpack elements of expression as "the social processes through which power is enacted" (p. 557); however it was Rogers (1977) who first made this connection between Goffman and power when she stated that the "dramaturgical approach also contains significant (and unexpected) insights into power and related phenomena" (p. 88). The braiding of Goffman's and Foucault's concepts were later called for by

Hacking (2004) when he stated that the combination of "Foucault's archaeology and Goffman's interpersonal sociology are complementary" (p. 277). Hacking further suggested that in order to research how people are made up "we must balance Goffman's bottom up investigation of social exchanges with Foucault's research into the overarching discursive formation of systems of thought" (Zehntner & McMahon, 2015, p. 6). Indeed it is the detail to which a Goffmanian reading of social situations makes meaning from social exchanges, "not only the words but also the tone, the accent, the body language, the gestures, the withdrawals, the silences" (Hacking, 2004, p. 278) that will best allow the reader to make meaning from these narratives. It is important to note that the use of these theorists need not be seen to balance in terms of theoretical application, but rather Goffman is utilised when the need to interpret complex social situations within narratives arise.

This investigation also draws on Bourdieu's notions of misrecognition, habitus, field and capital which are used to expose and examine everyday practices (Bourdieu, 1984) that relate to sporting cultures in general and the sub-culture of swim coaches in particular. It is hoped that armed with this information the reader will actively recognise and reflect on structures and intersections of ideology within the social settings described within the narratives. These notions are utilised formally in the discussion section to reflect on and theorise the position of swim coaches within the sporting culture.

The final section of the literature review elaborates literature relating to the use of mentoring as a social tool for empowerment both in educational and sporting domains. In addition, this section reviews the inclusion of mentoring

practice embedded within the formal coach education process and the informal processes aligned with coach development models (Piggott, 2012). This section draws upon a diverse range of literature that ranges across numerous domains including education and the fields of health and business. I have chosen to include allied fields due to the relative infancy of mentoring within the formal coach education pathway and the paucity of specific research relating to sports coaches (Colley, 2003; Jones, Harris, & Miles, 2009). This section provides the reader with specific information relating to the complexity of mentor relationships and background information relating to its use as tool to develop knowledge and expertise (Bloom, Durand-Bush, Schinke, & Salmela, 1998).

Swim coach education in Australia.

The Australian government supports the development of coaches in Australia via the Australian Sports Commission (ASC). Responsibility for coach education within the ASC falls to the National Coach Accreditation Scheme (NCAS). NCAS training programs include a general principles of coaching component while the sports specific element is organised by the individual national sporting organisation, in this case Swimming Australia Limited (SA) (Australian Sports Commission, n.d.).

The Australian Swimming Coaches and Teachers Association (ASCTA) is the peak body representing Australian swim coaches and this body coordinates the training of swim coaches and accredits the sports specific component for SA. SA is a national organisation with almost 85,000 members; just over 6000 of these members are coaching members and are accredited by ASCTA (Swimming Australia, 2014). ASCTA organises accredited coaches in a pyramid

fashion, with entry level coaches (Swimming Australia Teacher of Competitive Swimming) making up the foundation layer. These junior licence holders can progress upwards through bronze, silver, gold and ultimately platinum accreditation (see figure 1, below).

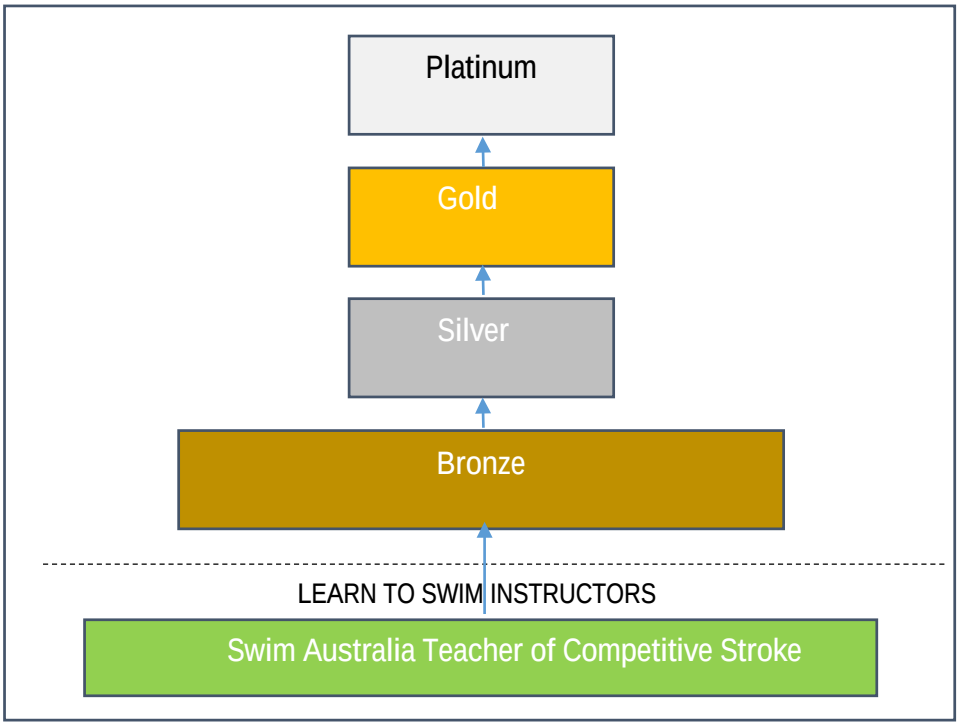

Figure 1: Swimming Australia coach pathway (Swimming Australia, n.d.).

In order to plan, conduct, evaluate and modify training programs a coach must hold a bronze licence (Australian Swim Coaches and Teachers Association, n.d.-b). In order to become a bronze licence holder, one needs to complete a theory based general principles coaching course that includes a sport specific practical component (12.5 hours total) and 30 hours of supervised coaching practice (Australian Swim Coaches and Teachers Association, n.d.-c). In order to submit an application for a coaching licence at all stages, the applicant must have their competency determined by an officer of SA, either a mentor coach, the club

coach or a member of the club executive (Australian Swim Coaches and Teachers Association, n.d.-b).

Mentoring in coach education.

Peer reviewed research on coaches and their mentors in sports coaching is scarce, however the recent interest in mentoring in coach education has prompted reflective reviews of how mentoring as a social tool aligns with coach learning (Cushion et al., 2010). Werthner and Trudel (2006) explained that while pathways into coaching vary greatly, research indicates that educational activities of coaches within the system remain quite similar. Gilbert, Cote, and Mallett (2006) supported this finding, indicating that coaches place little time or value on formal coach education on an annual basis. Coaches learn how to coach via more practical pathways. Cassidy (2010) explained that while many learn from a mentor coach such as the head coach of the program, others can model their practice on a coach they admire. What is inferred here is that coaches choose mentors not just because of their high ethical standards but also because of the potential social and cultural benefits that they can bring. As a consequence of this and particularly in the case of the formal mentor relationship between the junior and head coach, numerous authors (Cassidy et al., 2009; Piggott, 2012) suggest that beginning coaches may encounter difficulty when reflecting on coaching processes. In addition, while Cassidy et al. (2009) highlighted the difficulties that mentee coaches may have when challenging the status quo by "reflecting on and possibly critiquing taken for granted practices" (p. 18), they did not investigate this complex process. The relationship that mentees have with their mentors is further complicated by an emotional connection that mentees

have to instructional techniques taught to them by a mentor. Tinning, Macdonald, Wright, and Hickey (2001) suggested that this emotional connection masks a power relation within the dyad, which can limit innovation.

In order to broaden our understanding of coach learning we must consider how coach education, as offered by the sports organising body, impacts on beginning coaches. Researchers considering the complex process of transformation in sports coaching (Cassidy, 2010; Denison, 2010) noted that the slippage in communication between sporting bodies and coaches remains a significant deterrent to coach development. This slippage, when coupled with the assertion made by Gilbert et al. (2006) that coaches devote little time to formal coach education, greatly limits development. The development of best practice coaching programs by coach educators and governing bodies results in the development of a sanitised and standardised program (Denison, 2010). Denison and Avner (2011) further contended that coaches are in a number of power relationships, including with athletes and sporting education bodies, and that the use of standardised processes of problem solving can be termed disciplinary and may result in docile or apathetic coaches. This discretely references the strict adherence to the unidirectional development model that is exposed as best practice in coach education courses (Denison, 2010; Gilbert et al., 2006). Both Cassidy (2010) and Denison (2010) noted that mastery and development of routines by neophyte coaches is affected by social conventions within the cultural setting; neither researcher expanded on the mechanism that contributes to these blocks in development. A number of authors (Denison & Avner, 2011; Jowett & Cockerill, 2003; Lang, 2010; Owen-Pugh, 2010) linked coach decision

making to complex interpersonal relationships, and noted that these relationships can limit a coach's self-determination, however none referred to the mentor-mentee dyad in isolation; rather they make a more general reference to complex interpersonal relationships. Johns and Johns (2000) suggested that coaches hold a privileged position in a performance discourse but do not critically examine how this position is constructed. These authors further noted that athletes are characterised by a desire to conform and seek the security of knowing that their approach is "rational and [will] lead to success" (p. 230), however this fails to recognise the discourse of power that the coach is engaged in. Norman (2010) compelled us to recognise that "systems of oppression that a coach may exist within" (p. 150) are rarely scrutinised and that the responsibility of success or failure lies with the individual rather than considering the structure and culture of the sporting organisation. Denison and Scott-Thomas (2011) also called for an analysis of "discursive constructions of sport and power" (p. 32) to better understand relationships that coaches are immersed in.

Many professions or societal sub-cultures utilise mentoring as a training tool and embed mentoring within development pathways. Business professionals have referred to mentoring as an organisational strategy (Corner, 2014); nurse educators suggest it is the "key element to the development" of nurses (Taylor, 2014, p. 29); teacher educators have mandated the use of mentoring programs, suggesting that it is the most critical factor in the reduction of new teacher turnover is the pairing of new teachers with a mentor (Celano & Mitchell, 2014). Colley's (2003) critical examination of mentoring as a tool for social inclusion, while broad in scope, relates directly to this investigation. If, as stated by SA and

ASCTA, the embedded mentoring process seeks to offer empowerment and inclusion into a coaching culture, then power is being treated as a commodity that can be possessed and passed on by individuals (Colley, 2003). Colley (2003) found this conceptualisation of mentoring simplistic and crude and aligned with Cushion's (2006) suggestion that an unproblematic view of mentoring that does not critically examine the hidden curriculum of mentors is concerning. Cushion (2006) further suggested that a positive view of the mentor-mentee relationship can mask the fact that mentoring can become a vehicle for exclusion and the expression of power. This power, which Colley (2003) refers to as "structural and expert power" (p. 140), is compelling and when employed, can be too great to overcome the inherent inequality of the mentoring process.

Tensions in the mentor-coach relationship mirror many situations where a subordinate group seeks to elevate themselves, such as the breakthrough of women into high performance coaching (Owen-Pugh, 2010). This author further contends that the odds are weighted against any initiative that acts to promote the interests of a subordinate group and these individuals may feel that their practice should reflect the dominant community interest. Owen-Pugh (2010) reported the ways in which "deeply embedded, socio-historical power relations" (p. 156) work to keep women in marginalised positions, resembled a developmental block that is applicable to coaches in general. Owen-Pugh (2010) suggested the use of Elias' theory to understand relationship tensions. He added that in Elias's theory, social structures existed only in and through the actions of people, and in the case of change, that decisions and actions were shaped by the constraining power of stakeholders with more and less constraining power than themselves.

This in turn serves to explain the strong emotional allegiances to social groups and the resistance to change by individuals who participate in them. This is further clarified by Potrac and Jones (2011), who suggested that there is “power inherent in the context” (p. 146) and acceptance of “the way things are done around here, exerts considerable influence over coaching” (p. 146).

Bourdieu (1990) described the influence of context whereby agents (coaches) did not explicitly follow norms but interpreted these norms in such a way that brought the most social capital. This did not constitute an unencumbered freedom (Potrac & Jones, 2011) but allowed coaches to exercise their actions within the confines of what is possible (Bourdieu, 1990). Denison and Avner (2011) made a similar suggestion that the “hierarchical use of power and a traditional use of leadership” (p. 222) ignores the power that the subordinate, in this case the athlete, has and can exercise. While this refers to the coach-athlete relationship, Denison and Avner (2011) suggested that it is the ability of a coach to reflect on and question taken for granted assumptions and to view knowledge as a social construction that may free them from the constrictions of convention in terms of training technique by exercising their [coaches] choice as to whether they take on a particular practice.

Development of coaching hierarchies.

Scholarly understanding of the development of coaching hierarchies is somewhat limited. Lang (2010) investigated surveillance and conformity in competitive youth swimming, specifically the hierarchical elements of coach-athlete relationships, and noted the development of discrete systems of organisation between coaches. This was utilised to detail how surveillance and

conformity of swimmers was enacted (Lang, 2010) and how coaches operated in a climate of fear. Zehntner and McMahon (2013) explored the mentor relationships of one swimming coach and explained how power was used to subjugate, control and encourage docility. What is missing from current research is significant detailed investigations into the development of elaborate coaching hierarchies that span agents of Swimming Australia from colleague coaches through to head coaches, administrators and officials.

When referring to swim coaches, Australian representative swimmer Nicole Livingstone cited by Williams (2011) lamented the dictatorial nature of the swimmer-coach and the coach-administration relationship: “We are told everything; what to eat, when to train, how far to train, how much rest to have” (Para., 2). The dictatorial nature of the sport that Nicole Livingstone referred to is investigated further by Johns and Johns (2000) who used a Foucauldian framework to explore disciplinary power and its relationship to sport. These authors revealed the “discourse of expertise” (p. 219) exhibited by coaches and its effect on high performance athletes. Specifically these authors revealed how coach-athlete hierarchies are developed. Johns and Johns (2000, p. 219) found that athletes are willing to comply or “settle for a power structure” if they can internalise or justify explanations by coaches. Hughes and Coakley (1991) further illustrated this power structure by investigating deviance in sport. These authors suggested extreme behaviours or “positive deviance” (p. 307) as exhibited by athletes apparent disregard for common rules of conduct may be best explained by a thorough examination of the “repressive systems of social control” (p. 308) that the athlete has been exposed to. Hughes and Coakley

(1991) reflected on the apparent uncritical acceptance and commitment to the program that athletes made and suggested that this compliance to the words of "important people in their lives" (p. 308) is due in part to the pervasion of the message throughout the culture of the sport. They also suggested that even though coaches were a key player in developing this culture by over using such catchphrases as "play through the pain", the message was reinforced by sports commentators and sports publicity material that praised extreme behaviours such as playing with injuries (Hughes & Coakley, 1991).

The development of athlete identity involves the subscription to a set of values and beliefs. These values and beliefs are embedded in the culture by athletes, coaches and wider social trends (Jones, Glintmeyer, & McKenzie, 2005). Pressure to subscribe to these values and beliefs is provided by the value that the culture places on conformity and by the "coaches 'expert' knowledge of how to attain" them (Jones et al., 2005, p. 378). McMahon and Dinan-Thompson (2008) revealed that coaches and other insiders of the swimming culture participated in the enculturation of ideals through their practice and pedagogy and the use of "disciplinary power, regulation, classification and surveillance" (p. 1). McMahon, an elite swimmer was subjected to and embodied counter-intuitive practices as a result of this power to conform.

Conformity.

The development of docile healthy bodies occurs primarily through the process of disciplinary power. This disciplinary power is derived from the control and discipline of bodies, the regulation of the body in time and space, and the process of surveillance (Denison, 2007; Foucault, 1979). For maximum

effect, surveillance may be organised via a hierarchical system, which normalises judgement and provides continuous supervision (Foucault, 1979). Foucault (1979) famously illustrated continuous supervision in the example of Bentham's panopticon. In this example, inmates were subjected to a continuous hierarchical gaze which trains inmates to behave in normalised ways. This theory has been applied to many physical settings in the sporting genre, including dance studios (Green, 2002), swimming pools (Jones et al., 2005; Lang, 2010), food halls and the home environment (McMahon et al., 2012), professional sports franchises (Edwards & Skinner, 2001), and centres for high performance sport (Johns & Johns, 2000). Although these studies have focused on the surveillance of athletes by coaches within the various physical settings, they inform this research from a theoretical perspective and offer insight into the possible source of some behaviours exhibited by coaches.

Coaches operate in a variety of social systems which can become contested social spaces; these include the formal coach education pathway and formal and informal relationships associated with coach development. With the exception of Denison (2007) and Denison and Avner (2011), there is a dearth of research focusing on the "systems of oppression" (Norman, 2010, p. 150) that coaches operate within. Denison (2007) illustrated how a coach's use of standardised guidelines in their attempts to problem solve may be disciplining and could lead to docile or apathetic coaches. Denison and Avner (2011) introduced positive coaching practice as a process where coaches challenged their taken for granted assumptions with regard to the formation of their coaching knowledge and reflected on how they frame problems and develop problem solving strategies.

They suggested that a “mechanistic and linear framework for the production and dissemination of coaching knowledge” (p. 216) must have a “profound implication for power relationships in a sporting context” (Denison & Avner, 2011, p. 216). While these authors positioned researchers as experts disseminating information to coaches, administrators who develop coach education material and coach education pathways or are responsible for coach accreditation should also be viewed in the same light.

The production of docile bodies.

By applying social theory to the cultural setting of coaching within a sporting organisation, the forces that work against neophyte (novice) coach development can be identified. As Foucault (1979) suggested, power is not hierarchical, rather it is mobile and constantly shaped by relationships. Neophyte coaches may be subject to a number of power relationships within their organisation; these may include but are not restricted to other neophyte coaches, more advanced coaches (head coaches), administrators and the instruction of a standardised coaching curriculum (Cushion, Armour, & Jones, 2003; Owen-Pugh, 2010). The development of coaching pathways encourages coaches to engage with a standardised curriculum in order to progress in their development (Cushion et al., 2003). Foucault (1983a) argued that ethical and innovative practices were unlikely to follow a sequential process of discovery. However, the pathway process such as those offered by the Australian Sports Commission (ASC) and the Australian Swim Coaches and Teachers Association (ASCTA) offer participants a rigid program that will result in nationally recognised accreditation. It is important to note that there are not only social and cultural

motivators for the conformity with this process; there is also the financial incentive of standardised insurance premiums for accredited members and endorsement by the accrediting bodies.

The formulistic approach to coach education offers numerous barriers to creativity and has been described as indoctrination (Cushion et al., 2010; Nelson, Cushion, & Potrac, 2006) and professional disempowerment (Macdonald & Tinning, 1995). Existing understandings of what constitutes quality coaching, values and attitudes is delivered through a standardised curriculum that provides participants with a tool box of professional knowledge based on so called universal understandings (Cushion et al., 2003). Kim (2004) suggested that it is the most powerful participants in the field that impose these arbitrary values and the complicity of all participants in accepting the legitimacy of the dominant values that obscures the power relationship at play. Foucault, cited in Ayer and Elders (1974), argued that there was no universal understanding that does not reference history and society, and just as Foucault sought to historicize universal understandings, Denison and Avner (2011) suggested that a coach's ability to develop innovative practice is best linked to his/her willingness to reflect on "taken for granted assumptions and the social conditions, processes, knowledges, and power relations that have shaped those assumptions" (p. 221).

When a coach is unwilling, due to external pressure, or unable, due to prescriptive coach education, to reflect on controlling social conditions, they may themselves become obedient to 'taken-for-granted' practices. Denison (2007) applied the Foucauldian concept of docility to the athlete body due to the application of a structured program of training and development that controlled,

judged and normalised. Markula and Pringle (2006), who also drew on the work of Foucault, suggested that due to such training controls "bodies [can] become passive, manipulable and ... moulded" (p. 74). It is this concept that Denison (2010) extrapolated when he suggested that coaches, too, can become docile as they feel manipulated or moulded into learning machines by coaching development frameworks and models that promote the delivery of un-problematized content, remove control over development and discourage innovative practice. Denison supported Cassidy's (2010) position that the race for "knowledge and best practice" and the "next breakthrough" (Denison, 2010, p. 161) has resulted in a simplified approach by sports administrators, sports scientist and coaches. In addition the simplistic understanding of the complex social interactions inherent in the sporting and coaching culture moves the focus away from the problematization of existing frameworks of change that are the primary vehicle for coach education (Denison, 2010).

In order to problematize the structures associated with coach education we must investigate the relationships that impact on coaches in and through the coach education process. As Denison (2007) pointed out:

> A relationship of power [such as those between coach and administrator or sport scientist is not just] an exercise in domination, but [could be] an action by one person to help guide another's conduct or direct the possible field of action of others. (p. 377).

This illustrates the very complex nature of interactions that a coach is immersed in. While Foucault (1979) may have asserted that power is not hierarchical and to some degree resides in all persons in the relationship, it remains a challenge

for all persons to consider the ethical and responsible use of that power as we (coaches) shape the lives of ourselves and others (Denison, 2010).

Power and knowledge in swim coaching.

The scholarship of French philosopher Michel Foucault informs the power and knowledge nexus at the centre of this investigation. Foucault's conceptual framework, though never applied to the sporting context by the author himself, has been utilised extensively in the recent upsurgeance of sociological studies of sport (Markula & Pringle, 2006). While particular focus has been paid by scholars to relationships of power that athletes find themselves immersed, only recently has the focus shifted to the people and associations surrounding these athletes. In his 1975 book '*Surveil and Punish: Birth of the prison*' Foucault analysed the mechanisms at play in penal systems, and found that the techniques of domination or *disciplinary techniques* could also be found in schools and hospitals (Foucault, 1979).

Disciplinary techniques.

This thesis focuses on the relationships of power that coaches are engaged in both formally as a part of their ongoing coach education and development and informally within relationships experienced as a consequence of selection, employment/engagement or happenstance. In this case, selection refers to the inclusion of coaches into representative teams that comprise of swimmers who have gained meritorious selection on swimming teams. Employment/engagement have been used alternatively to tie coaches with sporting organisations such as the sport's governing body, Swimming Australia (SA) and sporting clubs and teams that do not necessarily involve monetary agreements. Happenstance refers

to the chance encounters between coaches who are thrust together into competitive or educational settings. The following section briefly reviews literature that illuminates how the Foucauldian concepts of hierarchical observation, normalising judgement, the examination, surveillance, panopticism and the development of docile bodies (Foucault, 1979) were conceived and have been applied to the coaching domain.

Hierarchical observation.

Hierarchical observation refers to the development of both architectural and social structures that allow a network of gazes, such that surveillance becomes continuous and functional and can contribute to the success of disciplinary power (Foucault, 1979). In order for this coercive mechanism to be relayed within social settings, an organisation must classify, by distributing attendants according to rank (Foucault, 1979). Swimming Australia (SA) relies on what Foucault (1979) termed as officers. These include coaches both employed by and accredited by SA, development officers employed by SA and the various administrators of SA. These officers or attendants to the culture are the social architecture that allows "disciplinary power [to] become an integrated system" within SA (Foucault, 1979, p. 176). Foucault hastens to add that even though organisations are arranged in a pyramidal fashion it is "the apparatus as a whole that produces 'power' and distributes individuals in this permanent and continuous field" (p. 177). Hierarchical observation also refers to the regulation of time, bodies and force in such a way that output can be optimised and ensures a total dependence on the master (Foucault, 1979). The isolation of periods of time into discrete programs and schedules that organise, arrange and capitalise

time is pervasive in coaching in general and swimming in particular (Markula & Pringle, 2006).

Normalising judgement and the examination.

Normalising judgment is the system of penalty that rewards and punishes in order to create discipline (Foucault, 1979). This system normalises by comparing (a members action) to the whole, differentiating members from one another. It is utilised to hierarchize members, pursues conformity through reward and identifies the border between what is acceptable (normal) and that which is abnormal (Foucault, 1979). The concept of normalising judgement offers a framework from which we can compare and contrast the practices exhibited by attendants of the culture, and in this way determine if, and if so, how hegemony (sameness) is enacted. Sporting organisations and coaching structures enjoy what Foucault (1979) termed a "judicial privilege" (p. 178), whereby laws for specific offences are enacted and discipline established by micro-penalty. Such a system ascribes a value to behaviours that are not seen to be worthy of reference by society's wider systems of law and order. The dissent of an athlete may lead to their being refused selection in future teams as a consequence (Purdy, Potrac, & Jones, 2008).

The examination "combines the techniques of an observing hierarchy and those of normalising judgement" (Foucault, 1979, p. 184). While Foucault (1979) described this ceremony for discipline as a parade, it can be best related to the examination of a sporting culture by acknowledging that in many cases "the examination is highly ritualised", and is often enacted with the "deployment of force and [for the] establishment of truth" (Foucault, 1979, p. 184).

Coach communication and interaction.

Erving Goffman was a North American sociologist best known for his investigations into symbolic interaction. Goffman investigated social organisation and social interaction and classified the hidden social rules that underpin the way that we interact with others. This classification of the modest interactions that make up everyday interaction (Smith, 2011) is where his work has added most value to this investigation. Goffman's work on interpersonal sociology is seen as complementary to Foucault's archaeology of systems of thought (Hacking, 2004).

Symbolic communication and interaction.

An understanding of the way that coaches communicate with athletes, other coaches and agents of the sporting culture is essential to exploring or analysing the narratives presented. In order to outline more explicitly the tools to analyse or understand coach communication, it is important to understand that the basic theoretical underpinning of communication within a culture is deduced by a number of assumptions (Rose, 1962). The first assumption is that we live in a symbolic environment and can be stimulated to act by a stimulus with a learned meaning i.e. a symbol (Rose, 1962). Second, by using symbols we can stimulate others to act and finally, by communicating with symbols we can learn how to act from other insiders of a culture (Rose, 1962).

Coaches spend much of their time communicating to their athletes. They do this by utilising various modes of communication, including dialogue, or verbal instruction, kinesthetic, or instruction by physical manipulation and semiotic communication via the use of signs or symbols. In this instance, the signs and

symbols are not those that you would see on a diagram or instructional text outlining plays. Rather, these signs and symbols are the peculiar and distinctive interactions that take place between human beings, and are termed, symbolic interaction (Blumer, 1962). Symbolic interaction is a social psychological framework and follows that we have a learned response to symbolic stimuli. This suggests that we recycle these stimuli in order to influence the behaviours of others, and that through symbolic communication we learn values and meanings from others. It is also suggested that social settings are central to symbols and their meanings, and that by conscious thought individuals consider possible symbolic solutions before taking a course of action (Baldwin, 1986). This is supported by Blumer (1962) who claimed that rather than just reacting to each other's actions (symbols), we interpret or prescribe meaning to those symbols; therefore, symbolic communication is a social process. The notion of classifying individual semiotic resources (signs and symbols) that are utilised by instructors has for the most part been avoided by researchers investigated as a part of this literature review. Those who do report on specific semiotic resources tend to use more general terms like 'gaze' (McMahon & Dinan-Thompson, 2008). Partington and Cushion (2012) suggested that we have not yet investigated the contextual factors that impact coach behaviour in any significant way, and the research community needs to dig deeper.

Dramaturgy.

Blumer's work was further developed by Irving Goffman who investigated the structure of face to face interaction. The use of Goffman's concept of dramaturgy in this investigation is primarily concerned with interpreting

complex social interactions and demonstrating to an outsider of the culture how power is enacted in each context (Jones, Potrac, Cushion, & Ronglan, 2010). Dramaturgy can be described by its attendant notions of performance, impression management, team and front and backstage performances (Goffman, 1959). Performance is simply described as the part an individual plays in order to convey a particular impression to others (Goffman, 1959). The implication of this is that the performance is utilised to manage the impression of the observer in such a way that future interactions are regulated (Goffman, 1959). In most situations, an interaction will require a certain amount of cooperation by insiders (teams) such that the performance is maintained (Goffman, 1959). Front and backstage refers to the distinct regions where individual performances can be held. The front stage is where the actor knows he or she is being watched and therefore provides a dramaturgical performance consistent with the situation, while the back stage is a place where the actor can be out of character without breaking the illusion for the audience, this is where their real personality comes out (Goffman, 1959). It is with these concepts that I interpret the complex social interactions and demonstrate how power is enacted in a particular context.

In order to understand the performance of an individual, Goffman (1959) introduced the concepts of front, dramatic realisation and idealisation. In this case, front refers to the expressive equipment "intentionally or unwittingly employed by an individual" during their performance (p. 19). In order to enhance believability, an individual may dramatically and vividly highlight otherwise obscure capacities within interactions and in this way give off the appropriate impression (Goffman, 1959). Indeed, Goffman (1959) cited prize fighters as an

example of how dramatic self-expression is afforded a "special place" in the "organised [fantasy] of the nation" (p. 27). What this means is that the nation, or society, accepts this dramatic self-expression as a part of the fighters act and this causes neophyte fighters to seek to replicate such expression and the public to understand and associate such expression. In order for a performance to align with a cultures norms and values (Jones et al., 2010), the presentation must "incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values" of the culture, thus becoming idealised (Goffman, 1959, p. 31). These accredited values and expressions are the micro level examination of the elements that lead to Foucault's concept of normalising judgement.

Goffman and coach interaction.

Researchers are beginning to utilise Goffman in order to examine coach interactions and coaching behaviour primarily from the perspective of high performance coach/athlete interactions (Partington & Cushion, 2012; Potrac & Jones, 2009b; Potrac, Jones, & Armour, 2002). Authors variously describe how coach performances are utilised in order to generate respect from players (Potrac et al., 2002), how coach behaviour during games is performative and is moulded by pressures and constraints of a social group rather than the needs of athletes (Partington & Cushion, 2012), and how coaches use performance to encourage athletes buy into training principles (Potrac & Jones, 2009a). While this line of inquiry parallels this investigation and provides significant support for the use of Goffman's theoretical framework, there is little reference to coach interactions within the hierarchical constructs of the coach development pathway. Indeed Jones et al. (2010) remind us that while athletes are central to the coaching

process, “coaches have to interact with a large number of stakeholders and groups” within their practice and that “such relationships could also be examined in relation to Goffman’s (1959) notion of performance” (p. 23).

Social order in swim coaching.

The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu was primarily concerned with how social order was maintained by the subtle use of power; he shared, with Goffman and Foucault, the view that human life is intensely social (Calhoun, 2001). In this investigation, the concepts of misrecognition, habitus, field and capital are utilised to illuminate the practices of everyday life (Bourdieu, 1984) within the sub-culture of Australian swimming. The use of both theorists in this investigation follows Taylor and Garratt (2010) who utilised Bourdieusian concepts as a way of understanding “the immanent structures and regularities of the social world of sports coaching” (p. 122) and Foucauldian thinking as a way of understanding the effects of power and the normalisation of behaviour.

Misrecognition, habitus, field and capital.

Bourdieusian thinking has been utilised in this investigation to provide a more critical perspective of the significant social structures that are part of the coach development pathway and which impact upon sport coaches lives. In order to do this a critical investigation of the dispositions of agents is explored as are the internalised structures that have become taken for granted or perceived as natural (Bourdieu, 1989).

The notions of misrecognition habitus, field and capital are drawn upon to expose the practices experienced in the everyday life of coaches (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu referred to the values and dispositions of particular social

groups as the expression of personal dispositions and valued resources within a particular social setting (Bourdieu, 1984). The term misrecognition describes the concealment of the true nature of social acts from participants of a culture and serves to perpetuate unequal relations of power (Taylor & Garratt, 2010). Swartz (2012) elaborated misrecognition as a form of false consciousness by actors (members) of a particular social group. These actors misrecognise power relationships that allow the reproduction of patterns of domination. As Taylor and Garratt (2010) noted, relations of dominance in a sporting culture are perpetuated by the "self-regulation of each actor" (p. 127) who by internalisation of cultural processes, support the reproduction of this social order. These actors (such as coaches) follow unacknowledged interests as they participate in the social group. Importantly, as it is the misrecognition of these interests that allows for the exercise of power, then the public exposure of same allows for critical reflection, a breakdown in their legitimacy and the opportunity to develop an alternative path (Taylor & Garratt, 2010). Bourdieu described this process as a form of symbolic violence under which order is maintained via cultural mechanisms rather than overt control (Jones et al., 2010).

Bourdieu (1977) described habitus as trained capacities, values and expectations of particular social groups that are acquired by individuals in and through social processes. These capacities are lasting dispositions that apply in more than one context, neither fixed nor permanent; they change over time and in response to the unexpected. Field is described by Wacquant and Bourdieu (1992) as "a network, or configuration, of objective relations between positions"

(p. 97), and is further clarified by Navarro (2006) as a structured space or arena in which habitus operates.

Valued resources or forms of capital allow for the expression of power within social settings that do not have a judicial system. Bourdieu (1977) theorised that cultural capital allowed for classes to distinguish according to taste rather than utilising economic forms of domination. In this way, capital becomes symbolic and can hide the causes of inequality that lead to social hierarchies and the misrecognition of power. Bourdieu (1984) linked habitus with capital and field by suggesting that the combination of valued resources (capital) and trained capacities of individuals (habitus) within a social arena (field) are required to produce cultural practices.

Applying Bourdieu.

Various authors have utilised Bourdieusian thinking in relation to sports coaching (Brown, 2006; Cushion, 2001; Cushion et al., 2003; Cushion & Jones, 2006; Jones et al., 2010). Cushion et al. (2003) utilised key Bourdieusian concepts to describe the art of coaching and to illustrate how this might contribute to coach education. These authors critically reviewed current coach education programs and how these programs align with the theory of habitus development in coaches. They theorised that while coaching courses contribute to habitus, practice is shaped primarily in the field and this can be problematic as learning can be constricted, unbalanced and lack critical reflection. Aligned with this, Brown (2005) found that the "production and consumption of valued cultural goods" (p. 16) resulted in the recycling of attitudes and a reproduction of a gendered habitus within Physical Education Teacher Education (PETE). This

finding correlates strongly with the key question of this investigation into structural impediments in coach education pathways. Cushion (2001) offered the notion of a contested space by relaying personal experiences that described the complex hierarchies associated with soccer coaching. While this author as well as Brown (2006) theorised and related Bourdieusian thinking to sporting cultures, investigations remain theoretical and have not explored a coaching culture in a critical and meaningful way. Cushion and Jones (2006) relayed the development of habitus via symbolic violence in soccer players, by utilising ethnographic tools. Their investigation illustrated the "systems of domination [between players and coaches] and the power relations that create and sustain them" (p. 158). This research highlighted an issue of primary concern to this doctoral study; in that practice (exercising of symbolic violence and domination) was perceived as natural, and players and coaches were collectively deceived and actively recycled this practice.

The notion of sporting cultures as a field in which capital can be gathered has been demonstrated by various authors (DeLuca, 2010, 2013; Jorgensen, 2012; Stempel, 2005). Jorgensen (2012) and Stempel (2005) focused on sporting participation as a site for capital building, while DeLuca (2010) investigated how parents transmit capital through their children's involvement in a socially stratified sporting organisation. Stempel (2005) illustrated how cultural capital related to the variable competitive or physical nature of sports and parallels DeLuca's (2013) suggestion that class division is perpetuated through involvement with different sports. Jorgensen (2012) supported this notion of sport as a field for capital building by focussing on how young sporting

participants (swimmers) develop social, linguistic, intellectual, physical and scholastic capital through formal learn to swim classes. Aligned with this investigation into power within coach education pathways, Taylor and Garratt (2010) investigated how coaching practice is being homogenised by the government lead professionalisation of sports coaching. These authors found that in the transition to professionalism, a new discourse that disregards older forms of capital is developed, and contend that this new political context leads to an inflexible approach that does not value diversity. Townsend and Cushion (2015) also found tensions between individuals in a coach education program and the "accepted model of coach education with a singular and prescribed body of knowledge" (p. 1). Townsend and Cushion (2015) called for a more critical interrogation of coach education programs contested structure that can lead to a more sophisticated understanding of coaching and the subfield of coach education.

Conclusion.

While some research has considered the disciplining effects of coaches' practices on athletes (Johns & Johns, 2000; Jones et al., 2005; Lang, 2010; McMahon et al., 2012), the production of docile bodies (of athletes by coaches) (Denison, 2007; Denison & Avner, 2011), and the effect of power relationships within sporting organisations (Edwards & Skinner, 2001), very little research has focused on the way that coaching practice is influenced by mentor coaches, agents of Swimming Australia (SA), the sport's governing body and the Australian coaches professional association (ASCTA). A number of authors including Johns and Johns (2000) detailed the power relationships that exist

between coaches and athletes, without considering the discourse of power that the coaches, and by association, the athletes are engaged in with governing bodies and coach educators. A number of authors including (Cassidy, 2010) lamented the lack of coaching development by sporting bodies due to various forces, and the development of docile coaches (Denison, 2007; Denison & Avner, 2011) due to power relationships that coaches are immersed in. Norman (2010) referred to these power relationships as “systems of oppression” (p. 150) and suggested that the current drive towards reflective practice removes critical focus from this “structural impediment” (p. 150). There is at present no research that illuminates the mechanisms at work within the discourse of power that is the coach-mentor and coach-organisation relationship. The comprehensive review of the literature by Jones et al. (2009), relating to sports coaching, highlights an issue central to this investigation. These authors found it concerning that the conceptualisation of mentoring practice by those engaged in it remains ambiguous. They therefore call for a more nurturing, thoughtful and structured design of such programs, which embeds training as a critical first step for both mentors and mentees in the implementation of an effective mentoring program.

Chapter 3: Methodology and Method

Elements of inquiry.

In this chapter, I frame the research process by elaborating on the use of ethnography and narrative inquiry in this investigation. I do this by outlining the methods that were used, the theoretical perspectives that underlie the methodology and the epistemology that informed this theoretical framework. I review literature relating to the qualitative research methodology chosen and consider the strengths of this approach in relation to change making and moreover how they came to affect the participant. I define 'story' for the reader and consider the various ways that story (narrative) informed this project, in particular how personal stories aided the analysis of complex social structures. I review literature relating to the use of ethnography and narrative inquiry in sporting cultures and how they have been utilised to inform, empower and transform. Balanced with this is my consideration of how power permeated the research process, how I have acknowledged this and subsequently suppressed it in and through the research process. I also consider issues associated with verisimilitude and ethical considerations related to this project.

Research paradigms.

In order to provide the reader with perspective on how the researcher is connected with the research, I use Crotty's (1998) four elements of the research process: epistemology; theoretical perspective; methodology; and methods. The paradigms approach as described by Lincoln (2009) is also elaborated upon as it provides orienting information about my standpoint as a researcher and communicates the relationship I (the researcher) have with knowledge. Sparkes

and Smith (2014) suggested that the basic assumptions of a paradigm are embodied by the researcher and can therefore be hidden from the view of the outsider. For this reason, an elaboration of my theoretical orientation highlights how I shaped the research problem. This approach may seem contrary to the intuitive suggestion that the methods of inquiry are chosen first but it is precisely this epistemology that is embodied in my consciousness as elaborated in the 'Impetus' (above).

My grounding epistemological framework is that of constructionism as I resonate with the suggestion that meaning is "constructed by human beings as they engage with the world they are interpreting; we do not create meaning. We construct meaning" (Crotty, 1998, p. 3). The constructivist epistemology is embedded in the theoretical perspectives of social constructivism and critical theorist perspectives which are brought to bear in this investigation. It is important to note here, as Denzin and Lincoln (2005) pointed out, that qualitative inquiry can take the form of multiple interpretive projects with overlap and commonality throughout. Sparkes and Smith (2014) elaborated on this when describing commonalities and differences between the social constructivist and the critical theoretical perspectives. These authors suggested that both critical theorists and social constructivists have a common understanding of reality but insist that the critical theorist seeks to be transformative while the social constructivist seeks only to understand the natural setting. Such differences are important to note, however this does not preclude their complementary combination (Madill & Gough, 2008; Sparkes & Smith, 2011). Perhaps the most compelling reason for this research utilising a critical inquiry perspective is the

focus on challenging conventional social structures and illuminating "the relationship between power and culture" (Crotty, 1998, p. 157).

This research can be characterised as utilising abductive reasoning due to the fact that there is an integration of both inductive and deductive approaches throughout. Abductive reasoning can be characterised as the "consideration of unanticipated phenomena and themes" (Taylor, Ntoumanis, & Smith, 2009, p. 242) related to the theoretical lens as detailed in Part C (below).

Why stories.

Personal stories of experience combined with those from colleague swimming coaches are viewed through a Foucauldian lens. This is done purposely to determine the overarching social structures, and how, if present, disciplinary practices affect coaching practice, coach development and coach education. The use of Goffman's theoretical perspective elaborates on personal encounters in such a way that the precise detail of interactions are explained for the reader. In this way, interpersonal interactions and social exchanges within a culture are laid bare as the tractive forces that contribute to coach development within the culture of Australian Swimming. Bourdieu's theoretical perspective is used to "sensitise the reader to the immanent structures and regularities of the social world of sports coaching" (Taylor & Garratt, 2010, p. 122).

Personal narratives collected as stories of experience over a 20 year coaching career provided the initial impetus, and marked the first ideological crossroad in this investigation. Gubrium and Holstein (1999) loosely defined narrative analysis as the examination of "diverse stories, commentaries and the conversations engaged in everyday life" (p. 561) that can be presented as cultural

criticism (Holstein & Gubrium, 2012), and ethnography as a long term observation of interactional patterns. However, these authors called for researchers to blur this boundary and work at the point of representational tension rather than strengthen its separation. The use of story to unpack social organisation heeds this call; it places narrative beside ethnography rather than beneath it, and contributes to a growing body of sport literature in which the voice of the native is exercised (Clandinin, 2006; Gubrium & Holstein, 1999).

The reader might consider that conflict arises from this choice of methodology due to the role played by the participant researcher. When undertaking an investigation of the self, McCabe and Holmes (2009) suggested that the critical researcher can apply reflexivity in the research process rather than try to eliminate or control these forces. In this way McCabe and Holmes (2009) suggested we can be "cognizant of one's views and social position and of the effect that these may have on the research process and on those being researched" (p. 1522).

One of the challenges for this researcher is to effect transformation and emancipation, in and through the research process. In order to do this, attention to the emancipatory process was essential (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Emancipation is most commonly associated with heath based research, but has been applied recently to sociological investigations of sporting cultures (McMahon & Penney, 2011). This investigation sought to pursue emancipation by equipping participants with the knowledge, means and opportunity (Clough & Barton, 1998) to "recognise restrictive modes of thinking and acting" (McCabe

& Holmes, 2009, p. 1520) and thereby live with a greater sense of agency and autonomy (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005).

In its most simple form, reflection on action can elicit a reasoned change in practice, however the more diligent reflective practitioner can achieve much more. Bolton (2006) suggested that reflective practice is by nature "politically and socially disruptive" (p. 204) and can be utilised to illuminate and question taken for granted practices. It remains a paradox within coach education as coaches are instructed to consider their approach whilst conforming to models of best practice described by Cassidy (2010), and elaborated in Chapter 2. Without rigorous reflective practice and reflexivity, we pay lip service to diversity and change with reference to coach learning (Bolton, 2006; Cassidy, 2010). By utilising stories as a clarifying device to challenge the dominant discourse, both the participant and the reader cannot claim innocence to the knowledge and effect of structure and force (Bolton, 2006).

Defining story.

The terms 'story' and 'narrative' are used interchangeably and below I provide the definitions that I found most helpful in clarifying these terms. Many writers find that the term story is self-evident and provide no explanation, however Boje (1991) provided a definition that resonated with me when he suggested that a story is an oral or written performance "involving two or more people interpreting past or anticipated experience" (p. 111). Gerrig (1993) added that stories enable us to be effectively transported and Engel (1995) suggested that they provide us a world beyond one of immediate action that gives us a new way of experiencing life.

Sarbin (1986) interpreted the word narrative as “the organisational scheme [used] to make meaning of experience in a story form” (p. 3). More recently Smith (in press) described how narrative helps us to turn the confusion of the world into a meaningful place.

In this investigation when referring to the stories of personal experience used as data for this investigation the term *story* or *personal story* will be utilised interchangeably. The use of the term narrative, in some cases follows the excavation of theoretical perspectives and logic requires that I maintain consistency and thus have used narrative and story interchangeably.

Use of personal stories.

The use of personal stories of experience as data for this research centres on the potential they may have a to illustrate the complex relationships present between coaches and their mentors, coaches and agents of the sport’s governing body, or between personnel encountered as a part of the coach education system of SA. In this investigation, participants’ stories are utilised as a form of communication, as a means of facilitating learning from experience, as a means of illustrating complex social phenomena and as a means of constructing new knowledge and catalysing change. Stories have been used extensively to connect the reader with the lived experience of the participant (Moon, 2010).

Rather than provide extended prose detailing a participant’s life story, this investigation utilises what Moon and Fowler (2008) termed ‘scenarios’ or ‘brief stories’ to describe a situation or critical incident. These stories are drawn from a larger narrative framework that constituted interactions with mentors and agents within the swimming culture that participants felt influenced their progress

through the coach development pathway. These stories were utilised to represent, or communicate a significant event. In this way, from a Piagetian perspective, stories become the material of learning, the artefact with which the reader engages before a more critical examination and finally the assimilation of a changing understanding (Marton & Booth, 1997; Piaget, 1971). Ewick and Silbey (1995) recounted how, in the 1930s and 1940s, narratives were considered ambiguous and an imprecise way of representing the world. These authors defended the recent resurgence in the use of story by embracing inherent particularity and ambiguity. Further to this, Abrams (1993) suggested that the critical analysis of narratives forces us to "think concretely, but to remember socially" (p, 1052). Smith (in press) reminded us that one way "to perform agency – is through storytelling" (p. 33). The stories people tell describe their world as they experience and interpret it. Their stories connect daily social interaction to social structures and contribute to the development of an individual's identity (Ewick & Silbey, 1995; Polkinghorne, 1988; Salmon & Reissman, 2008). Finally, and somewhat critical to this investigation is the political nature of narrative research; the potential narratives have as a catalyst for change. If we consider the transformative potential that can be achieved by giving voice to participants, we evade the distorting effect of traditional scientific method (Bell, 1991). Smith and Sparkes (2011) used stories to influence an audience, to challenge and to elicit a response. They outlined how the telling of a narrative is active rather than passive and often results in a storied response. These authors encouraged us to consider the manner of tellership in

such a way that we might encourage or elicit a response either as a reaction or query or in such a way that the audience becomes a co-teller of the story.

Methodology.

The decision to employ an ethnographic methodology to evaluate the structure and function of relationships that coaches are immersed in was done so for four main reasons. First, as an insider to the culture, my experiences and those of my contemporaries gave me an insight into structural impediments that warranted investigation and provided a rich source of data; being an insider also gave me unique access to the culture. Second, in critical qualitative research, emancipation can be achieved by raising social consciousness about an issue (McCabe & Holmes, 2009). This is important because unlike the experiences that I had as a mentor coach, I aspired to a more reciprocal relationship with research participants. Third, as a form of reflective practice, such an investigation has the opportunity to inform my personal practice (Bolton, 2006). Finally, this investigation has the potential to resonate with other coaches and subsequently may prompt coaches as a community to think more critically about their practice (Cassidy et al., 2009).

This section further outlines the specific procedure that I undertook to obtain data in the form of personal narratives and co-constructed participant narratives. I describe the presentational form so that the reader can clearly understand any syntactic nuances represented in the stories. Also outlined is the procedure of narrative analysis utilised in the thematic chapters that follow and considers relationships of power experienced in and through the research

process. This section concludes by reflecting on how the development of narratives is associated with reflection and coach reflexive practice.

Auto-ethnography: The researcher's voice.

In this section, I introduce autoethnography, the factors leading to its use in this research project, and I outline the method I undertook when developing the autoethnographic accounts. Autoethnography is a genre in which the researcher is the phenomenon investigated (Ellis & Bochner, 2000; Mehan & Wood, 1975). In so doing, the researcher is the insider, the context my own, and in this way I tell my own story (Duncan, 2008). In many ways, this methodology shows how I make sense of my world. Issues of permission and accessibility are sidelined in autoethnography as the researcher is already immersed in in the culture being investigated. Ellis (2004) suggested that autoethnography connects the "autobiographical and personal to the cultural and social" (p. xix), and that this can be balanced with intellectual and methodological rigor and creativity (Adams, Holman Jones, & Ellis, 2014). In this way, personal stories allow the reader to vicariously experience or live the cultural practices that I experienced.

This methodology is valued twofold; first, as an instrument of cultural change but also as an instrument of personal change. With particular reference to how autoethnography can elicit change in others, Holman-Jones (2005) suggested that the personal text can be a critical intervention that can disrupt the way things are. Indeed, it is the intention of this investigation to do more than just expose personal experiences; it is intended as a political action that connects theory and method with real world action (Holman-Jones, 2005). With regard to personal change, Duncan (2008) suggested that autoethnography relies on an

advanced capacity for self-reflection, or as Ellis and Adams (2014) stated, an inward focus that seeks to "refract and resist cultural interpretations" (p. 254) of personal experience. Indeed it is this reflective component that drew me to this research methodology.

Cassidy, Jones and Potrac (2009) suggested that reflection is vital to experiential learning and Cassidy (2010) acknowledged that without this consideration of the way that coaches learn, a change in practice is unlikely. As an elite age-group coach, I felt that my time in the sport and my professional development was limited by sociocultural factors inherent in swimming and coaching cultures. The utilisation of an autoethnographic process to me as a coach is valuable as it is a way of formalising the metacognitive process of my personal coaching development. Cassidy, Jones and Potrac (2009) devised three levels of reflection in coaching: technical, practical and critical. It is in the highest or critical level of reflection that a coach "focuses on the political, moral and ethical meaning of knowledge" (p. 24). As a practising coach, determined to better understand how power relationships in the culture of swimming have situated or influenced my practice, I felt that by reflecting on personal stories and the reflexive analysis of the same, I am refusing to take for granted the dominant paradigm. In so doing, I am wilfully exploring the value of an alternative coaching philosophy. The purposeful externalisation of the story is significant, in that it ensures that both the writer and reader can dissociate the event from the person involved, allowing both to develop "space for a different understanding" (Drewery & Winslade, 1997, p. 45).

Development of auto-ethnographic accounts.

Autoethnographic accounts can be represented in a number of ways, however, for the purpose of this research written stories were the preferred medium of data. This was due primarily to the storied manner in which coaches share experiences and also for the potential that stories provide in terms of common ground between the researcher and participants.

Throughout the course of my coaching career I was aware of the effect that my peers, mentors and agents of SA had on my coaching practice; I felt the flow of power without being able to articulate it, even to myself. It was at the commencement of my current tertiary teaching position that I became aware of the term ‘disciplinary power’ (Foucault, 1979). As I relayed my stories of experience to my partner, also a researcher, I began the process of indwelling or immersing myself in these embodied experiences.

The first step that I undertook when generating my personal narratives was the use of memory writing (Lupton, 1996). In this first step of the process I utilised my coaching planning materials, as well as images that I had kept from this time in my life to help me reconnect with my experiences. In order to recall events as they happened, I utilised “emotional recall,” a strategy proposed by Ellis and Bochner (2000, p. 752), where I visualised myself in the scene physically and emotionally. In this way I recalled stories that happened up to 15 years ago, and presented them in rich detail with the benefit of greater life experience. In order to develop richness in the stories, and a consideration of how the senses relate to the story, I reviewed and overlaid a tapestry of physical and emotional reference points (Sparkes, 2009) for the reader. To do this, I

considered each situation in terms of how it impacted me physically, both internally, via my body's response to emotion and externally through items that I came in contact with (touch). I also included the sights, sounds and smells that impacted my senses in such a way that I could combine the strength of scientific inquiry with the benefits of the humanities (Stoller, 1989). A short post script follows some stories and is used to illustrate the longitudinal impact of experiences on my attitudes and behaviour. Post scripts relay embodied experiences that influenced my practice, behaviour and pervade my coaching ideology in the present.

Narrative ethnography.

Throughout the course of a prior autoethnographic inquiry where I reflected on personal experiences within a sub culture, I was questioned (by critical readers) as to the pervasiveness of some of my experiences. 'Just how widespread are these practices?' they would ask, 'Do you think this happens to most coaches?' As an insider to this culture I had a 'hunch', but without the inclusion of additional participants, I dared not extrapolate. In this way, the inclusion of the lived experiences of others were essential in order to further bolster the aims of this project.

There are other less obvious considerations for the utilisation of a narrative ethnographic approach. First, in regard to coach participants, I consider this approach a pedagogical pathway for participants to inform their own practice and as a possible emancipatory process. Second, as a coach and coach educator, I found value in the purposeful application of the narrative process with recognition of its use as a "generative framework for deconstructing and

reconstructing the stories that constitute …personal understandings and practices" (Hickey & Fitzclarence, 1999, p. 58). I hoped others, specifically the coach participants, would have the same experience. Third, in regard to the potential to initiate change, this methodology enables the reader to vicariously share the experiences of the participants in order to "promote the development of understanding[s] and the recognition of points of view that differ" (Moon, 2010, p. 17).

Recruitment.

Given the emergent nature of this investigation, the process of sampling was shaped by issues thrown up in the field. In order to gain information from members of this particular sub-culture I undertook what Sparkes and Smith (2014) referred to as purposive sampling. It is important to note here that as Holloway (1997) pointed out this process is not linear, rather it is informed and guided by ideas that emerge from the research process. The initial sampling for this investigation was conducted via an information and invitation submission contained in an online newsletter sent to all Australian coaches by the professional accreditation body ASCTA. This mode of sampling did not result in any leads in terms of coaches willing to participate; however, through discussion with respondents to the initial sampling, a number of potential participants were identified. At this juncture the sampling process changed from a criterion based process, in which the site (coaching sub-culture) was central, to a network or snowball sampling approach (Sparkes & Smith, 2014). As is inferred by the name, the network approach utilised contacts that participants thought might be suitable and could provide information rich cases relating to the investigation

(Thorpe, 2012). In terms of the purposeful selection of participants, I made a conscious effort to select participants of varying coaching experience and level of coach accreditation so that I would get a cross section of the Australian swim coaching population (see limitations in Part D). Only one participant was known to me prior to the inception of this research project.

After reading the aims of this research, perceptions of the way that narratives are being used to bring about change could be assumed. However, while many of the stories developed contain confronting and powerfully moving passages, the express intention of the stories was to illuminate the instances that stand out in the participant coaches' minds as those that made a significant impact on their coaching practice and their participation in the sub-culture of coaching. As the researcher, I have tried to capture the positive nature of the personal narratives particularly as the coach participants saw many of the practices they experienced as entirely appropriate, acceptable and tolerable within their coaching development. The development of narratives for this project, a seemingly straightforward and linear process, became a journey of discovery made complex by the varying degrees of storytelling ability of participants and my willingness to retain the personality of the teller (coach participant) in and through the process.

Development of participant narratives.

Prior to the interview, participants were sent a mind mapping tool wherein they were asked to consider instances from their personal coach education journey that had a profound impact on their coaching practice. This included instances that occurred within the formal coach education process and within the

day to day experiences on the pool deck. Through this mind mapping process, participants could then note down names and dates that might help them to organise their thoughts in the next stage of the data collection process – the interview.

The second step in this process involved interviewing the participants. In the interview process, I followed Holloway's (1997) organisation of an unstructured interview, and began with an open ended question. This open ended question was, "in terms of the challenges you faced in the coach education pathway, can you tell me about some of the experiences you had as a developing coach that had the biggest impact on your coaching practice?" In this way the participant could start 'their' story as they wished. Throughout the course of the interview, I allowed the story to unfold, interrupting only to ask clarifying questions such as, "when or where an event took place, what else was happening in that scene?", and occasionally I asked for inner dialogue when this was omitted. This approach foregrounded the participants' voice in the process and in many instances resulted in unanticipated directions for the story (Sparkes & Smith, 2014). At times this approach also became unwieldy and difficult to drive due to the differing storytelling abilities of participants as noted by Sparkes and Smith (2014).

The third step involved the construction of the narratives from the interviews. As these interviews were recorded, I was able to reconstruct the stories into a text form. Mindful of Moon's (2010) and Sparkes' (2009) call for a balanced approach that included information beyond the event that might help the reader to feel and interpret the event as though they themselves were

immersed in it, I sent drafts of the stories back to the participant for consideration.

Fourth, was a back and forth process between myself, the researcher, and the participant. This is where the participant had the opportunity to elaborate and correct the text of the story in order to best reflect their recollection of events. They also provided additional layers of information such as body language, internal thoughts and how the environment and the situation impacted on their senses. In so doing, I was able to develop additional layers of richness such that the stories would provide numerous emotional and physical reference points for the reader. The finalisation of the participants' stories occurred when the individual participant was satisfied that the stories provided an accurate representation of the event and that both theirs and other persons anonymity was protected. The stories presented by each participant should not be interpreted as vignettes or short passages from a larger transcribed interview but rather as the storied form of the interview. While some participants' story telling ability was better than others, no meaningful sections of story were omitted from the original transcript.

Presentational form.

The common narrative phrasing of the stories is purposeful and reflects both the story teller's natural phrasing and conventions that most readers will be comfortable with. For ease of readership and to assist in the development of engaging stories that best reflect the events as described by the participants, I have utilised a common narrative phrasing. All of the stories are described from the first person perspective. This form evolved serendipitously and followed the

story tellers' natural instinct. As described in Chapter 3 above, the participants' natural ability as a narrator was embraced in such a way that their personality might be more easily differentiated by the reader.

The stories are presented in roman type and described from the first person perspective. All verbalised speech is contained within "quotation marks". Inner thoughts are *italicised* and contained within 'single quotation marks', and environmental information, including sounds, sights, smells and feelings are related as they occur within the story. Extended dialogue is accented by the use of a new line for each new speaker.

To protect the identity of participants, and those people that they interacted with in the various stories, all names (except my own) are pseudonyms. At the beginning of each collection of narratives, contextualising information is provided in regard to the stories that follow. This has occurred purposely to help the reader identify or position the event in relation to the coach's personal learning and development and the formal coach development pathway. In addition, the stories are presented in chronological order when possible.

Narrative analysis.

Thematic analysis of the narratives is the formalisation of the researcher's understanding of what occurred in the narratives. This analysis is completed with particular reference to the themes associated with tensions in the formal coach education process and relationships associated with the sub-culture of swim coaching in Australia. Thematic analysis of the narratives progressed as a two-step process. In the first step of this process I focussed exclusively on the content presented and recorded examples for conflict or instances where tensions arose

(Riessman, 2008; Smith & Sparkes, 2012). In the second stage of analysis, I scrutinised, explained and theorised from a disciplinary perspective instances of tension. In particular, themes and commonalities were drawn from the data to identify passages that indicated the presence of structural and social impediments, such as power and/or factors that could lead to conformity and/or coaching docility (Smith & Sparkes, 2012). I used Chase's (2005) notion of "the researcher's authoritative voice" to "connect and separate the researcher's and narrator's [orator's] voices" (p. 664). This authoritative interpretative voice was used alongside extracts from stories to develop linkages to conflicting discourses, the research question and the literature (Chase, 2005). In this way, connections were made and findings were presented in the form of a realist tale, which foregrounded the voice of the participant and made connections between stories, the research question and theory (Sparkes, 2005; Sparkes & Smith, 2014). This approach has two strengths; first, it allows the reader to vicariously experience the event, gaining valuable insight into the participant's perceptions of the events. Second, the reader can develop an understanding of the theoretical underpinnings and both consider the researchers (my) conclusion/s, and come to their own conclusions.

Verisimilitude.

As part of the development of the participants' narratives, one inherent consideration was to ensure the participants' own voice and their own way of telling could shine through. While the participant's voice and style must balance with Ellis' (2000) call for some criteria or measurable ability, the story has to communicate the "authenticity of the experience… without too much detail" (p.

275) or missed opportunity. This is not to suggest that each story must be measured against a list of universal criteria, but rather, as Sparkes (2000) suggested "not all criteria need apply on all occasions" (p. 37).

Of critical importance to this investigation is the "confidence we can have regarding conclusions made from measurement instruments" (Vaughn & Daniel, 2012, p. 33) which in this case, is narrative analysis. The notion of a parallel perspective to conceptualise validity is described by (Sparkes & Smith, 2014) as a determination of validity based on a "match between the constructed realities of respondents (or stakeholders) and those realities as represented by the evaluator" (Sparkes & Smith, 2014, p. 189). In order to achieve a measurable credibility in this investigation, I employed various techniques and strategies. The techniques I used specifically originated in the work of Guba and Lincoln (1989) and were used more recently by McDonough, Sabiston, and Crocker (2008) as a means of achieving trustworthiness. Sparkes (1998) suggested that the specific criteria that comprise trustworthiness include the concepts of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. Credibility determines that the "results reflect the participants' experiences of truth" (McDonough et al., 2008, p. 429). In this investigation, the concept of credibility was enhanced by interviewing participants more than once, having a cultural insider involved with the investigation and through the involvement of numerous researchers in the analysis of data. Transferability considers the "applicability of the findings to a larger population" (McDonough et al., 2008, p. 429). The resonance with the concept of transferability was strengthened through the use of rich descriptive data, direct quotations from the data and detailed background

information of participants so that the reader could make an informed judgement regarding potential transferability. Dependability relates to "whether the findings would be consistent if they were replicated" (McDonough et al., 2008, p. 429). This element of trustworthiness was enhanced by utilising two researchers' viewpoints in the analysis of the narratives. In addition, the concept of confirmability, or the "degree to which the results are objective and unbiased" (McDonough et al., 2008, p. 429) was enhanced through the involvement and perspectives of an independent researcher who is an acknowledged expert in the field of sociological investigation of sporting cultures. Through the involvement of this expert, and their ability to challenge conclusions drawn, confirmability was enhanced.

Power-empowerment and therapy.

This project began with the hope that I could have space and opportunity to reflect on and process any experiences that had shaped my personal coaching journey. The broadening scope of the investigation to include cultural change as well as the inclusion of a number of additional participant coaches brings about significant opportunity but also potential harm. Pillow (2003) suggested that power associated with research relations must be investigated and acknowledged if one truly intends to be a non-exploitative researcher. One such question that Pillow (2003) suggested a researcher should ask is, "how can I produce research that can bring about positive change for others (cultural change) and for the participants?" To do this I considered the perspective of Oakley (1981) who suggested a modified approach that rejected the traditional view of doing research 'on' participants but rather changing the focus, developing reciprocity

and “equalising the research relationship” (Pillow, 2003, p. 179) by researching *with* my colleague coaches. Pillow (2003) encouraged researchers to be rigorously self-aware of the power differential and to remain critically reflexive within the research process to allow us to deconstruct authority within the research. As such, I implemented a number of strategies to ensure power differentials were limited in and through the research process. First, I ensured the personal stories of the participants were first presented as a fully elaborated story in the ‘Part B Narratives’ section of this thesis. The primary reason for this was so the stories could be first read in their entirety allowing space for the reader to develop their understanding and consider alternate points of view before the researchers’ voice overlayed their interpretation.

Second, empowerment was a key consideration, and as Lather (1986) explained, the degree of reciprocity must be determined by the degree to which the research design “reorients, focuses and energizes participants toward knowing reality in order to transform it” (p. 272). As such, in this research process, I actively sought to provide opportunities for participants to seek “clarity, with the possibility of gaining new insights and achieve ‘order’ in relation to their” (McMahon & Penney, 2011, p. 6) experiences. This occurred readily within the editing process of narratives when participants talked about their reasoning at the time. McMahon and Penney (2011) suggested that in order to release the emancipatory potential of participant involvement, the researcher must first accord both respect and authority to the participant. This allows them to achieve a level of “clarity in relation to past and current events, experiences and emotions that they had not previously achieved” (McMahon & Penney,

2011, p. 12). At the conclusion of each interview in this investigation, participants talked about how the process of telling their story was exhausting but they felt better for having told it. This was relayed most eloquently by one participant when she remarked spontaneously at the end of the interview:

> *It has been quite a therapeutic process actually [laughs]. I really haven't told this stuff to anyone before and it certainly brings back some painful memories. I need to let go of some of the images that are imprinted on my mind I think [laughs]. Actually we encourage people to record learning journals in my job now in order to debrief. Stories seem to be an interesting way to do the same thing, and I really appreciate the opportunity to tell my story here.*

Reflexive practice and praxis.

This research encourages both the participant as well as myself (researcher/participant) to develop a deep understanding through self-reflection, primarily through mutual negotiation of power. The first instance in which power can be identified and negotiated is the power differential between the researcher and the researched, and the second, between data and theory (Lather, 1986). The mutual recognition of power and the rigorous self-awareness of the power differential in research, as noted above, guide this researcher to be reflective and develop what Lather (1986) referred to as research as praxis, wherein positive action can be realised. The second instance is the grounding of theory within the data. The reciprocal relationship between data and theory refers to the way that the data proposes the theoretical framework. The result is

an elaboration and explanation of experience through theory rather than an abstract framework in which data can be contained (Lather, 1986).

Ethical considerations.

Ethical considerations of this investigation were first formalised via the application for ethical consent from the Tasmanian Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC). The project received ethical approval on the 7th of November 2012 (see Appendix 1) and satisfied annual progress reports in 2013, 2014 and 2015. The four main ethical principles required to achieve approval to undertake such an investigation included gaining informed consent, ensuring the investigation was free of active deception, maintaining participant confidentiality, and the data is accurate (Christians, 2000).

This investigation was considered minimal risk as the only foreseeable risk may have been one of discomfort. In this study I also make use of collections of non-identifiable data. An information sheet (see Appendix 2) was developed which invited participation and detailed the project aims. In order to gain informed consent the information sheet also detailed benefits and potential risks as a result of participation. It was therefore a requirement that the information sheet be read by potential participants and any ambiguity explained by the researcher before the participant signed the consent form (see Appendix 3).

Social and relational research, particularly when investigating relationships that may come to impact on our status and progress within a sub-culture could be confronting and uncomfortable for participants. The narratives that form the data for this research included interactions with past and present employees of SA, (coaches and administrators), agents of SA (volunteer coaches, administrators,

swim club office holders and officials), and self-employed swimming coaches affiliated with SA. In order to prevent any "threat, manipulation or harm" to these persons, their identity and some locations will be "layered in confidentiality" (Pittman & Maxwell, 1992, p. 756). In the case of the co-constructed narratives (elaborated in the method section below), the discretion of the participant was favoured in such a way that participants could feel secure in their anonymity. All names used (except the author) are therefore pseudonyms, and many sites of action are intentionally veiled to protect the anonymity of the participant. The participant pseudonyms chosen are non-gender specific, however this does not imply that gender is unimportant, but rather, that it is felt that highlighting social structures relating to gender may have clouded the focus of this investigation.

Aside from the traditional ethical positions required by the HREC, my aim in and through the research process was to maintain the highest ethical approach. To this end, I am mindful of Sparkes and Smith's (2014) call to consider what Lahman, Geist, Rodriguez, Graglia, and DeRoche (2011) described as *aspirational ethics*. This stance encourages researchers to strive for ethics greater than the minimum standard. With particular reference to this, my ethical aspirations within this investigation were reflexive in nature. As a researcher, I was aware of and paid special attention to the power imbalances between the researcher and participant. I utilised a methodology that elevated the transparency of "what was discovered and how it was discovered" (Sparkes & Smith, 2014, p. 213). Finally, I aimed to be responsive, within the research process, to situations that might compromise the safety, dignity or privacy of the

participants. This included the purposeful non-pursuit of storylines that were overly laden with emotion or those that might expose the teller. This selective process was nuanced and can be best described as intuition aligned with empathy.

PART B: Participant and Personal Narratives

Warm-up.

This section follows an elaboration of the broad outline of theory that is utilised to make meaning from narratives. Armed with a general understanding of the theoretical perspectives of the investigation the reader can immerse themselves in participant and personal narratives. The inclusion of the fully elaborated narratives presented prior to the analysis occurs to purposely "create space for a different understanding" (Drewery & Winslade, 1997, p. 43). In this way, the reader might develop their personal point of view before the researchers' interpretive voice is overlayed. This section of the investigation introduces the coaches and contextualises their experiences with reference to their progress on the coach learning continuum of Swimming Australia.

Individual participant narratives have a dedicated chapter, such that individual stories can be more easily identified when referenced in the analysis section. Simple generative titles were used to make clear distinction between stories from the same participant. These titles were developed by me and usually reference an important element in the narrative.

Chapter 4: Introducing the Coaches

The recruitment of coaches to participate in this investigation has been elaborated in detail above. However, it is felt that in order for the reader to gain a clearer understanding of where the participants fit within the coach development pathway, a more detailed description is required. People come to coaching from many diverse backgrounds and for a variety of reasons. As noted in the descriptions below, participants span a wide variety of ages, sporting backgrounds and previous coaching backgrounds before entering the Australian swim coach development pathway. This has been an intentional choice as the participants' background, age and experiences may influence how each of them might respond to the various influencing forces at play.

Jaime and Bailey both come from a competitive swimming background. Bailey competed as an elite age-group swimmer and was a regular competitor at Australian national age-group competitions and state based open-age competitions. Bailey did not compete in swimming beyond formal schooling and entered Australia's coach education pathway in her early 30s when her children were old enough to train and race competitively. Bailey coached age-group swimmers aspiring to compete at the National championship level.

Jaime competed with success as an age-group and open-age swimmer both in Australia and internationally. At the conclusion of her competitive swimming career, in her early 20s she began to teach swimming before entering the Australian coach education pathway and acting as the head coach of a community swimming club. Jaime coached elite age group swimmers who competed at state and national age group competitions.

Nick and Quinn entered coaching during tertiary education as a means of expanding the application of their university study program and as a way to augment their income. From here, their career trajectories diverged significantly. In part, due to his experiences, Nick coached junior swimmers. The main focus of this group was the development of their competitive strokes as many aspired to compete at school and district swimming competitions. Quinn coached swimmers ranging from junior age group to elite open as well as international competitors. Quinn achieved a silver licence accreditation and was selected as a head coach to represent a national team at a major international competition.

Micah entered the Australian swim coach pathway after success at a district level as a netball coach. This followed a long standing personal participation in netball at the district level. Micah began her involvement in swimming in her mid-30s by teaching swimming before progressing quickly to coaching. She coached at a number of large metropolitan swim centres and worked with swimmers aspiring to compete at the state age group level.

I currently hold a silver licence to coach swimming in Australia. When I achieved this accreditation level, there was a three tier system in place with gold being the highest level that a coach could achieve. Many of the experiences described below occurred during my transition from bronze to silver license accreditation. I have coached swimmers from their very first experiences in formal training through to elite age-group and state open-age swimming competitions. Throughout my coaching career, I have acted as a head coach to a number of community swim clubs based mainly in regional urban centres as opposed to larger metropolitan areas. This has the effect of making learning

opportunities with mentor coaches and others officers from swimming Australia brief but intense. I currently coach a group of Masters Swimmers. In this role, masters swimmers in my squad have achieved success at both national and international level.

Chapter 5: Jaime

Bilateral breathing.

I was a fairly successful as a swimmer. I made state teams from a very young age and was eventually selected to swim for Australia. When I left school, I didn't know what to do for a job, and I suppose I just tried to go with what I knew. I did my coaching course and approached a local club about an advertised job looking for a junior coach.

After four weeks of shadowing, it was finally time for me to coach my own group of kids. I arrived early to the pool before the session. I was eager to start. My boss and mentor coach is what you could describe as 'full on', always has an opinion and is super blunt. I had spent the last few weeks dancing around this person so I did not get into too much trouble. When I think back now it was a crazy situation. I brought a lot of experience as a swimmer and had always been super motivated and organised. On the inside, I felt like I couldn't please this person, as no matter what I did, he always found something to pick on. My mentor was already at the pool when I arrived on that day to take my first session. He went through the list of children that I would be coaching. As we moved through the list, the strengths and weaknesses of each child were explained; what I should be focussing on; what the children's parents were like and how I should discipline the children. I nodded at everything that was said, not daring to speak up even though I found myself disagreeing with some of the stuff. You see, over the last four weeks, I had got to know some of the children in the group that I will be taking today, and I found that my views of them were

differing to that of my mentor. I stay silent, all the same and listen, not daring to contradict.

The kids' rock up for their session, excited that I am taking it. I cannot wait to get them on my own and get to know them a little more. My eagerness is somewhat squashed as my mentor grabs a chair and sits only metres away from where I am instructing.

Shit, I did not know he was going to sit in on the session, I think to myself. He is close enough to see and hear everything.

I can feel the uncertainty well up inside as he glares at me waiting for me to start the session. I start to speak, just the sets that we are going to do. I don't try to connect with the swimmers like I know I should. I stick to safe ground and speak at the group, loudly telling them the set twice, like he has shown me. I know that this is not me and that I am just seeking approval and more importantly wanting to avoid getting in trouble. The tone in my voice as I interact with my squad lacks warmth, it is strict. I tell them to get started and that when they are swimming the set, that we are going to concentrate on body roll and breathing in freestyle. While the swimmers can execute the stroke efficiently, they still need work on these areas.

> "Ok!" I yell to get everyone's attention, "We are going to do 4 laps easy freestyle. I want to see you concentrating on breathing every third stroke – bilateral. I am looking for your best swimming."

As the kids begin pushing off the wall to start their warm-up, I notice some poor streamlines and I glance over to my mentor. He is still staring at me but offers me nothing - not a nod, not a smile, nothing. He looks cranky but I am not

sure if it is me or the kids that is making him cranky. I get panicky again and question in my mind whether I am good enough to be doing this.

I thought it was supposed to be fun, if not for me, then at least for the swimmers.

I try to block out the head coach's stare and focus my energy on the kids as they swim up and down the pool. I notice that most of them are doing what I have asked, except for one little girl who is having trouble. She is not only having trouble breathing to the side but also breathing every third stroke (bilateral). As I am about to approach her, my mentor clicks his fingers like a person who is in a restaurant trying to get a waiter's attention. I turn towards him and he points to the same swimmer that I have already noticed. His face is screwed up and looks angry. "Fix that" he says, "That needs to be corrected now!"

I nod and smile. Even though I was about to correct the little girl, I feel like I am in trouble. I quickly scan the parents on the pool deck and they have all heard the interaction between me and my boss. I feel like a failure but try and stay focussed. At this stage I am holding back tears, there are three other coaches on pool deck and everyone's attention seems to be on me so I just try and hold my emotion in.

I stop the little girl who is struggling with her breathing and talk her through what she is supposed to be doing. I ask her if she understands what I am saying. But before she can respond, my mentor interrupts our conversation.

He calls out from his chair, "You need to hold her head and do it for her!" I feel panicky again. I do not feel at all comfortable with manipulation of the little

girl's head. I know that he wants it done like that, but it does not sit right with me. With a little shrug of my shoulders, I do it anyhow. I don't want to get into trouble anymore. It all feels incredibly awkward, I want this job, I want to coach, I need to do these hours here otherwise I will have to start over somewhere else. If my mentor refuses to sign off my hours, I won't get certified and I am back to square one.

I gently hold the swimmer's head and turn it to the side, talking her through the motion it as I do it. I hear a creak of springs as the boss gets up off his chair and strides up behind me. I feel rather than see him standing there for a few moments. Then, he bends down onto one knee and pushes my hands away. He calls out with unnecessary loudness, "that's not how you do it. Do it like this!" He grabs the girls head aggressively and aggressively turns it to the side. I cringe as he does it. I feel like he is trying to attract attention to my stuff up and I know everyone in the pool area must be watching and listening. He stands back up on the edge of the pool and watches with hands on hips as the little girl swims on, mechanically turning her head every three strokes. Then he looks down at me as if to say, 'see, how easy that was?'

I feel a knot in my stomach and I feel tightness in my shoulders. *This is not how I want to coach.* I think to myself. *I know I have to do it though if I want to keep my job here. Suck it up! It won't always be like this.*

Intensity.

I had been coaching for around 12 months and had been taking a few sessions without anyone looking over me. I found that those sessions were like a breath of fresh air. The times when I was on my own, I am reminded why I have chosen to coach.

I arrive at training to take the kids. It's Tuesday afternoon, my rostered afternoon. When I get to the pool deck, my boss (and senior squad coach) is already standing next to the pool. At first I am a bit confused because I thought I was rostered on to take the junior kids. I walk in and say hi to my boss. He sort of snuffs and raises his head in response.

Bloody hell, is he going to be here the whole session? I think bitterly. The kids walk in and a few high five me as they usually do. I notice my mentor watching as the kids interact with me. The kids start their stretching as they are supposed to; they are laughing and interacting with each other.

The boss steps up beside me, "You had better step on that stupid behaviour!"

I am not sure what he is talking about. The kids are doing what they are supposed to but are just laughing and talking as they do it. I don't think they are doing it any less effectively. As I am thinking about what he means and how I should say it, he steps past me towards the kids stretching and starts to speak. "If you guys are not going to stretch properly (he is pointing at the kids), you can get in the water and start doing a 1 kilometre of butterfly for your warm-up!" My mood as well as the mood of the kids suddenly darkens. The kids do their stretching but instead of talking, they do it in silence.

The coach stands directly beside me, “Where is your session written? Do you know what you are going to give them today?”

I point to my bag. “Well, go get it.” He says, swinging his index finger in a circular motion to hurry me up.

I walk over to my bag, get it out and walk back towards him. He holds his hand out, motioning me to place the program in his hand. As soon as I place it in his hand, he opens up the piece of paper which was folded in half. I feel my body stiffen as I wait for him to read what I have written.

I see his eyes roll as he starts to read, “Oh come on. They need more intensity than this. They are just going to be loafing up and down the pool with the session you have set. How do you expect them to improve with a session like that?”

He gets a pen out of his pocket and crosses out parts of the session I have written, writing his sets down instead. I already can predict that it is going to be hard, boring and long. I feel sorry for the kids. I say nothing. It feels like my shoulders have shrunken…and I am breathing in little sighs. *Hope he isn’t going to watch me the whole session*. But sure enough he takes two steps up into the grandstand directly behind me. I can see the kids looking over my shoulder at the head coach as I begin to tell them what they are going to do for the warm-up.

Secrecy.

I am on the pool deck getting the kickboards, pull buoys and other training equipment ready for the session. I have set a really interesting but tough session for today. Some of the swimmers are just finishing their stretching off, while others are getting their caps and goggles on – ready to get in. My boss rushes

onto pool deck. I wonder what he is doing here as it is my rostered day to take the session. He walks quickly, as a matter of urgency over to me. As he gets closer, I can see he is short of breath and wanting to talk to me. I start to fret that I am in trouble, *what the heck have I done*?

He starts to speak in between his gasps for air, "Ok, you have to change the session."

I am surprised but not surprised, "What do you mean? I have a heart rate set planned. Remember, you checked that it was ok yesterday?"

"I have another coach coming in to watch our sessions. I don't want him knowing what we really do. Just give a recovery session, ok?"

I am a little relieved and reply, "Yep that's fine."

He walks back to the grandstand, steps up to the third row, and sits down. He is rubbing his chin with a concerned look on his face. It is not long after that when the 'other' coach arrives. My boss greets him like he is an old football buddy. I think that is a bit strange. I find myself wondering, *why is he acting like his friend, but underneath, he is so worried about him seeing a heart rate session that we had planned?* I overhear part of their conversation.

> … "Yeah, we did a huge set yesterday, Jonnie (swimmer) was repeating 100s at record pace. Did you see he broke the state record at winter champs? Anyway, we are only doing a recovery session this afternoon. Sorry about that mate."
>
> "Yeah, yeah, No worries mate. Geez he's looking good in the water (points to Jonnie), maybe next time I can come and see him really moving."

I feel like a bit of a third wheel probably coach these kids for the majority of their sessions but here he is taking all the credit. He does it with the parents too when the kids are going well, always ready to take credit. As I stand there on pool deck waiting for the swimmers to get in. I wonder why my boss hasn't introduced me.

Professional development.

After a full on week of coaching as well as learn to swim, I feel tired as I drag myself out of bed on Sunday morning to attend a professional development session held at the pool. As I walk into the pool, the whole team of staff is there ready to learn. I notice one of the Australian representative swimmers is also there. They train with my boss. I am not sure what they are doing here?

My boss starts to speak. His tone is gruff which startles me a little. I immediately sit quietly, eyes focussed on him, not daring to look anywhere else but at him. "Alright, gather around. None of you have been teaching freestyle properly. You need to start doing it properly. You cannot be working for me and compromising my name doing it another way."

The Australian representative swimmer gets in the water. So does my boss. I have never actually seen him in the water, so find it a little amusing. I catch myself about to laugh but cut it off into a cough so I don't get into trouble.

The head coach calls to the swimmer, who is standing ready at the end of the pool, "I want you to do the freestyle progression, starting from lateral kick."

The swimmer looks a bit confused, lifts his goggles onto his head and with a shrug, asks the head coach to explain further? I can't believe this guy does not know lateral kick. I am sure I would be shot if I got that response from my

swimmers. My mind is racing, *they must not do it very often? Have they never done it? Or is this technique now beneath them?*

I notice that one of the other coaches whispers in the ear of another male coach sitting beside her. My boss sees it and launches into them, "You are not bloody here so that you can have your own conversations! You guys need to listen and learn this and do it my way, otherwise you are out!"

The coaches' faces drop. *I am just so glad that wasn't me on the receiving end of that,* I think to myself. Everyone knows that the boss is in one of his moods, so you could hear a pin drop for the rest of the session. After some gesturing by the head coach, the swimmer starts swimming up and down the pool, changing the progression drill on each lap. My boss is walking in the water beside him, watching his every move. He is explaining as he goes. One of my colleagues asks a question to my boss about body roll but he doesn't hear. So, she directs it at the person sitting beside her.

The head coach sees the conversation occurring and turns red in the face, "Right, if you don't want to learn – then just get out. Get out!" He yells pointing to the door.

My colleague actually starts to stand up, her face has gone white and she looks like a kid who just got a smack and doesn't know why. Luckily for her though someone at the back speaks up, "Mate, she asked you a question but you did not hear so she asked the person next to her."

The head coach mumbles under his breath, points at her, and tells her to sit down. *Right,* I think to myself. *This is going to be a long day. Need to listen carefully. Need to get this right. Need to do it his way.*

Chapter 6: Bailey

I finished swimming competitively when I was 16 and had quite a few years off. I got back into it when I was 31 because my son had started swimming. At this time, I found myself getting involved with the swimming community again. I suppose I wanted to give back and help the next generation.

I started out by volunteering at competition meets. Then I got involved with officiating and finally started coaching for the club that my children swam with. The first squad was a mini-squad of seven to 11year olds. I was not officially qualified at this stage so I got training on the job until I completed the *'Towards competitive strokes'* certificate. My mentor coach at the time was really helpful, informative and encouraging. He wasn't the sort of coach that would hide the skills that he had learned. He was really open to sharing everything that worked for him as a coach. You could tell that he just wanted the best for his swimmers and for the sport. I would often head down to the pool and work alongside him. He had a few lanes and I had a few lanes, but we would swap, or he would drag me over to show me something. He always gave me the space to express myself as a coach and did not try to lord it over me like I had heard happened to friends who were starting out like me.

A weekend course.

When the opportunity came up, I undertook my bronze coaching licence. For me, this was the first time that I really got frustrated in my swimming journey. The course started on the Friday and went through to Sunday. If you can imagine, we were in a seminar room in a government building and the presenters set up the space like a lecture where they had a desk at the front and we were all

facing them. Throughout the course it did not feel like they really wanted to listen to anything that we had to say because they seemed annoyed anytime someone (usually me) asked a question or asked them to clarify “why” a particular approach was best.

At one point I asked the presenters, “What are your thoughts on USRPT (a form of short, high intensity training pioneered in the US)”. They just looked at me down their noses and when they answered, I felt like they didn't really know what it was and they closed off discussion by saying, “Traditionally, Australian coaches develop speed through endurance!” The speaker moved on quickly and I sensed he was uncomfortable because he turned his body slightly and directed his next instruction to the people in the back corner of the group. I totally felt cut out, but I also a felt a little sorry for them that they were not open to new ideas. I continued to try to open up discussion, but by mid-morning I felt a little like I had done something wrong and I wasn’t fitting into the group. The three word answers and body language told me that the presenters were getting annoyed and it became a little intimidating as I felt like I was regularly being shut down in front of the group. It was subtle but I really felt the change in the presenters’ attitude towards me. In the end, I tried to make myself feel better by questioning in my head whether this was going to be their loss.

Early in the course, we were asked by one of the presenters to write down our coaching philosophy in three dot points! I couldn't believe it. I could have written a page. It seemed to me by the way they structured the lesson that there was a right or wrong answer, and we needed at least three points that lined up with their idea of a coaching philosophy. I believe that coaching is very

individual and this course only really offered one or two boxes to tick. I really could not see myself in any of their neat boxes as I merged across boxes and into areas that they had not really included. I didn't feel like I had the space to verbalise my thinking. The presenters seemed to have a super strict schedule that only included their views rather than any collaboration or discussion. I felt like they were using a cookie cutter, you know; bang here is the course, now we are off to the next place. I feel like this just produced carbon copies, or coaches who always do the same thing. There was no room for innovation nor any suggestion that innovation was a good or appropriate.

It was most frustrating when I started to hear the same stuff that I had learned as a swimmer some 15 years ago, being regurgitated like no time had passed. I knew that this stuff, which included training technique that was rubbish back then and here we were 15 years later all nodding our heads saying ‘Yes, yes, what a good idea.’ At the end of the course I walked out with more questions than answers and no real understanding of how I could work towards my own better understanding. I was devastated, because I wanted to be able to provide those game changing moments in kids’ lives where they looked back and said; wow that was the best! I can remember so vividly my old coach, when I was an age group swimmer, he came up with all manner of madcap ideas to make us feel fast in the water. He had the connection that I wanted and was willing to try new things. It made my life as a swimmer a learning experience rather than just train and race.

I think what was most frustrating was the feeling that we/ I was being treated like a hick from the country. The two guys that presented the course were

obviously mates, having swum together in their childhood, and there were times I got the feeling that they were there on a junket. On the first morning of the course they were laughing about their sore heads from a bender at a club the night before. Even more telling was the dinner and drinks that they put on at the end of the course. I felt like the money could have been more wisely spent bringing resources or experience to the session.

Balancing act.

I suppose that this experience really turned me off furthering the formal side of my coach education. I began to look at ‘on the job training’ as my way forward. In this respect, I was lucky that my mentor coach was so generous. I don't feel like a weekend course does enough to prepare you as a swimming coach, and I get that you can learn things from other coaches, but those things can be a little directionless, a pearl here or there but not a well thought out or planned learning experience.

I also felt like working under my new mentor coach was an emotional balancing act. I worked alongside Jan, another junior coach, who was doing her bronze licence at the time. She was the assistant to the head coach but in terms of swimming experience, I had been in the game a lot longer than both the head coach and Jan. This made it difficult if I asked questions about the direction of particular training sessions. I can remember that at one stage the swimmers were preparing for national school based meet that was a huge deal in their swimming careers. The head coach was giving lots of sprints throughout the week and then a five kilometre time trial on the Friday. Some of the parents were starting to grumble about it. I really was not sure about why he did it and when I asked, he

just sort of ignored the question. I talked to Jan, the other assistant coach and there was an almost immediate reaction. The head coach made a big statement about this and that event coming up and why we should be doing the long work. Then he came and had a go at me as though I was undermining him.

"Don't go behind my back to try and get what you want, this isn't school" he said. I suppose I got an answer but this is just one example of how I had to play the game if I wanted something.

The only other experience of formal coach development, and probably the one that cemented my opinion of Australian Swimming and their understanding of what coaches need was when two senior coaches came to town to hold a clinic for advanced swimmers. The clinic was for swimmers who had achieved a particular qualifying standard, so we are talking about swimmers who have made a significant investment in the sport. Anyway these guys, both very high up in their state in terms of experience and clout, seemed to just be 'winging it[5]'. There was no logic or obvious preparation to the sessions, which came as a surprise. They tried to sell us new and innovative technique that I had experienced as a swimmer ten years ago. They kept reminding us of their experience and the achievements of their swimmers, and seemed not to be able to speak with the other coaches present as equals. The hardest thing to swallow about all of this was that the main coach that day became the nominated mentor for silver licence coaches as they went through their accreditation. So you didn't

[5] Colloquial term meaning to improvise with little preparation.

even get a choice in the matter. The local swimming association had invested the money into getting these guys up here, and that was that, like it or lump it.

Chapter 7: Nick

A trial by fire.

I have stopped coaching swimming now, partly because I am concentrating on my university studies, and partly because of my early experiences with my second mentor coach. I had completed the theoretical elements of my qualification and worked with a mentor coach to achieve the required hours to get accredited. I worked under a young coach who seemed to know his stuff. He was sort of generous with his mentoring help but he was getting a free worker and he knew that I would not be competing with him for a job because he was on a permanent contract. When I applied to work at J Aquatics (a pseudonym), I assumed that it was a paid position. A friend of mine had put my name forward when the club mentioned that they needed additional coaches.

When I met with the head coach she asked me a little about my experiences as she showed me around the pool. She described the program and how each of the squads worked in intricate detail, and stated that, 'if I was to work there I would need to know all of this as soon as possible'. I can remember feeling the pressure to remember everything that she had said. She talked a little more about how they ran their program and then asked me to complete an employment information form. I guessed that this would just be general stuff like address and contact details but on the second page there was a technique test. At this point I realised that Andrea the head coach was standing over my shoulder. I wasn't ready for it and was suddenly very nervous. Anyway, I filled out most of it but began to stumble when I got to the end of the Breaststroke progression. I could feel Andrea watching the hesitation of my pen and though I am not really one to

be anxious, I became really uncomfortable. At one point after I had stopped writing she asked about my previous experiences and why I did not know this stuff. From this discussion, she concluded that I would need to shadow one of her coaches before I would be capable of taking any of the squads.

She actually said, “I want you to start again with us, forget what you think you know. We are still keen to employ you but I want to train you.”

So I was back to square one. Andrea told me that I had to do the equivalent of my accreditation hours again but there was no need for me to log them as she would monitor my progress. It was clear that in order to get the job she wanted me to do my hours again, unpaid, despite being accredited. I felt compelled to accept the situation because I had struggled with her induction test.

For the next few weeks, I shadowed her as she coached and during this time I never really felt like she integrated me into the coaching role, it was more like; just watch, and do it exactly like this. This learning environment was really awkward for me because I have an enquiring mind, and always want to know ‘why’. She didn’t explain the reasoning behind her decisions, or discuss how her ideas worked, she was like a robot when she ran the session and she wanted me to use the exact same technique.

On the odd occasion that I asked Andrea a question about what was happening in the session she would half turn her body away from me and shut me down with really short answers. I still feel like I brought good energy to the sessions but this rammed the message home about me being there to learn but not being heard. I even asked at one stage to help with the session, but she looked at me like I was crazy.

Andrea said, “This is how you learn, just keep your eyes and ears open.”

It was not an ideal situation, I did not feel valued in terms of what I could bring to the club, however I kept telling myself that I had to tough it out. At the time I also watched what the other coaches and noticed that they did a number of things to avoid voicing an opinion around Andrea, and in this way I suppose that I integrated into their systems. In particular, I realised that loud or shouted instructions that Andrea could overhear were words and phrases that Andrea used regularly. On the flipside, the coaches spoke more quietly when expressing their opinion.

Almost 3 months after my interview I started getting paid to coach. I arrived for my first session about half an hour before the swimmers were scheduled to start so that I could show Andrea what I had planned. I handed her the booklet that I had my planning in and stood nervously at the front counter while she read the session. Things descended quickly when she read the session, she seemed to go from happy to irate in seconds.

She snapped, “This won’t do! You are going to run out of work for them to do. What makes you think this is OK?”

I was like, “Oh, OK what do you suggest?”

But she had walked off to get a pen and began furiously writing additional stuff at the bottom of the session. She was huffing and puffing and I could tell she was furious. The whole situation was as awkward as ever. I had come with a little bit of nervous energy about taking the sessions, but within seconds I was like a Kangaroo in the headlights, I didn’t know which way to jump. I could not

see how the reaction matched the provocation. In hindsight, I realised that a simple suggestion that I could add more to the session would have done the job.

In the heat of the moment though I didn't think so logically, I was thinking, *'shit what have I got myself into.'* I didn't feel in control, but I was really determined not to let her know that she had cracked me.

So I just said, "Yep, no worries" and I headed into the pool area and started to get ready for the session. I was wound up tight on the inside and felt like every eye in the centre was on me. By the time the kids were through their warm-up, I began to relax a little. No sooner had I settled myself when she was out on pool deck just lurking near my squad. She would pick up a kickboard and just wander close enough to hear, and it was a bit like a comedy skit. If I looked at her, she would look away and as soon as I turned away she would glide over a little closer. This sort of watching over me happened for weeks and I felt like I was going a little crazy. The other thing she would do was sit next to a parent at the other end of the pool with her arms and legs crossed, just glaring at me for the first 20 minutes of the session.

I could feel her stare the whole time I was coaching. Eventually though, it looked like she was going to let me get on with things without the close attention. I soon realised that this was not really the case when another coach pointed out that she was watching me coach through the one way glass. This coach had happened to walk through the office, which overlooked the pool, and Andrea was leaning on the window like she was at a bar, just watching me coach. After a few weeks, I began to notice the subtle shadow that fell on the glass when someone was directly behind it. I was never really sure that it was me

she was watching, but when I saw the shadow I always got a bit of a sick feeling in my gut.

Not long after this, Andrea again became a bit more intrusive into my sessions. One particular time, I saw her storm through the door from the reception and stride out onto the pool deck. I felt like time stood still as she made her way towards me. She marched over to my squad and in front of the whole squad (who were between sets) and a few of the parents that had stayed to watch, she shouted, “Stop, that's not right.”

She just sort of pushed in between me and the side of the pool so the kids could not see me and started shouting [at me but towards the kids], “You can’t do that. You need to do it like this. Right, Tiffanie come over here….”, and proceeded to hijack my session. Once she had the kids moving again she turned to me and said, “Go and clean up the boards there would you?” I wasn’t even allowed to stay and see what she was going to do with them. I was dumfounded, I just could not figure out how this would help me learn or the swimmers.

It was the same when I mentioned that I was unsure of an upcoming session where we would be working on competitive diving. At the time she just encouraged me to read the manual, but on the day of the session when I asked for more advice she just huffed and pushed passed me saying, “If you don’t know what you are doing I will take the session myself.” All I really wanted was for her to take me through it the first time because I had not seen her or any of the other coaches demonstrate the skill, but I managed to frustrate her to such an extent that she took over.

Hawk-eye.

The other thing that she would do was latch onto parents as they walked out, and I often overheard her asking ‘Are you happy with the session today?’ I couldn’t believe it, it was like she was trying to catch me out, or find a way to get to me. From my discussions with the parents, they seemed genuinely happy. I felt like I should be getting better really quickly because the pressure was on after every session when Andrea would rip my program apart. We would usually stand on pool deck and even though we stood quite close Andrea would yell about the things that she didn’t like. Not once did she praise me on the successful elements of the session, so that was a bit disheartening.

It wasn't long before a particularly critical mum, perhaps encouraged by Andrea’s constant questioning, had a real go at me. At the end of this specific session as I was walking past the reception Andrea called me over and just hit me with it.

“Amanda’s mum has mentioned to me that that you are not really giving Amanda much attention throughout the session”, She said.

I was like, “Really? Well I suppose she could think that but with Andrew [Andrew was Autistic, a strong swimmer, but he just needed a little more explicit instruction than everyone else] is in that session it can be really tough giving every one equal help.”

Andrea sort of ignored that and said, “She let it go for a few weeks because she knew that you are new here at J Aquatics, but today she said that she’d had enough and she came in to the reception furious.

I was initially shocked because I thought that the session had gone well. I asked, “What’s the problem?”

Andrea continued by saying, “she timed your session and you only gave Amanda seven minutes in the whole session!”

I was stunned, I didn't even have time to figure out in my mind the number of kids in the squad compared to the time we had, and seven minutes each was probably quite fair. Anyway I just felt trapped by the comment and my stumbling answer just seemed to get Andrea more worked up. I tried to stay calm and talked through what I would do in the next session to make sure that Amanda was catered for. Things simmered down, but the very next session as soon as Amanda walked onto the pool deck, Andrea went into ‘hawk eye mode’, she barely made any effort to conceal what she was doing and I felt really intimidated, you know I was like ‘a cat on a hot tin roof’ worried that she would scream and yell and take over the session. In part, because of this close attention I felt like my execution fell away. I finished the session exhausted and disheartened. She actually said at the end that that I didn’t do too badly, but I came across as nervous!

Shortly after this I noticed that my pay rate changed down to the training wage. It was only a few dollars but I ended up asking the accounts lady about it. She thought it might have been because my accreditation had not come through and that I should speak to the head coach. I knew it could not have anything to do with my accreditation because I had been receiving the correct accredited coaching wage for weeks.

Anyway, I confronted Andrea and she said, “Well I’m not really happy to be honest with how you have been performing. You know you have had some issues with Amanda’s mum… Just your general sessions, I just don’t think you are there yet and I am not prepared to keep paying you the full wage.”

I was stunned, I really didn't know what to say. I could clearly picture her email stating the coaching wage, and I could not imagine that this was anything more than just a petty response to our recent disagreement with Amanda’s mum.

I said, “Andrea, it’s only a few dollars.” Inside I was thinking, *you have gone out of your way to intimidate me and hurt me for a few dollars?* That part hurt more than any slight financial loss.

She just retorted, “Hmm, well that’s just how I feel” And with that she turned and walked off. I tried to keep my chin up as I walked out into the car park, in my mind I kept repeating, *what have I got myself into?*

She eventually emailed me later in the week and changed her mind about my wage. She agreed that it was the wrong thing to do and let me know that she had instructed the accounts lady to reinstate the appropriate wage.

Good cop-Bad cop.

Midway through the season I was called in to a meeting with Andrea and her main assistant coach Jan. Apparently all of the junior coaches were going to have a similar meeting but I wasn’t convinced. So we went into a one of the back rooms and Andrea started by asking, “So how do you think your sessions are going?”

She seemed on edge and the question really felt condescending. I tried to be positive but on the inside I had a bit of a sinking feeling about the whole thing. I

tried to be diplomatic when I replied, “Yeah, I think they are going well.” And went on to mention some of the things that I was working on. I talked about some of the kids that I thought were struggling. Jan was quite helpful and even offered some suggestions, but Andrea would just butt in and reiterate the problem and sort of lay the blame at my feet. This went on for some time. Andrea began by pointing out elements of my programming that she thought were *‘bad’*, and Jan offered helpful suggestions. It was just like one of those classic ‘good cop, bad cop’ type interrogations that you see in the movies, and would probably have looked comical to the fly on the wall. For me, it was a little more confronting because Jan was sitting down opposite me and Andrea was just sort of leaning over me with one hand on the edge of the desk.

I think that it was because of this particular interaction that I began to avoid Andrea in favour of speaking with Jan when I had an issue. I am sure that this was being perceived by Andrea as disrespect, but I really just felt like it was self-preservation.

I knew that the programs that I set were working and that kids were improving but much of what I did was calculated in terms of avoiding criticism from Andrea. I knew that she was either watching from behind the two way mirror or when she seemed to be doing something else, that she had some of the parents with kids in my squad to keep an eye out for her. I also had my suspicions that Jan and the other assistant coaches would report back to Andrea when I dared to step outside Andrea’s program.

The final straw.

The whole thing unravelled at the end of that season. Quite a few swimmers had started their break early so I was working with a small group that had a huge range of abilities. Anyway, I put flippers on one of the weaker swimmers so that the session would run more coherently.

Andrea stormed over to my squad and yelled, “What do you think you are doing?”

I had not seen her approach and was just sort of startled, looked across and said, “Problem?”

“Get those flippers off them” She said, huffing with frustration. She motioned one of the swimmers to come over to her, pulled his leg aggressively up to the edge of the pool, and ripped the flippers off his feet, throwing them against the wall.

“Don’t do that with this group”, she said and without explanation walked off.

Again things seemed to settle down. I could see her laughing and smiling with swimmers and other coaches on the other side of the pool, but at the end of the day as I walked out Andrea confronted me in front of the parents, waiting to pick up their kids, by saying in a sarcastic tone, “How did you think that your session went today?” She slid her finger down the list of names in my squad and without waiting for a reply said, “I think that it was terrible, I think you tried to do too much and no one really got anything out of the session”

Again I stood there shocked. At this stage, I realised that I was not really required to explain, and probably did not respond in a most sympathetic manner when I said, “OK, I’m sorry”.

Well that sent her off the deep end, and she started huffing and stepping up into my face said, “There is no need to be sarcastic! You don’t need to speak to me like that.” Then she walked over and stood next to a parent who looked about as shocked as me and said, “Sorry about him... Nick! Come out the back and we will talk about this.”

The discussion quickly descended in the back room where I staunchly defended my position and she blew up at me telling me that I couldn't accept feedback, eventually telling me to just leave. As I walked out, the parent that had been included in our little stoush avoided catching my eye.

The next communication we had was via email:

> Hi Andrea,
>
> I want to apologise for how our conversation got somewhat out of hand on Wednesday. I shouldn't have talked back to you as you were only trying to help. However, I do at times feel unfairly targeted by your comments and made to feel unnecessarily incompetent. Which in turn caused me to express some frustration towards you. I am receptive to feedback but only if it is constructive. By this, it's fine to discuss a part of a session that didn't work well but please take a moment to say something that did work well too. For example, at the staff training night you openly said in front of everyone that I don't teach breaststroke properly. Perhaps put yourself in my shoes and understand how that

might feel, unpleasant. Particularly when I was told days before by Jan that I was teaching it well. I do enjoy working for J Aquatics and genuinely believe I'm improving. However, I find it intimidating and confronting to be repetitively spoken down to. I don't mean to sound cold or disrespectful but I am finding it increasingly difficult to work in an environment that makes me feel as if I'm not valued or welcomed. If you'd like to speak about this in more depth, I would be willing to.

Regards,

Nick.

In response to this Andrea cut my coaching hours back to one afternoon per week, and responded by suggesting that I was not receptive to constructive criticism and, that above all, I needed to be made aware of my weaknesses. I responded with the following:

Hi Andrea,

After having a few weeks off, I have taken time to reflect on working for you and your business. As such, I have decided that I wish to resign from my position as a coach from J Aquatics effective immediately. Long term, I believe our fundamental differences in opinion would not have led to a supportive or productive workplace, on your terms. However, I would to thank you for your time, effort, diligence and the opportunities you have provided me with and for the experiences I have gained from these. Of note, the professionalism demonstrated towards me from both Jan, Andrew and the other coaches has been excellent. I

wish [you] the best of luck and a successful future for you and your business.

Kind regards,

Nick

Again Andrea suggested that her communication of my weaknesses was appropriate and that I was just ‘over reacting’, ‘giving up’ and ‘throwing in the towel’. She suggested that her way of working would help me to become a confident experienced coach. She bemoaned the fact that she and others had invested time and effort into me. Then she apologised and reconfirmed that she was right.

Chapter 8: Micah

Catching a break.

I have always been involved in netball and swimming from a young age. I was always pretty good at it. As I got older I lost interest though but when I had young kids I got back into it. I was starting to get back into work and I started off by teaching swimming. With the learn-to-swim, I just loved to see the kid's progress and get better, and then develop a love for swimming. You have these little kids who don't want to let go of their mums or the side of the pool, and then a few weeks later they are bringing a toy, getting in by themselves and growing in confidence, and then they develop their skills for swimming. The pool I went to was always short staffed so it worked out really well with my kids being able to go there and me picking up hours. I did that for a few years.

The aquatic centre that we went to also had squads for a number of different levels. Anyway, one of the ladies that I worked with, she and I got on quite well. She was leaving and she mentioned my name to the head coach as a possible replacement. She knew the squad quite well and felt that I could do the job.

When she mentioned my name to the head coach Wendy, she got a really short response, "Ah nope, don't know her, don't want her, she hasn't been here long enough. No, no, no!"

The funny thing was that I had actually taught there for over two years by this time.

But luckily the manager of the pool complex, who was technically the one who would be hiring me, backed me by saying, "Yeah, I reckon she can do it.

Tell her to come in." Much to the disgust of the head coach, I started to coach the mini squad kids, the ones who were not quite ready for the bigger squads that were training in the 50 metre pool.

I knew the head coach didn't want me there from what I had heard from my friend. She was vocal like that with everyone, just told them what she thought, she either said it right too their faces or to other people. I really didn't know how she kept her job with such a negative outlook. At first I was uncomfortable about it, you know, you really want people to be happy with what you are doing. But I really didn't let it get to me because I was confident in my ability and I knew I could do the job. The rest of the staff were really supportive too. I was also a pretty popular coach with the parents. They were always happy to have their kids with me. So I did get positive feedback.

So I was doing about three squads a week in the inside pool and the head coach would walk into the undercover pool once a week and blurt out so that everyone could hear it, "This squad looks terrible. Their strokes are a mess!"

She would do it in front of parents and kids. It didn't matter. You have to realise that this was a small area, and there were lots of people around. The problem for me was that I was mostly doing the things that Wendy wanted and found acceptable, and this was creating an internal conflict because I felt that most of it was not really appropriate or at least not the way that I would have approached it. When I was forced to strictly follow her programing ideas I just hated it. But it really was a situation of 'damned if you do and damned if you don't', because no matter what I was doing with the squad (her programs or mine) she basically knocked it.

This sort of public humiliation was more frustrating than anything else, because I knew that the parents were right behind me. It was not like they would stick up for me in front of Wendy but they would often have a word to me after the session. The thing that I was most concerned about was those parents new to the program that could have been influenced by the comments.

Coach of the marlins.

After a couple of years coaching with this squad, I progressed to coaching the stronger *marlins squad*. This squad trained in the outdoor pool where there were three other squads including Wendy's. She had a few other coaches out in the 50 metre pool but these guys had all come through from her senior squads and I always had the feeling that because she had coached them and trained them as coaches that she thought really highly of them and valued them. I didn't feel as though I was a part of this group who seemed to be always looking to Wendy for acknowledgement.

Even though I was the assigned coach of the *marlins squad*, I was not allowed to make decisions about their training. Wendy either set the program or she would look at what I had planned and tear it up (verbally), telling me how wrong it was, and that I should be doing this or that. Initially she wrote all of the programs, but after a few months I started writing my own.

She would insist on looking at them, and then in front of the other coaches and learn-to-swim teachers she would critique, "No, no, you don't want to do that! Nope, that's crap, no, no, do this instead or try this."

I knew that it was basically a case of what she says goes. At least that part was the same for all of the coaches. Every afternoon when I came in to coach, I

would have to show her my program so she could decide if it was ok. But, it never was, and she would always find a way to make changes. When Wendy looked at my programs, she would avoid eye contact with me and always spoke too loudly for the conversation. It was as if she wanted everyone to hear. I felt like it was not really about the programs anyway and was more about just showing everyone who was the boss.

It was the same if I differentiated the session for my swimmers due to differing abilities. I once had swimmers from the *tiger-sharks squad*, who usually trained in the inside pool. This particular group of swimmers came out to train with me when their pool was being cleaned. The *tiger-sharks* were only used to swimming laps in a 25 metre pool and could not keep up with the *marlins* who regularly swam in the 50 metre pool. I told the kids from the *tiger-sharks squad* to swim to the stairs at the middle of the pool and then turn around and swim back, so that they would finish about the same time as my other swimmers.

I was team coaching with another coach at the time and he was shaking his head saying, “She’s not going to like this you know, I wouldn’t!”

Wendy must have been watching closely, because as soon as she saw what I had done, she had a meltdown.

She stormed over from the other end of the pool with her fists clenched. This was in front of all of the swimmers in the squad and a small group of parents watching on the side of the pool. She demanded to know what I was doing, “Why are they turning at the half way? This squad is all so disorganised. I can see that from the other side of the pool.”

And before I could respond she went on, “You don’t even know what each of them are doing!”

Quickly I said, “Hang on a minute, I do know what they are doing, the tiger-sharks are wearing the green caps, and they are all turning at the half way.”

But this was not good enough, frowning, she shook her head. She mumbled something under her breath and then insisted on correcting one of my swimmers as they came into the wall, “Don't lift your head so high when you breathe! Roll more and turn to breathe.” The guy that was coaching with me just shook his head and had this kind of sad, I told you so look on his face.

It wasn’t just me that didn't like these interruptions, the kids were forced so far outside their comfort zone and they really hated it. They were not really strong enough to hold their strokes for two laps of the 50m pool so they ended up swimming with poor technique or stopped regularly and held onto the lane rope. I knew that my programing should reflect the swimmers’ ability or capacity to maintain good strokes, but I was caught between surviving Wendy and doing the right thing by each swimmer.

Probably the thing that frustrated me most was her constant undermining. Towards the end of my time with this club, I wanted to teach the kids to dive properly, so I was preparing them on the side of the pool and Wendy just butts-in saying, “No, we won’t do that. We have to work on their speed, we have to get their speed up!”

She wouldn’t pull me aside for a quiet chat. She was really attacking not only me but also the kids. She was always suggesting that they were slow and that I was not giving them the right session. One instance was when I gave dives

instead of speed work. I felt like she had no faith in my ability, but the worst thing was that she did all of this in front of my swimmers and also their parents, so it was like she was letting everyone know her position.

Squad assessments.

When I was in charge of the inside squads, another thing that I used to do was the competency assessments. That means that I was in charge of deciding which swimmers were good enough to go outside and be assessed for the next squad above their current squad. All new swimmers to our centre, no matter how good they were or where they came from would first come to me for an assessment.

Anyway, one day we had some kids come from another pool who were just fabulous. You could see just by the way that they got into the water, they knew what they were doing. After about ten minutes into the session, their mother came up to me and asked if they would be training in this squad the whole time.

I told her, “No way, they were too good for this squad, they will probably be swimming with the *tiger sharks* or even the top squad. They just have to show evidence of their ability to coordinate all four strokes and to start and turn effectively”. She was happy with this and said she was concerned that if they stayed in this level, their swimming would probably suffer. So I called Wendy on the radio to come over and have a look at them, she responded over the radio, by saying, “They will have to stay with you for at least two months”.

I said, “No, these girls are great. They are well beyond the kids in my squad, and I don’t think their mum will bring them back if they have to stay in this squad.”

The dead pan response from Wendy came straight back over the radio, “No. Don’t care where they have been swimming, don't care who they are. And I don't want to hear any excuses either, they are there for two months!”

I was a little shocked when I replied, “Wendy, if you don't let them go outside, their mother has told me that she will not bring them back.”

Again the response shot back, “Well they are no good anyway then.”

At this stage, Wendy was still at the other end of the pool complex and had not even come over to see the girls swim. In some ways, I was glad she had not come over as I was the only one who had heard the conversation, however there were many times when she did come over to review some new prospect, and it was never pretty. At times I felt like I was too old to care what she thought of me but the worst thing was that she did all of this in front of people. It was as though she did not care about the effect of her words, either on the swimmers or their parents. She would come in to watch kids swim and would make these outlandish comments, “They’re ridiculous, they can’t swim, I’m not looking at this anymore!”

Then she would just walk out, leaving me to pick up the pieces with the poor kid and sometimes their parent. That really upset me more than when she had a go at me. The other side of this was that I was stuck in this system, and there was no way around the process.

I suppose the tipping point for me was when she started in on my kids. They both swum in squad and were required to race on club nights. They were so torn, they really hated it, and they didn't want to swim anymore. She just seemed to be killing their love of swimming. She was a real drill sergeant, barking orders

at the kids, telling them what to do but never really forming a relationship with them. Some of the stuff I witnessed was really nasty;

'You could do more, you're getting fat!'

'What are you eating that junk for?'

'Maybe instead of mum driving you here, you should walk!'

She put them down constantly and had to be in total control. My kids would be crying in the car on the way home and would ask, "Why does she have to yell? She just keeps yelling at us the whole time".

In the end I had to convince the kids they would be better at another club. It took a few months but eventually they joined another nearby club.

I had just started out at the pool with my AustSwim[6] certificate but when it came time to get my hours signed off to get my Bronze Licence, I approached the centre manager. This guy was not technically my mentor but I could not bring myself to go to Wendy. I really tried not to have anything to do with her in the end.

[6] AustSwim is Australia's national organisation for the teaching of swimming and water safety.

Chapter 9: Quinn

Party.

I originally started coaching out of necessity. I was trying to put myself through university and started working in the local learn to swim school at the university. Obviously my main motivation was money, however the fact that I was studying a movement related degree was a bonus. Anyway, I happened to meet the head swim coach of my local club at a function and was inspired by his stories of swimmers training for the Olympics. I had coached other sports but I liked the idea of more regular interaction between athletes and coaches that swimming offered.

I started with this squad as a volunteer, for about a year I supported the head coach in addition to my studies and gainful employment in the learn-to-swim program. I saw this coach as a key mentor for me, he was really the one who got me started on this path. At the end of that year I had the opportunity to self-fund a trip with the team to the national championships. I think that this was when I got a taste of elite performance and the idea that I could get an athlete on the national team. I was really motivated to get some experience behind me so I did not feel that by volunteering I was being taken advantage of.

Initially, I was acutely aware that I was not an elite swimmer myself and felt that I needed this experience for me to be confident coaching at an elite level. Not long after the trip to the national championships, I moved into a paid co-coaching role and began a formal study on stroke mechanics. This lead to a coaching appointment that provided many challenges and rewards.

My new position had many structures of support including a very supportive head coach who mentored me through the early stages of my transition into coaching elite swimmers. The fact that I can identify him as a mentor does not mean that he was assigned, but rather that it was more of a coincidental coming together of like minds. At this club, my coach was an exceptional role model for me, however as with any large club there were many tiers of management above me. I remember that the formal experience element of my coaching qualification was signed off by the club president.

One instance that springs to mind when I think of how the people around me influenced my coaching practice was when I became head coach of a regional development squad. I organised an end of season function for my swimmers. I really just wanted to do something special for them where we could celebrate our efforts over the course of the year.

The day after the function, I remember that the director at the time called me on the phone and absolutely abused me. He obviously fundamentally disagreed with my decision to hold the function and without discussion just attacked my decision, as well as my role in the organisation and lamented the possible effects or ramifications on the swimmers. He finished by asking the rhetorical question, ‘What the hell are you doing …? What are you doing…?”

I was shocked and a little lost for words. I just didn’t get what the problem was, I just didn’t get it. Nothing untoward had happened, and I didn’t understand [at that time] that I hadn’t created a safe place for the athletes. On reflection, I probably needed more supervision.

When the call was over I burst into tears, I was devastated, I can remember thinking, *'I can't believe he is being so mean to me.'*

It was definitely a controlling response from him but it was also a turning point for me and how I work with authority in the swimming world. It was really a tipping point for me in that I began to realise the importance of my position as a mentor to the swimmers and the way that my actions influenced them.

Relay champions.

After working with this squad for some time, I achieved my breakthrough appointment, a position as head coach with an Excellence Program (EP). This role also came with a supportive boss, however there were many stakeholders and national – state – club affiliates that were able to create leverage on my position.

Perhaps the first instance that stood out as something that changed the way I look at things was managing the challenging relationship between the EP, state and national stakeholders. In the early stages of this appointment, I found out that there were state players (swim association and club administrators) that were undermining my position, both to my boss at the excellence program and to the national body Swimming Australia. I would have to walk onto pool deck knowing that they were sitting in the stands backstabbing, colluding and working against me. It was an incredibly frustrating time and many incidents had me in tears. In the end my relationship with this key state based stakeholder was a mess. As I look back now I still feel that there was actually conscious and committed bullying. This particular state administrator would call my boss, and influential coaches within swimming Australia that could have quite an impact

on my actual job security. She would email in an extremely confronting way, calling into consideration my ethics around some of the decisions that I made. In face to face interactions, I could feel the anger and tension in her voice when she spoke.

In the early stages of this position, if I felt attacked, I would withdraw by closing off dialogue, but this would only exacerbate the situation with complaints of being unapproachable. I regularly sought advice from mentors within the National framework, but it was a real challenge just to hold my position.

Perhaps the worst moment of my coaching life was on pool deck at Nationals with this particular administrator. I coached a team of age-group girls that did not really dominate their age group individually but made up a powerful relay team. The girls had just won a national relay title and were celebrating. I was walking over to the group when I looked up into the stands, there was joy everywhere, and I could see this administrator talking to another woman, just eyeballing me across the pool deck. There was no joy and elation in her face, she was furious and inside I just knew she was trying to take me down. And she did, in the end, this administrator actually won, the program folded and I no longer had a job. I remember at the time thinking, '*What are you up to? This should be a time to celebrate.'*

So, I literally got off the plane coming home from the National championships and I could feel the change. The leadership structure had just undergone a change over the last few months and I could almost feel that the power balance had shifted to the state representatives of Australian Swimming.

It wasn't more than a few days after I got home when I got a call from my boss saying that they couldn't guarantee my position, “Just letting you know, we are not sure if there is even going to be a program, we will let you know when your contract expires.”

I was dumfounded and asked, “I’m sorry, what are you talking about? We’ve just achieved our best result yet at Nationals! We won relay medals and individual medals, what do you mean you are going to fold the program… What…? Why?”

Basically the state representatives of Australian Swimming had said that they didn't want to be involved with this program any more. The new manager of the excellence program obviously did not have much of an understanding of the background and the successes of the program, and maybe didn’t have the strength of character to hold his ground.

In the end I think I took it quite well, my response was just, “Well, I guess I had better start looking for another job!”

Luckily at around this time, a job came up in another state, a slightly different position, but still involved with swimmers and coaches.

I didn't really get much support from my boss when I told him that I was applying for the position. He said, “You do realise where this is?” Inferring that the job (with a significantly higher profile organisation) was above me. I had given four years of blood sweat and tears, and that was my leaving party. It was bullshit! Excuse that, it was appalling!

Out of the pan.

I was pretty glad when I made the call to my old boss telling him that against all odds, I had won the new position. I was excited… Nervous… Couldn't wait to start the new job, and was delighted to be working within one of the powerhouses of Australian Swimming. I knew that there would be many challenges ahead and that strong personalities would be everywhere, but I felt that this would be a place that I could grow and learn. I knew many of the coaches and swimmers associated with the program and held their achievements in the highest regard. There were multiple national and international medallists that trained in their programs. I have since heard that my new colleagues were regularly referred to as the Mafia of Australian Swimming.

I felt prepared to deal with most challenges thrown my way, but perhaps the first time it struck me that this new male dominated workplace was going to be a challenge was when I walked into my new boss's office and he says to me, "Don't fuck up! You know that (refers to board member) doesn't think you can do the job because you are a female!"

And I'm like, "OK, sure, no worries." *'What am I supposed to say to that?'*

It was funny really, I walked back down the corridor to my office and I Googled the name of this board member. I had no idea who he was or how powerful and connected he was until this point, but with a quick internet search I revealed the numerous high level connections and the independent platform from which he could push his opinion. Here I was, straight out of a regional centre and I manage to land right in the middle of what can only be described as a very complex situation.

‘*Ok, so he is on our board, he is in the media. Oh wow, this is really interesting, well alright then I’ll really have to do my best.*

I didn’t know how seriously I should take the information from my boss as he seemed supportive enough to give me the job. Surely, that would mean that he would go into bat for me. At the time it didn’t really rock me, it was more like water off a duck’s back. Perhaps it was good that I was a little naive and it did not insinuate into my subconscious and potentially affect me like it could have. As I look back, I don't have fond memories of this boss as he was always prepared to be quite harsh, not one to spare your feelings in any interaction, probably best described as a bastard. He was really part of the boys club that operated at the top level of Australian Swimming.

I maintained a positive attitude throughout my early days with this group and can recall thinking to myself, ‘*I’m in a male dominated environment, if I am going to survive this, I have got to just learn how to not take offence to what these guys say.*’ I made the conscious decision to hide any displeasure I might feel in case it positioned me outside the accepted thinking of the group. Stepping into this brotherhood, there were some pretty strong characters in there, (lists eminent coaches), these guys didn’t mince their words. So, it was a case of survive it, don't take it personally, and give-as-good-as-you-get in a way that doesn't bring me down as a female. You’re not getting down in the gutter with them, you know, it's a game, just treat it as such and don't take it personally.

I came away from this first meeting just thinking, ‘*well you are a prick.*’ And then, ‘*Ok what the heck is this job, what am I going to do, how do I make an impact here and prove him wrong?*’

As I developed my presence in this role, I positioned myself in a support role, partly because of my previous experiences and partly because of my reception at this job. I decided to go in from a less threatening position. I knew that for me to be successful, they need to see me as non-threatening, as a supporter worker, you know, so I can make their life easier and still get a result.

Chapter 10: My Personal Story

Sweet success.

I am wearing my standard coaching uniform; thongs, shorts, a long sleaved club shirt and my trademark wide brim straw hat. Even in the cool of the 'dry season,' the Northern Territory weather causes sweat to run in tiny rivulets down my body. I clasp a stopwatch in one sweaty hand and a smudged rolled up program in the other. I am surrounded by the noises and smells of my sport; prior to and post-performance. There are coaches talking quietly to athletes, coaches using the volume of their voice to convey critical information about upcoming events and athletes on a high from recent exertions laughing and talking over the top of each other. Bodies sweat without exertion here so even the spectators add to the heady mix scents that assaults my sense of smell as I hop, jump and run between gaps in the grandstands so that I can keep an eye on Blair, and just as importantly her opposition; a 16 year old girl from Macau who is still half a body length ahead of her. They have been swapping the lead on every lap of the 200 butterfly race. On every turn, Blair drops back behind her opponent only to draw level and take the lead after around 40 metres of swimming. My shoulders tighten, I can feel their pain now as they approach the last 20 metres of the race. They are both starting to swim lower in the water, arms and shoulders lactating[7] from two minutes of furious racing. My heart feels like it is about to leap out of my chest, I am beaming. The last seven strokes seem to happen in slow motion.

[7] Lactating is the colloquial term used to describe lactic acid build up within swimmers muscles during high intensity exercise. "At exercise intensities above the anaerobic threshold, lactic acid accumulates causing a burning intra muscular pain" (Navalta & Hrncir, 2007, p. 1305).

The parochial home crowd are going ballistic willing Blair home. Inch by inch Blair claws her opponent back, taking the lead with two strokes to go.

"COME ON.....GO....GO...GO...YES!" I scream from behind the grandstand.

Wow, that was amazing, I think to myself. I can't wait to talk to Blair; she is exhausted but smiling as she drags herself over the lane ropes and out of the pool. She grabs her towel and wanders back through the crowd to the back of the grandstand where all of the coaches and other swimmers are. I hurry over to her and she sees me and gives a huge smile.

"I won!" Her smile bursting through the gasps for air.

"You did. I am so proud of you, well done!" I say quietly.

Blair, bubbling and trying to catch her breath talks me through the race, "I just went out long and strong, she turns so well… [Breath]... Then I kept catching her, I knew I was right next to her in the last few strokes."

I reply with the same energy, "You did such a good job; you didn't give up...a real gutsy effort. Hey, you had better go and see your mum, she is beside herself over in the stands."

At this moment William a development officer from Australian Swimming wanders over to us. Blair dances past him on her way to see her mother, "I won Will," she says still beaming.

William responds gruff and in a low voice, "I saw… What did your coach say to you?" Blair takes a quick sideways glance at me with a quizzical look on her face as if to ask; am I in trouble or are you in trouble?

I nod my encouragement, and she proceeds to tell William everything that I had said. William turns to her and responds sharply, “So he didn’t mention that you took a breath on every stroke into the finish? Or that you tilted your head to look over at the swimmer in the lane next to you? All of these things could have cost you the race.”

Blair replied defensively, her voice trailing away, “But I won…”

Immediately I think, *‘Shit what I have done, I can’t believe I just dropped her in it like that.’* And just as quickly I think about the flip side, *‘Am I a bloody idiot? Standing here grinning like goose. I just dropped myself in it too. He* [William] *just bagged me out in front of one of my top swimmers and all of the coaches. He could have waited until she had gone and just told me.’*

William then turned to face me, “You need to look at the performance without getting caught up in the emotion so that you can see what needs improving; you can’t get into the habit of praising your swimmers too much. Leave that for their parents, your job is to critique the swim.”

I see Blair wandering with her friends back to the grandstands, shoulders down, slightly defeated or is she just tired? The excitement of the last few minutes begins to drain from my body as I realise how disappointed William is.

Postscript: I still fight this battle with my internal emotions and my visible actions when coaching. I use my posture, body language and voice to communicate who I am rather than just communicating what I want in the next activity. I censure my behaviour on pool deck even when there are no other coaches present. I know how to behave and begin the coach talk–coach walk the moment I arrive at a venue. As I stride, shoulders back onto pool deck, I breathe

in deeply, imagining myself getting bigger. A big, controlled mountain of information. I scan the pool looking for evidence of skill and effort, then the grandstand where my swimmers are in various stages of readiness. And as I look outward, I also look inward; for the coach. I catch myself asking; do they see it? Intuitively, I know that this is my constructed coaching identity, though I am still not entirely comfortable. This is not the coach that I built!

The best coaches.

I am sitting among a small group of coaches, we are sitting on plastic stacking chairs that were designed for school aged children, my knees and those of some of the others are too high to rest on with our elbows. I lean forward resting my chest on my upper leg and place my course material on the ground in front of me. Occasionally I lean back in my chair when I need to acknowledge the course presenter.

I am undertaking an update for my coach's licence in a poorly ventilated and slightly musty club house of a rival swim team. Already uncomfortable due to the poor seating, I am further put out by the way that the presenter is suggesting that as a coach we need to control everything that is happening, both in the coaching context and outside of the pool.

At the beginning of his talk, he recounts an incident he had with an elite swimmer, "I can remember coaching [names a high profile swimmer] during a particularly hard set of repeat 200's. She was starting to drop off her repeat 'goal time'. So I moved my chair into her line of sight, between the end of the pool and the pace clock. As soon as she saw me, the next repeat was back on track… Just like that, they have to know that you are watching them!"

Someone piped up to my right, “I would have thought that that sort of motivation would only be temporary, better that the swimmer should choose to hold her goal time herself?” The presenter frowned at the interruption, he turned briefly to the coach, pointed at him and said, “If you can control it, then control it, just the same as if it can be measured, then measure it.” He then paused before stating, “That’s the sort of thing that we can discuss in the lunch break, we have a lot to get through here.”

He seemed to feel a little bad about shutting my outspoken colleague down and with palms spread open in front of him like he was ready to pray, quietly said to the rest of the group, “You have got to love the girls, and challenge the boys, but everyone needs to know your role. They have to know that you are in charge and you need to show them who’s boss. Take charge, be in control of what is happening and what you are doing! If you get a chance to see the best coaches in Australia like [lists prominent coaches] you will see that the best coaches know how to control outcomes”.

The hill.

The Katherine Swimming pool in the Northern Territory is located just south of the main township. On one side of the pool is a grassy hill on which competing clubs set up their tents for protection from the sun. Katherine Swimming Club traditionally holds the annual distance meet, with age-group races over 200, 400, 800 and 1500 metres. My club brings a small contingent made up of older swimmers as well as their parents.

When I am at a swim meet, I try to give all of my attention to the swimmers. I avoid talking to the other coaches too much and avoid engaging in

long conversations with parents over performance. On this day, I am in a quandary, as a senior development coach from Australian swimming is here. He has brought a foldout chair and is sitting away from everyone else at the very peak of the hill. He sits stern faced, very still and arms crossed with a program in hand, the rolled up cover just visible from under one arm. No one seems game to go up and speak with him. I think to myself; *'Is he watching me or the kids? I can't imagine that he is too inspired by what he sees, coming from where he does. I suppose I will have to go and speak to him or I will appear rude. When Blair finishes her 1500 I think I will go up and speak to him.'*

At the end of Blair's race, I turn and begin to walk up to the top of the hill. The mere 30 metres up the gentle slope is still crystal clear in my mind. I can see that the coach is watching me but he does not give a welcoming smile, and when I get to a position just beneath him, he tilts his head as if trying to see past me. I sidestep across the slope of the hill, so that I am not obstructing his view, and greet him. The coach nods staring past me at the starting area before briefly looking over to me.

"So, how did she go?" he asks, referring to Blair's swim in the 1500 freestyle. I offer my program with Blair's splits written in pencil in the margin.

He answers his own question quietly, as if talking to himself, "Looks like she went to sleep at the back end eh? ... Or hasn't done enough work" With that he looks briefly at me, then back to the starting area. A pause follows, I don't know whether to talk about my current programming as a way of arguing the point or wait to see if the conversation will move past this moment. Even though

I am well out of his line of sight, he leans a little forward on his chair as if to get a better view and stares intently at the starting end of the pool.

Eventually after an uncomfortable silence, I say “I had better go and have a chat to her.” I am secretly glad to walk away. I feel chastened and feel a niggling worry about the remaining swims and how they will make me look.

Flog em!

I am starting to fidget. This is all very inspiring, yet uncomfortable at the same time. I hate being late for a swim session. I am a guest at a state institute of sport. The director has managed to secure the services of an extremely successful Australian swimming coach who will talk to local coaches about success.

As we walk through the weights room to the meeting room, the director who is walking beside a group of us, mentions that his guest usually does a talk like this for big dollars; “Not for us though, this one is special ... On the house!” And with that, he offers a conspiratorial wink.

We are ushered into a small meeting room. I recognise coaches from a number of other sports in the room. *I must be the only swimming coach,* I think to myself. *I wonder what the other coaches are going to get from this. Well I hope he talks about swimming. I suddenly feel very alone, I am desperate for information, for knowledge and for insight. I want for myself what he* [Robbie] *has got.*

Robbie starts to talk. He regales us with stories of champions, achieving greatness, and success when all seemed lost. His enthusiasm is infectious*; I know*

some of these names, famous and some not so famous Australian swimmers. I love this sport, but I can't believe how wound up I am.

In the middle of one story, Robbie launches into the Australian anthem, we all stand and belt out *"Advance Australia Fair"*, then we sit somewhat sheepishly avoiding looking at each other.

I notice the time; it is three thirty-five. I have just 25 minutes to get across town to the pool before B Squad starts at four. I start to fidget with my pen before finally blurting; "Excuse me Robby. Sorry, I have to go and coach."

Robby fixes his manic eyes on me and nods slowly. As I collect my pad and pen and turn to leave, he pauses his monologue long enough to focus everyone's attention and says; 'Do me a favour Chris … Flog em!'

What? I think, I am shocked and a little humbled, partly that he knew my name, partly over what he has just said. I know immediately what he is suggesting. Despite my uncertainty and perhaps due to my mild embarrassment, a smile flits across my face. 'Thanks Robbie, see ya.'

Robbie is clearly a firm believer in volume[8]. I think as I race outside, jump into my car and replay the session in my head. *I can't believe he said that*; it makes me a little annoyed, even though it is not the first time I have heard it, I had never heard it from such a successful coach. *'I know that many southern coaches are doing around ten sessions a week, probably dry-land stuff as well. How can I get them* [my swimmers] *to lift their intensity to ten sessions?'* I wonder.

[8] In coaching parlance, volume refers to the distance in kilometres that a swimmer does in training over a specified time period.

Hot curry.

The new head coach of the state high performance centre is doing the rounds of the local clubs, meeting coaches and swimmers. She is talking about developing a high performance culture in the state and talks to the swimmers and I about her past experiences, educational background, and her vision for the future. At the end of this informal chat, she suggests that we meet again as she would like to pick my brain a little more. I think nothing of it and resume the planned session.

Later that evening, she calls me at home and invites me to her house for dinner. I accept and a time is arranged. The dinner is with her partner and herself and turns out to be a particularly hot curry dish. We joke about the additional sweat that the chilli brings and how we don't really need it in the tropics. After dinner, her partner begins clearing up the dishes and the head coach and I sit out on the balcony of the flat, grateful for the cool sea breeze. After a brief good natured, comparative discussion about our various backgrounds and elements of our experience, the coach takes a sharp tack in the conversation. "So I am going to develop a squad for those swimmers who have achieved a national qualifying time or are close to this time in a number of events. I want to bring them together as a squad in our high performance program so they get the benefits of great facilities and coaching."

I nod, and think to myself, *'Are you talking about 'my' national level swimmers, and 'your' coaching?'* I reply with a question, "Ok, so swimmers will remain with their home programs but come under your banner as well?"

The Head coach replies with a hint of a smile, “No they would have to be in the high performance program.”

I respond by asking, “Where would you train?”

The head coach replies with a widening smile, “We can afford lanes at any of the pools, that won’t be a problem.”

“Wow, ok, so what is the process?” I ask, a little shocked. Perhaps a little naively I think to myself, *‘Does she realise that at the moment, I am the only coach here with national level swimmers, and they basically make up my whole senior squad?*

The head coach responds confidently, “Well, swimmers will have to demonstrate their achievement of the qualifying times and then they will have an interview with me and my boss. If we are happy, we will make them an offer.”

I am shocked and becoming a little frustrated now, “Do you really think that you will get all of the national swimmers?”

The Head coach smiles confidently and relaxes back into her chair, “We’ll get them alright; they’ll come for the money. Coaching will be free, free tracksuits, gear bags, travel, they won’t be able to resist.”

I am stunned, and ask myself silently, *“Is this for real? Do they really think that the swimmers only care about money?* I feel my anger rising, but respond carefully. I know that the high performance program has money for coach development and the last thing I need is to be on the outer, “So, how will the club coaches fit in to all of this?”

The head coach responds with a matter of fact tone, “Well the clubs will become feeders for the high performance program, they really can’t compete with the resources that we have access to.”

I maintain a positive front and without agreeing or disagreeing, I nod my head and move the conversation elsewhere. I want to get out of there and am happy to have the excuse of an early morning session to run. I get into my car and slam the door, and as the cool blast of air from the air-conditioner hits me I shout out the statement; “They won’t be able to resist!”

How many sessions do you do?

‘*Shit, what the hell is he* [a prominent coach from a nationally funded facility] *doing talking to Nicholas? Bloody vulture, I can’t believe this. He is supposed to be a professional; doesn’t he work at the ---?’*

I am anxious, I struggle with an uncomfortable and niggling sense of ownership or even stewardship of my swimmers, they [coaching colleagues in the Northern Territory] told me this would happen. My head is exploding with frustration as I sidle up to eavesdrop on the conversation. There are swimmers and coaches everywhere so I can stand quite close. Nicholas is thanking him with a big smile on his face; he must have just received a compliment.

Rob is focussing all of his attention on Nicholas, he is leaning in towards him as if to hear every word, “So, how many sessions a week do you do Nicholas?”

Nicholas is animated and excited and replies, “Well I do nine or ten pool sessions, plus a gym session.”

Rob straightens up slightly and says quietly, “Oh, I see, ok.”

In the brief pause that follows, I see Nicholas' smile crumble as he realises that the coach is not interested in a kid from the bush who can swim those times after ten sessions a week.

Rob, in a hurry now, eyes already scanning the pool deck for someone else to talk to, "Well best of luck with the rest of your swims Nick." Rob catches me staring at him and looks smug as he turns away with a half-smile on his face. I am not sure if he has made the connection between Nicholas and me, but he smoothly moves between swimmers and across the pool deck.

I hear Nicholas ask a nearby friend, "So I am too slow for ten sessions?"

And then the cheeky reply, "I bet he wishes that you could swim like that with no training so he could turn you into a star."

Ouch, I think to myself. We were all thinking the same thing but I was hoping no one would say it.

Child abuse.

"Did you see this in the paper?" asked Michael, proffering the crumpled newsprint. "Someone wrote in to 'letters to the editor' about how you don't let your swimmers take toilet breaks during the session!" His tone was slightly accusatory and I felt a little defensive.

"What, really, they wrote that?" I asked, reaching for the paper.

"Yes, apparently they overheard you saying it to someone during a session"

"Wow, listen to this" I exclaim, reading with a slight nasal tone, "I was recently swimming laps at my local pool when I overheard the swimming coach say to his swimmers that they were not allowed a bathroom break. I am disgusted

that this coach (who was dealing with some young children) would not let his swimmers take a break, is this child abuse?"

Shaking my head I quickly explain to Michael, who is a past club president, that I do allow toilet breaks, just never in the middle of a set. "I ask them to commit to the session and once they start I expect they will finish what I've set. I live and breathe this stuff Michael, and I expect the same in return from my swimmers. This lady has obviously just heard a snippet and blown it out of proportion. She doesn't understand about commitment. There is no way I would let a swimmer weasel out of the hard stuff, I'm committed to them, I'll support them. Besides if I let one of them go, there will be a flood of full bladders. You can bet your last dollar the Kieren Perkins[9] doesn't get out mid set!"

Michael nodding throughout my response approves with a curt, "Quite right too".

I am secretly gutted by this accusation, '*I don't want to come over as a pushover to my swimmers or to Michael for that matter. But who wants to be remembered as pushover?'* I secretly feel like I am pretending to be the 'hard liner' but I just don't have the stomach for it.

Walks like a coach.

I shove my hands into my pockets simultaneously releasing the stopwatches I was holding. Their cords are tethered and loop down behind my legs as I assume a familiar pose on the side of the pool. I am bent forward at the hip, left arm elongated directly in front of my shoulder. My right arm simulating the

[9] Kieren Perkins is a dual Olympic gold medallist and only the second Australian to defend an individual Olympic championship. He overcame adversity to succeed in one of the most gruelling races on the Olympic program, the 1500 metres freestyle (Gordon, n.d.)

catch phase of the stroke by starting in the same position as the left but with elbow high in the imaginary water and wrist dropping, palm facing backwards, making a repeating sweeping motion. I repeat this motion until the swimmer breathes towards me, sees the action and begins to stretch and copy the early catch that I am modelling. I finish by willing her to greater exertion with a sweeping motion of my left hand, thrust my hands deeply into my pockets to retrieve the stopwatches, glancing at each in turn and frowning when I see that the goal time for this swim has almost elapsed. I glance across the warm-up pool to where a senior coach is describing the same motion for a distressed swimmer standing next to him. With eyebrows lifted, he holds a pencil tightly with his teeth. His twin stopwatches tethered together by their cords swing from his neck as he describes the same movement glancing repeatedly from the swimmer to his hand as it sweeps down. He is wearing a club shirt but the same style of denim shorts and running shoes that I do. I allow myself a little smile as I notice these details before sliding through the throng of swimmers and coaches clumped around the pool ends to my swimmer, now finished and adjusting her goggles as she waits for me.

I am reminded of a time earlier in my career when my head coach purchased American designer shirts (white, short sleeve and button up) for all of the junior coaches to wear on pool deck.

He said that we need to show people that we mean business; “These shirts will set us apart, and show that we are more prepared, more together than the rag-tag coaches you see on pool deck up here” he said, referring to coaches at a local regional meet.

I can remember laughing to myself thinking. '*All this will do is to convince people that we had lost the plot. Imagine being on pool deck for up to six hours a day in the tropical sun, covered in sunscreen, sweat soaking into a starched white cotton shirt. My fore arms would be burnt to a crisp and the shirt would be wrecked. Who wears designer clothes on pool deck anyway?'*

National coach.

The national age group swimming championships finished yesterday. Australian age group champions have been crowned according to swimming strokes and distances. The National Age Squad is selected from these champions by a selection panel who consider the number of events that the swimmer achieved in and their ranking according to the Federation Internationale De Nation (FINA) Points System (FINA, n.d.). This camp which I have been asked to be a part of will bring together coaches to work with the National Age Squad under the tutelage of the National Age-group coach attendants. I am stoked to be here. However, I am not entirely convinced that after such a short time coaching that I should be here at all. I know this is a huge opportunity and that I should learn so much from some of the best coaches in the country. Before I have even started the camp, I dream about how I will be able to bring this information to my home squad and how each of them will benefit from this rich source. My mind is racing with the possibilities. I am convinced that these coaches must be far advanced from my own understandings. I am determined to soak up as much information as possible and as the camp starts, I spend a lot of my time listening to the conversations of other coaches and watching their interactions with their swimmers and the head coach. This camp, we are told, is to help prepare

swimmers and coaches for more advanced squads such as the National Open Squad. To do this, the head coach has developed a detailed schedule that itemises daily activities seamlessly. I am excited and a little daunted by the detail which includes when, where and what we will eat; group and individual training sessions with an unfamiliar coach, dry-land, warm-up and cool-down techniques, a mock event and seminars around nutritional choices and personal choices.

At various times throughout the three day camp, the coaches as a group will be taken aside by the Head coach and his assistant for lectures and seminars. It was towards the end of the camp when I remembered that the coaches were all called into a small room at the aquatic facility that we were using for training. What followed, was initially a very informal talk about balancing work-life-coaching pressures and then progressed to a review of the expectations of a coach on the national open team.

The head coach began this review by stating, “If you are selected as a coach on a national open team, there will be a huge expectation that you will deliver quality results for your swimmers and the team. As a part of the process of learning how things happen on the national team, you will be expected to defend your sessions to the other coaches in the team.”

Ok. I think to myself. *This makes sense, I am supposed to talk about what I propose to do and the other coaches offer input on the options I have, win-win.*

The head coach continues, “It is not a very pleasant experience; however all of us have had to go through this in our time.”

What?

Suddenly I realise that I am not so sure of what is about to happen. The cramped room already feels atmospheric and the air muggy due to the high humidity in the aquatic centre. Now with the silence of the gathered coaches it seems to squeeze in at all four walls. Closely packed bodies add to the heat, and nervous tension seems to release a wave of gritty body smells. I glance through the clear glass door at the pool beyond, I can hear the sounds of fun; the high pitched piping voice of a child, splashing water and the raucous laughter of teenagers playing without care, and begin to wish I was out on pool deck … free.

The head coach steps purposefully to front row of assembled coaches and glares over our heads towards a coach at the back of the group and in a gruff and snappy business like tone says, “As he is one of the more experienced coaches here I have decided to look at Aaron’s work.” He pauses briefly before continuing, “Firstly Aaron, could you tell us what you hope to achieve by doing hard fly workouts so soon after a big competition and so close to our event?”

The room goes deathly quiet, I feel myself shrink into my chair, and I just know that this is not going to be nice. Aaron tries to stand but the packed nature of the room restricts him. He settles on a semi crouch at the front of his chair. Aaron is by nature confident and outgoing and attempts to respond with a detailed justification of the workout, “I chose a hard fly set because I felt the swimmers in my lane needed …”

The head coach interrupts at this point, cutting Aaron off midsentence, “I am not sure that you were looking at the same swimmers that I was? They were struggling physically. Their technique was poor, a poor choice! Have you spoken to their home coaches? Have you determined from the swimmers, their mental

and physical state? Are you even looking at how they hold themselves in the water?"

Aaron responds confidently, "I thought that by reintroducing hard efforts, their bodies would not turn off and begin to relax …"

The head coach interrupts again. This time the volume of his voice is rising, "Turn off? Are you kidding? They will shut down … That is just ridiculous!"

Aaron responds quietly now, as if he is speaking to himself, "I do this in my home programme after some competitions …"

The head coach responds, almost yelling at the room, "I don't care about your home programs! You are dealing with other coaches' swimmers here. These kids are obviously not coping with what you are giving them. Can you see that?" The questions were rhetorical as each of Aaron's responses, no matter the validity was cut short or picked apart in an extremely aggressive tone by the head coach. This scenario continued for some time; acerbic question, attempted response cut short, then rapid fire critique of attempted response. Ten to 15 minutes pass and the attack continues, I watched with mounting trepidation as Aaron's answers become weaker, less convincing, and eventually stop. His face flushed with colour and his body language at first confident, now clearly shows how uncomfortable he is. I think to myself, *'If he starts on me, I am going to bolt out of here … Yeah but where does that leave you, idiot … Better to face the music … What is the bloody point though? This is ridiculous! There is no way I could answer those questions any better than Aaron … I can't believe the head coach would do this.* I stare blankly at the front of the room, trying not to attract

any attention. *How can I fit into the team without drawing this attention? Yeah yeah yeah … Everything to the letter, exactly what he wants.* I start mentally cycling through everything that the coach has said over the previous days, focusing on what I am going to do for the rest of the camp and beyond. I wonder how he knew the details of Aaron's workout. Did a swimmer complain? Finally it is over, Aaron is suitably crushed. The head coach steps back from the group and using a pleasant tone that conveys his compassion, "This is just something we all have to go through if we want success on the national open team. You need to be able to justify what you are doing."

The head coach goes on to cite examples of this practice in the national team. I feel devastated for Aaron. While we were not close friends, I don't think that he deserved that. At this moment, as if on cue, the director of coaches for the national open swim team walks in. *Please tell me that he is not going to have a go as well, this is too much,* I think to myself.

The director, smiles at the head coach and steps up to the front of the group, "Thanks coach [refers to age-group coach]. You are all very lucky to be here under the guidance of such a prominent and successful coach. You are also very lucky to be a part of this camp at a fantastic pool facility and with great accommodation. We don't always get accommodation like that I can tell you. I want you to remember that the things that you experience here are going to set you apart from your peers. To be selected as a coach on the national open team should be your main aspiration as a coach. But becoming a member of the coaching staff does require that you have a clear understanding of how things work."

I place my head in my hands and taste bitter bile rising in my throat. *'Don't rock the boat, do as I say … Aargh, this sucks.'*

Postscript: At the conclusion of this camp, I returned home and coached the remainder of the season; approximately one month. When I resumed coaching, I was surprised by my own lack of motivation and spark. When I look back at this time, I do not see sparkling, dancing water in the wake of the swimmers. It was as if a shadow had fallen over the pool, suddenly darkening the crisp, bright reflections. This was a time of deep introspection as I searched for direction. One week before the end of the season, I decided to resign from my position as head coach.

This decision released the tension mounting in my shoulders but tied my stomach in knots with worry about leaving my swimmers. I knew I was leaving them for reasons that were beyond their control. Post this junction in my coaching practice, I have limited my involvement in the coaching of elite age-group swimmers and drifted to the slightly less charged atmosphere of coaching masters swimmers. I now catch myself referring to this time in my life as the point in my coaching career where I lost my way.

PART C: Narrative Analysis

Warm-up.

In this section the investigation of narratives moves from an immersion in personal and participant narratives to the recognition of patterns and regularities that are elaborated as themes. The objective of this section is to provide my authoritative voice as the researcher in the construction of knowledge as well as a way of knowing through the various theoretical frameworks and via the themes used to group the data. The analysis of data in this section is divided into four sections. The first section elaborates on the inductive and deductive processes, otherwise referred to as abductive reasoning, which was described by Taylor et al. (2009), as the "dialogue between data and theory undertaken throughout the research process" (p. 242). Put simply, the analysis moves "between everyday meanings and theoretical explanations" (Ryba, Haapanen, Mosek, & Ng, 2012, p. 85) of personal and participant experiences in such a way that the process of interpretation is acknowledged. The next three sections include an elaboration of the overarching theme and follows the story analyst approach described by Smith and Sparkes (2009). In this approach, the narratives are placed under a thematic narrative analysis and an abstract account of these narratives is communicated in the form of a realist tale (Smith, in press). The intent of this approach is to foreground participants' voices. My role as the researcher in this tale is the critical telling that interrupts and interprets by linking related narratives to theoretical underpinnings in such a way that the political agenda of this research is realised (Woodbrooks, 1991). In order to maintain clarity, the use of repeat examples (extracts) has been avoided as much as possible.

Further, this section has another important purpose, in that, as the researcher, I demonstrate robust reflexivity in terms of maintaining an awareness of the ways in which my perceptions and inductive processes have shaped the research (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011). To this end, recurring local concepts that were derived from the narratives were cross-referenced with recent research into coaching sub-cultures (Kitchin, 2014; Townsend & Cushion, 2015); coach education and coach learning (Cassidy, 2010; Piggott, 2012); mentoring (Denison & Avner, 2011); and coaching practice (McMahon, 2013). This cross-referencing with similar, agreed upon professional definitions from literature relating to coach theory and practice demonstrates the reflexive consideration of my personal inductive processes (Ryan & Bernard, 2003).

Chapter 11: Thematic Development

This chapter follows extended engagement with personal and participant narratives and outlines the development of connections between narratives and the analytical tools, specifically the abductive process. Some of the local concepts (see Table 1 overleaf, column 1) came from inferred professional definitions and reflected a more deductive approach, some were intuitive and reflected my (researcher) interpretation of the narratives (inductive) and some linked to the bracketed theoretical orientation (deductive) (Bulmer, 1979). In this way, the analytical procedure involved a sequence of deductive and inductive processes (abductive) that involved "movement between everyday meanings and theoretical explanations" (Ryba et al., 2012, p. 85).

The first step was to analyse the content of the narratives and group excerpts into the inductively and deductively developed local concepts described in Table 1 (see overleaf) as notions. This was done manually with the use of 'track changes' tool within the word processing software. Next, the recurring notions were deductively categorised into related theoretical concepts, described as subthemes, which were adopted from the overarching theoretical lenses bracketed for investigation (Biddle, Markland, Gilbourne, Chatzisarantis, & Sparkes, 2001).

An important element during the interpretation of the narratives and categorisation of notions into subthemes and themes was a review by an independent critical friend. The critical friend in this case was a researcher well versed in narrative analysis and familiar with the application of theoretical lenses in sporting contexts. Smith and Sparkes (2006) suggested that the use of a

Table 1: Local concepts, subthemes and themes that relate to coaches' experiences in the Australian swim coach education pathway.

LOCAL CONCEPTS	SUBTHEMES	THEMES
Deductive notions · Challenges faced by developing coaches · Linear and unproblematised nature of coaching knowledge · Conflict in the mentoring process · Social structures inherent in the sub-culture of sports coaching	· Hierarchical observation · Normalising judgement · The examination · Technologies of the self · Personal dispositions/ habitus · The coaching field · Capital · Misrecognition and symbolic violence · Coach communication · Symbolic interaction · Dramaturgy	· Coach communication · Power and discipline · Social structures
Inductive notions · Power and conformity · Coach communication and performance · Coach learning and coach education · Resistance and tension · Coaching ideology		

critical friend to provide a theoretical sounding board who could potentially encourage the consideration of alternative interpretations of the data. This review resulted in a dialogue such that a consensus on interpretation and an intersubjective reliability was obtained (Ryba et al., 2012). This is not to suggest that I am seeking a truth of interpretation, but rather a coherent and sound argument between the interpretation and the data in this investigation (Smith & Deemer, 2000). The dialogue also contributed to my reflexive consideration of how my understanding of the problem shaped my interpretation.

Considering deductive concepts.

The first grouping of data (see Table 1, column 1) could be labelled analyst constructed typologies (Ryan & Bernard, 2003) as they reference local concepts relating to the swim coaching culture. The majority of these groupings correlate strongly with researchers various interpretations of the contested space that coaches inhabit. In particular, these include: the challenges faced by developing coaches (Cassidy, 2010; Colley, 2003; Cushion & Jones, 2014; Denison & Avner, 2011; Lang, 2010); the linear and unproblematised nature of coaching knowledge as described by Piggott (2012); conflict in the mentoring process (Cushion, 2006; Denison, 2007); and, the social structures inherent in the sub-culture of sports coaching (Kitchin, 2014; Townsend & Cushion, 2015).

The remaining groupings were developed following Spradley's (1979) approach where the narratives were reviewed for evidence of "social conflict, cultural contradictions, informal methods of social control, things that people do in managing impersonal social relationships, methods by which people acquire

and maintain achieved and ascribed status, and information about how people solve problems" (Ryan & Bernard, 2003, p. 93).

Considering inductive concepts.

In order to begin the process of analysis, I first determined the level of resonance/ dissonance between the local concepts drawn inductively from the data and the understanding of researchers in the field of sports coaching.

Power and conformity.

Power and conformity link to the subthemes: hierarchical observation, normalising judgement; the examination; technologies of the self; personal dispositions/ habitus; the coaching field; capital; misrecognition and symbolic violence; coach communication; symbolic interaction; and dramaturgy. The grouping of data that relates to power and conformity references those elements of the narratives that relate to organising constructs present in a sub-culture that position and shape an individual's position in the hierarchy, their disposition and practice.

Research into coaching theory and practice that aligns in part with this investigation and that supports the development of such a grouping is growing. Piggott (2012) utilised the neo-Foucauldian concepts of power/ knowledge and governmentality to investigate the efficacy of highly structured coach education courses. Both Lang (2010) and Johns and Johns (2000) used similar Foucauldian concepts when considering how power and conformity related to the coach – athlete dyad. Potrac and Jones (2011) and Cushion and Jones (2014) utilised Foucauldian and Bourdieusian concepts respectively to investigate how power shapes both the mentor and interpersonal coaching relationships. These authors

related the contested nature of sports coaching, describing the need for coaches to have a well-developed “micro-political literacy” (Cushion and Jones, 2014, p. 139) such that they could navigate power laden relationships. Zehntner and McMahon (2013) revealed how power in the mentor-mentee relationship could shape the practice of mentee coaches and could contribute to the docile acceptance of mentor practice. Denison and Avner (2011) developed this point significantly when they stated that in order to combat the docile acceptance of dominant knowledge, coaches need to consider how knowledge is constructed and how they can be more creative in problem solving in sport. These authors and others (Cushion, 2006; Denison & Scott-Thomas, 2011) helped to qualify the use of the Foucauldian subthemes utilised in this investigation.

Coach communication and performance; Coach learning and coach education.

Coach communication and performance links to the subtheme titled personal dispositions/ habitus. This grouping of data relates to elements in the narratives where coaches utilise overt verbal or symbolic resources to negotiate their position within the coaching sub-culture. Research into the minutiae of coach communication is limited, but is growing in popularity. Examples include research conducted by Jones, Potrac, Cushion, Ronglan, and Davey (2011) as well as Partington and Cushion (2012) who utilised Goffman’s theoretical perspectives to elaborate how coaches use presentation and symbolic tools to exercise power, to position themselves within the context of their field, and to organise hierarchies. Townsend and Cushion (2015) investigated how coach practice is structured by habitus and the impact of structures on coach learning.

The local concepts elaborated in Table 1 (above) are built around aligned investigations into coach communication and coach education and are therefore considered suitable.

Resistance and tension; Coaching ideology.

The final grouping consists of 2 concepts: resistance and tension and coaching ideology which both link to the subthemes: technologies of the self, misrecognition and symbolic violence, and the coaching field. The grouping of data that relates to these local concepts references passages in the narratives that relate to the *effects* of structural and interpersonal power relationships on individuals and how this shapes ideology and practice.

There is limited research that supports the alignment of this grouping with the sub themes and as such, this grouping was the most inductively developed for this investigation. The lack of research contributing to our understanding of coach burnout is lamented by Altfeld et al. (2015), however the stressors that contribute to burnout are numerous and can be all consuming. The link between stressors, coach education, resistance and tension, and coaching ideology is made by Zehntner and McMahon (2015) based in part on data developed for this investigation. This grouping is critical to this investigation in that it deals with the effects of power and overarching structures that are present within the coach education pathway. The very complex nature of coach practice encourages me to consider compliance and resistance as poorly defined and worthy of problematization and investigation.

Summary.

It is evident from the discussion above that there is significant scholarly support for the linkage of inductive notions with the subthemes utilised to organise data in this investigation. There were also significant links between the notions drawn inductively from the data and subthemes. There is a great deal of overlap and cross referencing between the local concepts and subthemes, due in part to the narrow and focused nature of scholarly articles utilised. In a number of instances, particularly in the case of docility (Denison & Scott-Thomas, 2011), the local concepts represent inferred or highlighted areas that researchers determined; these areas warrant further investigation.

Chapter 12: Coach Communication

This chapter introduces the theme: symbolic communication and impression management and elaborates how such processes are utilised by coaches, mentors and insiders of the coaching sub-culture. This chapter serves two functions; first, to illustrate how coaches (and others) interact and communicate; and second, to elaborate the interaction theory that overlays, explains and expands on the minutiae of interpersonal interaction in the following two chapters.

Elaborating symbolic communication.

In order to communicate as a coach within the sub-culture of Australian coaching, a number of signs and symbols are utilised by individuals. Some of these signs are overt and have a prescribed meaning that can be used to strategically communicate to other coaches, parents and agents of Swimming Australia (Blumer, 1962; Rogers, 1977):

> *…releasing the stopwatches I was holding. Their cords are tethered and loop down behind my legs.*
>
> *…He is wearing a club shirt but the same style of denim shorts and running shoes that I do. I allow myself a little smile as I notice these details.*
>
> *…we need to show people that we mean business; "These shirts will set us apart, and show that we are more prepared, more together than the rag-tag coaches you see on pool deck up here."*

(Chapter 10, Walks like a coach*)*[10]

The interpretation of these signs within the particular social setting stimulates a learned response that influences the behaviour of others. Through these sign vehicles or "interactional effects" (Rogers, 1977, p. 90), I was communicating my grasp of the cultural signs associated with a proficient swim coach on deck (Blumer, 1962; Goffman, 1959). In these instances, I was behaving "in a wholly calculating fashion in order to elicit a desired response from others" (Rogers, 1977).

Other signs and symbols were used to instruct:

> *I assume a familiar pose on the side of the pool. I am bent forward at the hip, left arm elongated directly in front of my shoulder. My right arm simulating the catch phase of the stroke by starting in the same position as the left but with elbow high in the imaginary water and wrist dropping, palm facing backwards, making a repeating sweeping motion.*
>
> *(Chapter 10, Walks like a coach)*

While this dramatization of the stroke is a series of overt symbols used to instruct (Blumer, 1962), it can also be interpreted as an idealised performance that is associated with the cultural signs detailed above, i.e. I am demonstrating my coaching practice as a credible and idealised performance (Partington & Cushion, 2012). Both sets of symbols described in the passages above are effective in communicating their prescribed meaning, i.e. the social process associated with interpreting the symbolic communication (Blumer, 1962).

[10] Excerpts from personal and participant narratives are referenced according to chapter and narrative title. Reference is right aligned for ease of readership.

Consideration must also be given to the way that coach behaviour is influenced or affected by the actions of others, particularly within the formal coach education process. The intentional manner in which course presenters interact with coaches undertaking coursework for accreditation in order to knowingly "optimise the likelihood of preferred outcomes" (Rogers, 1977, p. 89) references the expression of power and strategic communication through the use of behavioural materials that effect "corrective control" (Goffman, 1969, p. 22). The gestures, glances and positioning, used intentionally by instructors as a means of "shaping interactional outcomes" (Rogers, 1977, p. 89) was illustrated in Bailey's and my experience of the formal coach education process:

> *The speaker moved on quickly and I sensed he was uncomfortable because he turned his body slightly and directed his next instruction to the people in the back corner of the group. I totally felt cut out…*
> *The three word answers and body language told me that the presenters were getting annoyed and it became a little intimidating…*
>
> *(Chapter 6, A weekend course)*
>
> *The presenter frowned at the interruption, he turned briefly to the coach pointed at him and said, "If you can control it, then control it… That's the sort of thing that we can discuss in the lunch break."*
> *(Chapter 10, The best coaches)*

This exchange correlates strongly with Rogers' (1977) assertion that in this way "those with power can exploit dominant belief and value systems to maximise their preferred outcomes" (p. 93). Put simply, the course presenter is maintaining

a position of privileged knowledge giver and possessor of resources and is the locus of recycled practice.

Impression management.

Developing coaches *perform* their practice in front of numerous stakeholders, two of which are particularly important: the parent, and the head coach. In order to highlight their capacity or their believability as a coach, they utilise expressive equipment during this performance (Goffman, 1959). These capacities can be relayed in a practical sense with overt demonstrations of accredited values, such as was illustrated by Nick's colleague coaches on pool deck:

> *…in this way I suppose that I integrated into their systems. In particular I realised that loud or shouted instructions that Andrea could overhear were words and phrases that Andrea used regularly.*
>
> *(Chapter 7, A trial by fire)*

This impression management is not limited to beginning coaches however, as individuals within a hierarchy utilise dramatic self-expression to both organise their place within the structure and highlight their individual capacities. Jones et al. (2010) demonstrated how, when a presentation incorporates "officially accredited values" (Goffman, 1959, p. 31), these values become idealised by the neophyte who may subsequently seek to replicate them. This was evident in Micah's narratives when her head coach reviewed programs before training started:

> *Wendy would avoid eye contact and always spoke too loudly for the conversation. It was as if she wanted everyone to hear. I felt like it was*

> *not really about the programs anyway and was more about just showing everyone who was the boss.*
>
> *(Chapter 8, Coach of the Marlins)*

The immediate result of these clumsy reviews was a tension associated with the development of hierarchy and the encouragement to follow the officially accredited practice associated with this group. This mirrored Partington and Cushion's (2012) finding that many coach behaviours can be attributed to coach centric concerns about "maintaining the social order" (p. 102) rather than sound pedagogical practice. The concern with this is that the neophyte coach can resort to "looking and acting like a traditional coach to gain acceptance" (Partington & Cushion, 2012, p. 101).

Summary.

This chapter elaborated how the processes of symbolic communication and impression management are utilised by coaches in and through their practice. The chapter also elaborated interactional concepts that are used in the following chapters to more clearly explain the complex relational experiences detailed in coach narratives. This layering of theoretical lenses is intended to bring a more nuanced understanding of complex interactions.

Chapter 13: Power and Discipline in Coach Education

This chapter emerges after sustained interaction with participant and personal narratives and engagement with guiding theoretical lenses elaborated in the chapters above. The theme of power and discipline in swim coach education is drawn from the theoretical perspectives of Michel Foucault. This chapter elaborates the patterns of discipline and the pervasiveness of power within the coaching sub-culture and the swim coach education pathway in Australia.

Elaborating relationships of power.

In order to understand how power is exercised, change is effected and hegemony enacted, we must understand Foucault's elaboration of power within relationships. Foucault clarified what he meant by power by first describing what he did not mean it to be; power is not something that can be owned, acquired or shared (Markula & Pringle, 2006). Foucault defined power as a relationship wherein the actions of one person guide, conduct or direct the action of another person; power "does not act directly and immediately on others, instead it acts on their actions" (Markula & Pringle, 2006, p. 35). Therefore, the transmission or exercising of power can only occur in a dyad where one party exercises power and another party is the subject of power and can respond in a number of passive or resistive manners.

A thorough analysis of power relations and systems of power requires that five particular points be present (Foucault, 2001). First, are there "systems of differentiation" (p. 344) such as differences in know how or competence, privilege or wealth? Second, are there factors that act as motivators or objectives "for one to act on the actions of others?"(p. 344) Third, is there evidence that

power is exercised via “instrumental modes” (p. 344) such as threat in speech or complex systems of surveillance that are bound within ethereal organising structures? The fourth point requires that “forms of institutionalisation” (p. 344) are present. This refers to traditional structures, regulation and functioning hierarchical structures whose function is to oversee and regulate. The final point is the “degree of rationalisation” (p. 344) which references the extent to which power is brought to bear and the degree to which it is transformed and adjusted to fit the situation.

Differentiation.

The mentee- mentor relationship that is embedded in the SA/ASCTA coach education pathway and the relationship that coaches have within certain coaching hierarchies permits “one to act on the actions of others” (Foucault, 2001, p. 344), and therefore allow differentiation to occur. This is illustrated in subtle detail in Quinn’s narratives when the club director, in an aggressive verbal rebuke, brought her actions into question:

> *…the director at the time called me on the phone and absolutely abused me. He obviously fundamentally disagreed with my decision to hold the function… ‘What the hell are you doing …? What are you doing…?”*
>
> *I was shocked and a little lost for words.*
>
> *It was definitely a controlling response from him but it was also a turning point for me and how I work with authority.*
>
> *(Chapter 9, Party)*

Perhaps the most extreme example of this differentiation was illustrated by the technique test undertaken by Nick. The test was an explicit tool for

differentiation, and when undertaken in a contested manner becomes powerful technique:

> *I could feel Andrea watching the hesitation of my pen and though I am not really one to be anxious I became really uncomfortable.*
>
> *(Chapter 7, Trial by fire)*

The development of hierarchy is illustrated in 'Sweet success' when the mentee –mentor relationship that William and I were engaged in became a disciplinary site and allowed application of disciplinary instruments to occur:

> *So he didn't mention that you took a breath on every stroke into the finish? Or that you tilted your head to look over at the swimmer in the lane next to you? All of these things could have cost you the race.*
> *He [William] just bagged me out in front of one of my top swimmers and all of the coaches. He could have waited until she had gone and just told me.*
>
> *(Chapter 10, Sweet success)*

Objectives.

Objectives may include the maintenance of privilege or the exercise of authority. This maintenance of privilege could be characterised as the development of hierarchy such as the classification of members according to rank, club, state and national selection. The use and exercise of statutory authority can also be utilised to maintain a privileged position (Foucault, 2001). In the story *'Coach of the marlins,'* Micah experienced this with the privileged position her coaching colleagues maintained as understudy coaches that had paid

their dues to a head coach who maintained authority without being the ultimate employer of coaches:

> *She had a few other coaches out in the 50m pool but these guys had all come through from her senior squads and I always had the feeling that because she had coached them and trained them as coaches that she thought really highly of them and valued them… I felt like it was not really about the programs [I wrote] anyway and was more about just showing everyone who was the boss.*
>
> *(Chapter 8, Coach of the Marlins)*

The exercise of authority was also embedded in the coach education course undertaken by Bailey in *'A weekend course'*. Repeated attempts to co-construct knowledge was discouraged by the utilisation of negative body language by presenters:

> *The speaker moved on quickly and I sensed he was uncomfortable because he turned his body slightly and directed his next instruction to the people in the back corner of the group. I totally felt cut out… The three word answers and body language told me that the presenters were getting annoyed and it became a little intimidating as I felt like I was regularly being shut down in front of the group.*
>
> *(Chapter 6, A weekend course)*

Instrumental modes.

The presence of instrumental modes such as the effect of speech to express power is littered throughout coaches' experiences in the chapters above, and is

best illustrated by the differentiation of Aaron by the head coach in *'National coach'*:

> *The head coach interrupts again. This time the volume of his voice is rising, "Turn off? Are you kidding? They will shut down … That is just ridiculous!"*
>
> *Aaron responds quietly now, as if he is speaking to himself, "I do this in my home programme after some competitions …"*
>
> *The head coach responds, almost yelling at the room, "I don't care about your home programs! You are dealing with other coaches' swimmers here.*
>
> *(Chapter 10, National coach)*

In this example, the expression of power through the effects of speech is characterised by modifiable ambiguous rules with no set means of enforcement (Foucault, 2001).

Instrumental modes also referred to threat through the development of economic disparity as was experienced by Nick when his head coach cut his wage in response to a disagreement:

> *"I'm not really happy to be honest with how you have been performing… I just don't think you are there yet and I am not prepared to keep paying you the full wage."*
>
> *I said, "Andrea, it's only a few dollars." Inside I was thinking, you have gone out of your way to intimidate me and hurt me for a few dollars? That part hurt more than any slight financial loss.*
>
> *(Chapter 7, Hawk eye)*

Again, this highlights the presence of modifiable rules as Andrea overturned her original ruling within days, and reinstated Nick's wage, though by this time the threat had been exercised.

Institutionalisation.

Swimming is characterised by forms of institutionalisation at every level of the sport. Hierarchical systems that classify coaches are both explicit, in terms of coaching accreditation which is administered by the sport's governing body SA, and implicit "via experience, achievement and relationships within the hierarchy of the sport's governing body" (Zehntner & McMahon, 2013). Coaching groups and clubs have formal and informal hierarchical structures regardless of size, and these often mirror structures present in state and national organisations, including the sport's governing body SA and the body that accredits coaches, ASCTA. The principal overseer and global regulator of coaches (Foucault, 2001), Swimming Australia, plays the role of "distributer of power relations in coaches' lives" (Zehntner & McMahon, 2013). SA does this by distributing officers that become a part of the mobile architecture that contributes to supervision and surveillance. The degree to which institutionalisation pervades coaches' lives is evident from the stories above and while often overt and obvious, the more subtle but none the less significant instances of institutionalisation often prove to be the most substantial agents of change. The best example of this is the insidious and complex structure illustrated by Quinn's experiences after her team won a national medal in the relay:

> *In the early stages of this appointment I found out that there were state players that were undermining my position…*

> *The girls had just won a national relay title and were celebrating…when I looked up into the stands, there was joy everywhere, and I could see this administrator talking to another woman, just eyeballing me across the pool deck. There was no joy and elation in her face, she was furious and inside I just knew she was trying to take me down. And she did, in the end, this administrator actually won, the program folded and I no longer had a job.*
>
> *(Chapter 9, Relay champions)*

This excerpt also references how the state players produced expressions in a calculating way to express power. The process of control however relies on Quinn's ability to read the expression (Goffman, 1969, p. 12). The rationalisation (by Quinn) of the expressions made by state players did not result in a considered change in practice, however it did imbue her with a sense of discomfort and contributed to her awareness of the operational hierarchy present.

Perhaps a more subtle reference of the pervasiveness of institutionalisation in the Australian swimming culture is in regard to matters of fashion. This reference by Foucault (2001) in regard to corporate or institutional dress is often aligned with the standardised uniform (Nola, 1998). The aim of the uniform was to provide an identity, or "segregate them [attendants or members] from their previous culture" (Nola, 1998, p. 14). This is referenced both overtly, in the example of my head coach purchasing designer shirts to wear during inter-club competition:

> *He said that we need to show people that we mean business; "These shirts will set us apart, and show that we are more prepared, more together than the rag-tag coaches you see on pool deck up here."*
>
> *(Chapter 10, Walks like a coach)*

This excerpt references the head coaches' development of a standardised uniform that demonstrates efficiency and capacity. This story also highlights my initial rejection of an identity aligned uniform; however, in the same story there is evidence that coaching dispositions and clothing choices combine to surreptitiously communicate the very same outcome to the observant outsider:

> *I glance across the warm-up pool to where a senior coach is describing the same motion for a distressed swimmer standing next to him… He is wearing a club shirt but the same style of denim shorts and running shoes that I do. I allow myself a little smile as I notice these details before sliding through the throng of swimmers and coaches.*
>
> *(Chapter 10, Walks like a coach)*

Rationalisation.

How, where and with what force is power brought into play within relationships? The organisation, elaboration and transformation of power adjusts to fit the situation (Foucault, 2001) and can be elaborate or blunt as the situation dictates. The actioning of power in a relationship can be misrecognised as is illustrated in *'Balancing act'* when Bailey sought to gain insight from the head coach. When at first the direct approach failed to elicit an appropriate response, the use of a third party achieved the desired reaction albeit with a demonstration of force that communicated the head coach's displeasure:

> *Then he came and had a go at me as though I was undermining him, "Don't go behind my back to try and get what you want, this isn't school" he said.*
>
> *I suppose I got an answer but this is just one example of how I had to play the game if I wanted something.*
>
> *(Chapter 6, Balancing act)*

The degree to which power is exercised can also be overt and extreme as was the case when Nick felt the blunt use of force to shape his coaching practice:

> *She [head coach] shouted, "Stop, that's not right!"*
>
> *She just sort of pushed in between me and the side of the pool so the kids could not see me and started shouting [to me but towards the kids], "You can't do that. You need to do it like this.*
>
> *Right, Tiffanie come over here…", and proceeded to hijack my session.*
>
> *Once she had the kids moving again she turned to me and said, "Go and clean up the boards there would you?"*
>
> *(Chapter 7, A trial by fire)*

The points established above demonstrate how "power relations are rooted in the whole network of the social" (Foucault, 2001, p. 345), and how within the variety of relationships, the application of power as an action on the action of others is organised and transformed according to the individual or situation. The means of correct training.

In order to analyse the stories, a thorough thematic analysis investigated what was said and how it was said. Prominent tensions within the stories

highlighted such qualitative threads and these are viewed under the Foucauldian thematic lenses elaborated below (Sparkes & Smith, 2014). The first themes analysed were the classification and dividing practices exhibited in a culture. These include hierarchical observation, normalising judgement and the examination. This elaboration of cultural and social practices is followed by examination of technologies of the self where the expression of power becomes mobile and situated within the individual in such a way that the individual can transform themselves (Foucault, 1979).

Foucault (1979) described the main function of disciplinary power as a force for differentiation and separation; it sought to separate and create individuals to become both objects and instruments of the application of force. This same discipline that acts on individuals in the form of coercions and calculated controlling of behaviour such that the individual operates with efficiency, produces what is termed, a subjected or docile body (Foucault, 1979; Zehntner & McMahon, 2013). This is not an altogether unconscious action by an individual but rather as Foucault (1988a) pointed out in his later work *'Technologies of the self'*, these actions enable individuals to effect operations on their own body in order to transform themselves.

Hierarchical observation.

As elaborated above, the primary function of discipline is to train. In order to effect disciplinary power, hierarchical observation, normalising judgement and the examination combine. Hierarchical observation is the mechanism that, when exercised, coerces by means of observation, and makes those subjects on whom the power is applied clearly visible (Foucault, 1979). Foucault (1979) first

referenced the concrete architectural elements that are utilised to observe the space while permitting an "internal, articulated and detailed control" (p. 173). He then considered how supervision through the multiple levels of relays or attendants can "form an uninterrupted network" (p. 174) such that there can be continuous supervision.

The architecture of hierarchical observation as it is referenced in the Australian swimming culture is both overt and discrete. The field (see Chapter 13) of swimming can be highly variable, such as the case when coaches travel away from their home base for competition or camps. The physical architecture (overt) that enables hierarchical observation can be as complex and wilfully designed as the one-way mirror installed at J Aquatics:

> *…She was watching me coach through the one way glass… Andrea was leaning on the window like she was at a bar, just watching me coach. After a few weeks I began to notice the subtle shadow that fell on the glass when someone was directly behind it.*
>
> *(Chapter 7, A trial by fire)*

This mirror parallels Foucault's elaboration of the guard tower on the army base that overlooks rows of tents organised in such a way that power can be exercised through direct observation (Foucault, 1979). The window allows for constant supervision of coaches and swimmers such that the accepted protocols dictated by the head coach can be enacted (Lang, 2010).

In the absence of purposeful architecture designed to elevate the gaze of an attendant, natural structures can be utilised to effect disciplinary power through observation:

> *[He is] sitting away from everyone else at the very peak of the hill. He sits stern faced, very still and arms crossed with a program in hand, the rolled up cover just visible from under one arm. No one seems game to go up and speak with him.*
>
> *(Chapter 10, The hill)*

The senior development coach described in the excerpt above had commandeered a vantage point that references the panopticon (for more, see 'Technologies of the self' below) and allowed for a continuous gaze that encompassed the swimmer, coach and club member performances. This was further illustrated by Jaime in '*Intensity*' when the head coach ensured that his session was meted out accordingly:

> *…sure enough he takes two steps up into the grandstand directly behind me. I can see the kids looking over my shoulder at the head coach as I begin to tell them what they are going to do for the warm-up.*
>
> *(Chapter 5, Intensity)*

In each of the excerpts illustrated above, a vantage point was utilised to coerce the individual in a calculated but effective manner through gaze. The effect varies from discomfort and uncertainty:

> *I was never really sure that it was me she was watching, but when I saw the shadow I always got a bit of a sick feeling in my gut.*
>
> *(Chapter 7, A trial by fire)*

Further, the effect led to an internalised concern for how future swim performances position me as a coach in the eyes of the senior development coach:

> *I feel chastened and feel a niggling worry about the remaining swims and how they will make me look.*
>
> *(Chapter 10, The hill)*

And in the case of Jaime, a palpable sense of apathy:

> It feels like my shoulders have shrunken…and I am breathing in little sighs. *Hope he isn't going to watch me the whole session, I think.*
>
> *(Chapter 5, Intensity)*

The use of architectural structures that elevate the gaze is a rudimentary and obvious technique. Barker-Ruchti and Tinning (2010) related how a walled gymnasium becomes a space for private and secured discipline, and a place where an individual could not escape the gaze of their coach. The many landscapes inhabited by coaches can serve to turn the eye in on itself and focus the attention of the observing hierarchy on coach practice, and in this way contribute to the structural limitations imposed on the coach (Barker-Ruchti & Tinning, 2010).

Beyond the development of architectural structures that provide a point from which the effect of gaze is extended, the full effect of the disciplinary gaze can only be achieved when a discrete but uninterrupted network of gazes is developed (Foucault, 1979). In this way, self-discipline can be sustained at ever increasing levels for the sake of improved performance (Johns & Johns, 2000). In order for this to be achieved Foucault identified the 'relays' or attendants of the culture that provide multiple layers of supervision in such a way that supervision is continual and functional. Perhaps only the critical scholar could identify the area behind the grandstand described in *'Sweet success'* as a

contested space, a site where my mentor and I interacted, and a place where a relationship of power was exercised. In this case, William sought to manage the space and to this end, he utilised coercive methods to organise the time, movement and practice of coaches within that space. This is where a development officer and attendant coaches become the apparatus that allowed for an uninterrupted network of gazes:

> *Am I a bloody idiot? Standing here grinning like goose. I just dropped myself in it too. He [William] just bagged me out in front of one of my top swimmers and all of the coaches. He could have waited until she had gone and just told me.*
>
> *(Chapter 10, Sweet success)*

This disciplinary practice exercised by William and viewed by officials, coaches and insiders of the coaching culture ensures individuals are distributed and disciplinary power transformed into a discrete but continuous field (Foucault, 1979; Lang, 2010). The hierarchies present in the Australian swimming culture reflect not only the officers of SA, but also insiders or attendants of the culture such as club administrators (Barker-Ruchti & Tinning, 2010), as is exemplified when a former club president exerted himself into the hierarchy:

> *I am disgusted that this would not let his swimmers take a break, is this child abuse?"*
>
> *Shaking my head I quickly explain to Michael, who is a past club president, that I do allow toilet breaks, just never in the middle of a set.*
>
> *(Chapter 10, Child abuse)*

Attendants to the culture also made their presence felt for Quinn when peripheral state players who were present in the state hierarchy but not directly responsible for Quinn made clear the extent of the gaze:

> *I found out that there were state players that were undermining my position, both to my boss at the excellence program and to the national body; Swimming Australia. I would have to walk onto pool deck knowing that they were sitting in the stands backstabbing, colluding and working against me.*
>
> *(Chapter 9, Relay champions)*

In this instance, the technique of surveillance was less subtle than Foucault (1979) suggested in the continuous field, however, the result was physical and palpable for Quinn.

> *It was an incredibly frustrating time and many incidents had me in tears.*
>
> *(Chapter 9, Relay champions)*

Perhaps the most striking example of the pyramidal organisation of surveillance occurred in the grooming of a parent by Andrea at J Aquatics. Andrea utilised the parent as an attendant in such a way that Nick could not escape the eye of the hierarchy and the "network of gazes" (Foucault, 1979, p. 171) formed "an uninterrupted network" (p. 174):

> *It wasn't long before a particularly critical mum, perhaps encouraged by Andrea's constant questioning, had a real go at me…*
>
> *"Amanda's mum has mentioned to me that that you are not really giving Amanda much attention… "She timed your session and you only gave Amanda seven minutes in the whole session!"*

(Chapter 7, Hawk eye)

This intimidating example of continuous and uninterrupted surveillance elicited significant tensions and the feeling in Nick that he was like a 'cat on a hot tin roof'. This knowledge that one is under constant supervision became internalised to the point at which Nick began to act on himself; assuming that he was being watched, his every action predetermined by reference to the fixed and culturally accepted practices. In the same way that Bentham's hypothetical inmate (for more see 'technologies of the self' below) became the bearer of the power relation, maintaining and sustaining it independent of the person who initiated it, so too did Nick, when he internalised and amplified the process of surveillance without coercion (Foucault, 1979).

Normalising judgement.

Normalising judgement is a system of penalty that uses rewards and punishment of behaviour in order to create discipline. A micro punishment that may result in humiliation for a transgression may be all that is needed for one to feel that an offence has been committed. The other element of this system that is utilised to effect change is gratification and the use of privilege (Foucault, 1979). The process of normalising judgement brings into play five operations, first it *compares* individual action to the whole, and in this way *differentiates* individuals. It creates *conformity* through the *hierarchizing* of members and finally defines what will be considered as acceptable (normal) in such a way that abnormal behaviour can be *excluded* (Foucault, 1979). The inherent power of this is that "normalisation imposes homogeneity" (Foucault, 1979, p. 184) by separating and measuring individuals.

Normalising judgement is “utilised by officers and attendants of SA in the many situations that coaches come together in professionally competitive situations such as team selection or coach development and accreditation” (Zehntner & McMahon, 2013, p. 7). This insidious process is also embedded in the micro hierarchies present within swim clubs and coaching groups.

Jaime’s boss (the head coach) utilised this process during a staff instruction session when he stated:

> *Alright, gather around. None of you have been teaching freestyle properly. You need to start doing it properly.*
>
> *(Chapter 5, Professional development)*

In the first instance, he excluded the entire group of coaches by ascribing their coaching skill set as abnormal or outside the bounds of what is acceptable or normal by comparing their practice to his own acceptable practice. While he did not differentiate the staff present, he was hierarchizing and through a closed curriculum he was creating conformity:

> *You cannot be working for me and compromising my name doing it another way.*
>
> *(Chapter 5, Professional development)*

Any failure to subscribe to the accepted values of the head coach would clearly set that individual apart and it was noted that the group had learned to quietly accept instruction without critical discussion or reflection. This set of compliant or docile behaviours were valued by the head coach and could be used as key indicators of coaching ability.

The written test undertaken by Nick at the start of his employment in *'A trial by fire'* became the blunt instrument with which the head coach compared Nick's coaching knowledge and in this way differentiated him from the other assistant coaches. This technique of differentiation was particularly effective as there was no clear elaboration of where his colleague coaches were placed within this knowledge based hierarchy:

> *On the second page there was a technique test. At this point I realised that Andrea the head coach was standing over my shoulder. I wasn't ready for it and was suddenly very nervous.*
>
> *(Chapter 7, A trial by fire)*

Andrea's positioning during this test referenced Goffman's elaboration of a strategic interaction "performed by an observer who is suspicious of deception" (Goffman, 1969, p. 13). This interaction could also be attributed to developing and "maintaining social order" (Partington & Cushion, 2012, p. 102) through elaborated symbolic communication. In this particular instance, Nick's knowledge was deemed unacceptable or abnormal. He was therefore hierarchized and given the choice of gaining employment if he denounced any previous knowledge and conformed to the ideal 'J Aquatics' coach or exclusion if he chose not to:

> *She actually said, "I want you to start again with us, forget what you think you know. We are still keen to employ you but I want to train you." So I was back to square one. Andrea told me that I had to do the equivalent of my accreditation hours again…*
>
> *(Chapter 7, A trial by fire)*

Micah too, experienced the effect of normalising judgement when an agent (Wendy) of her employer (the pool manager) sought to establish the hierarchy for this new position as coach. Wendy alluded to the fact that here too was a system of conformity where only insiders that have been versed in the workings of the club would be welcomed into the coaching ranks:

> *…don't want her, she hasn't been here long enough. No, no, no!"*
>
> *(Chapter 8, Catching a break)*

This differentiation was further referenced with the petty humiliations of her coaching practice:

> *This sort of public humiliation was more frustrating than anything else, because I knew that the parents were right behind me. It was not like they would stick up for me in front of Wendy but they would often have a word to me after the session.*
>
> *(Chapter 8, Catching a break)*

Additionally, the privilege ascribed to former members of Wendy's squad who are now in the coaching ranks also effectively differentiated and hierarchized:

> *…these guys had all come through from her senior squads and I always had the feeling that because she had coached them and trained them as coaches that she thought really highly of them and valued them. I didn't feel as though I was a part of this group.*
>
> *(Chapter 8, Coach of the marlins)*

Micah felt this exclusion acutely and through the twin forces of humiliation and privilege, she was encouraged to conform. The tension created by this process

and Micah's resistance to completely adopt the dominant ideology became a tipping point:

> *At times I felt like I was too old to care what she thought of me but the worst thing was that she did all of this in front of people.*
>
> *(Chapter 8, Coach of the Marlins)*

The process of normalisation became a source of unresolved tension due to Micah's unwillingness to conform as evidenced by her stepping outside of the hierarchy to gain the requisite acknowledgement of coaching hours for accreditation:

> …when it came time to get my hours signed off to get my Bronze Licence, I approached the centre manager. This guy was not technically my mentor but I could not bring myself to go to Wendy. I really tried not to have anything to do with her in the end.
>
> *(Chapter 8, Squad assessments).*

The examination.

The examination is a form of surveillance that utilises three functions in order to effect a normalising gaze. This ritualised mechanism of discipline *qualifies, classifies* and *punishes* and in this way establishes cultural truths through the deployment of force (Foucault, 1979). The examination demonstrates the oppression of "those who are perceived as objects and the objectification of those who are subjected" (Foucault, 1979, p. 185). It combines the techniques of the observing hierarchy, which as elaborated above includes both physical and social structures, and the technique of normalising judgement. While Foucault describes the 'ceremony of examination' as a parade, it is best

related to this investigation by acknowledging that the examination is hidden in ritual by the various agents and cultural attendants. These cultural norms and accepted practices for the establishment of truth are insidious and often misinterpreted by those who are subjected to them.

In order to produce well practiced bodies out of the gathering of coaches behind the grandstand, attendants of a culture such as my mentor, William, utilised the examination:

> *William then turned to face me, "You need to look at the performance without getting caught up in the emotion so that you can see what needs improving; you can't get into the habit of praising your swimmers too much. Leave that for their parents, your job is to critique the swim."*
>
> *(Chapter 10, Sweet success)*

As spectators to the parade of Aaron, in *'National coach'*, all of the junior coaches present were encouraged to become subjected and well-practised bodies. While Aaron was the central figure in this narrative, he was not the only member that felt the effect of power while he was being examined:

> *The head coach interrupts at this point, cutting Aaron off midsentence, "I am not sure that you were looking at the same swimmers that I was? They were struggling physically. Their technique was poor, a poor choice!*
>
> *(Chapter 10, National coach)*

Aaron was the subject of force applied by the head coach, however, the other members present become part of the ritual of truth. The individualisation or classification Aaron experienced as part of this examination was both a source of privilege:

> *"As he is one of the more experienced coaches here I have decided to look at Aaron's work"*

and evidence of his subjugation:

> *Aaron's answers become weaker and less convincing, his face flushed with colour and his body language at first confident, now clearly shows how uncomfortable he is...*
>
> *Aaron is suitably crushed and the head coach steps back from the group and using a pleasant tone that conveys his compassion, "This is just something we all have to go through…*
>
> *(Chapter 10, National coach)*

This excerpt referenced Goffman's (1959) notion of dramatic self-expression where the head coach highlighted his individual capacities through the presentation of "officially accredited values" (p. 31) in such a way that they might become idealised by the beginning coaches. This creation of official knowledge was later endorsed by the director of coaches, when he recognised the head coaches standing in the room and endorsed both his expertise and the practice of examination.

Technologies of the self.

Much of the theorising above relates to how agents utilise power to dominate. Of great relevance to this investigation was how individuals acted upon themselves. It is understood from Foucault's genealogy "that the subject is constituted through practices of subjugation" (Foucault, 1988b, p. 50), however these practices can also be effected on a subject's body and conducted by their own means (Foucault, 1988a). This means that an individual can achieve a

certain state of happiness, or transform themselves by effecting operations on their own body.

In order for power to perfectly produce reality, surveillance must function continuously, even though at times the action of surveillance is discontinuous. This state of permanent visibility where the mechanism of discipline is liberated from physical and social structures and embodied by individuals, such that they impose personal systems of control and thus become self-regulating, is termed technologies of the self (Foucault, 1979, 1988a). This concept was developed by Foucault towards the end of his academic life and has theoretical underpinnings in panopticism. Foucault theorised that the metaphorical panopticon was an effective way to achieve compliance and docility in any situation in which a "particular form of behaviour must be imposed" on multiple individuals (Foucault, 1979, p. 205).

The panopticon references architecture designed by Jeremy Bentham that homogenises the effect of power and allows continuous supervision of numerous subjects via an observatory that is itself protected from view. In this way, the observed become the bearers of power over themselves thus sustaining a power relationship "independent of the person who exercises it" (Foucault, 1979, p. 201). This physical architectural model of surveillance and control is termed by Richardson, Kvasny, Jackson, Gharavi, and Klobas (2006) as an external panopticon and the regulation of the self as an internal panopticon. Numerous scholars have applied panoptic theory to sport and investigated how technologies of the self were employed by athletes to internalise and justify expertise from a discourse (Johns & Johns, 2000; McMahon & Penney, 2012; Scott, 2010).

McMahon and Penney (2012) identified the longitudinal durability of body practices embodied by swimmers as a self-surveillance and self-regulation in a performance and perfection discourse. These authors found that discursive constructs relating to body weight and skinfold averages were internalised and body practices normalised as a result of technocentric practices undertaken by coaching staff who worked with swimmers during competition. Johns and Johns (2000) also concluded that technologies of the self "shaped the discursive practice of athletes" (p. 219).

The external panopticon referenced through architecture or positioning is demonstrated repeatedly in the narratives of coaches presented in Part B of this thesis. Mentor coaches and agents of SA utilised natural features as is the case with the visiting senior development coach:

> *He has brought a foldout chair and is sitting away from everyone else at the very peak of the hill. He sits stern faced, very still and arms crossed with a program in hand, the rolled up cover just visible from under one arm. No one seems game to go up and speak with him.*
>
> *(Chapter 10, The hill)*

This natural feature becomes an ideal panoptic structure as the senior development coach controls an elevated position from which he can view swimmers, coaches, officials and parents. The subjects of observation were aware of the gaze, of the presence of the observer, but in order to see him they would have to turn and look over their shoulder into the bright blue sky that back lit the attendant. This same opportunist application of a panoptic structure was evidenced by the head coach in *'Secrecy'* (Chapter 5) when he stepped into the

grandstand in order to oversee Jaime's coaching. This simple act distanced the head coach from possible conversation or collaboration and at the same time allowed him to hear and see Jaime's coaching practice. As an apparatus of supervision, it became extremely effective as Jaime would have to make an obvious turn to see if and when the head coach was watching. There was a compounding or magnifying effect in this instance as the faces of swimmers upturned to hear and see Coach Jaime's instruction, could also directly see the head coach and bear witness to his gaze. In this way, it could be argued that they too become complicit in the automatic functioning of power through permanent visibility (Foucault, 1979).

Perhaps the most effective panoptic structure evidenced in the narratives in Part B, of this thesis, was the one way mirrored glass utilised by the head coach of J Aquatics to gaze upon the practices of coaches in the main pool area. This example has been relayed above in relation to the physical architecture of hierarchy:

> *I could feel her stare the whole time I was coaching… She was watching me coach through the one way glass… After a few weeks I began to notice the subtle shadow that fell on the glass when someone was directly behind it.*
>
> *(Chapter 7, A trial by fire)*

The effect of this was both emotional and visceral as the mechanism of observation penetrated into Nick's behaviour:

> *I was never really sure that it was me she was watching, but when I saw the shadow I always got a bit of a sick feeling in my gut.*

(Chapter 7, A trial by fire)

In this way, the process of internalisation began and the development of technologies of the self, wherein self-regulation and the presentation of coaching practice that maintained consistency with the dictates of the head coach were central:

> *I knew that the programs that I set were working and that kids were improving but much of what I did was calculated in terms of avoiding criticism from Andrea.*

(Chapter 7, Good cop-Bad cop)

Foucault's elaboration of the methods through which human beings constitute themselves relates to the shaping of an individual's thoughts, conduct and way of being (Foucault, 1988a). Of particular importance to the primary aims of this research project, was the way that individual coaches transformed their practice in order to attain coaching knowledge (wisdom) and a satisfactory working environment (happiness). This related, in part, to how a coach seeks to gain experience or approved coaching hours under the tutelage of a mentor in order to progress through the coach accreditation pathway.

Central to the technologies of the self is the internal dialogue that individuals utilise in order to sort their thoughts (ideas), actions (coaching practice) and how these thoughts relate to those of the emperor (head coach) (Foucault, 1988a). The theme of self-renunciation, which is essentially a rejection of one's own ideas in favour of those of others, is captured in *all* of the participant and personal narratives presented in Part B of this thesis. In each

case, the context differs as the participant seeks to constitute their new self within a field of knowledge.

I posit here that Jaime renounced her extensive experience as a swimmer in response to the barrage of criticism of her coaching practice:

> *It was a crazy situation, I brought a lot of experience as a swimmer and had always been super motivated…*
>
> *I felt like I couldn't please him, no matter what I did, he always found something to pick on.*
>
> *(Chapter 5, Bilateral breathing)*

In response to this incident, her practice evolved such that she sought to please rather than to develop her coaching practice in a collaborative manner or in her own terms as an experienced practitioner:

> *I have spent the last few weeks dancing around trying not to get into too much trouble…*
>
> *I stick to safe ground and speak at the group, loudly telling them the set twice, like he has shown me. I know that this is not me and that I am just seeking approval.*
>
> *(Chapter 5, Bilateral breathing)*

The self-renunciation does not mirror the classic genealogy developed by Foucault as there is no disclosure of the subjects' status as knowledge deficit. Rather, this is silenced and this silence a form of acquiescence or agreement with the head coach's knowledge and practice:

> *This is not how I want to coach. I think to myself. I know I have to do it though if I want to keep my job here. Suck it up! It won't always be like this.*
>
> *(Chapter 5, Bilateral breathing)*

This silent agreement with the dominant knowledge within the coach education process has been referenced by scholars (Cassidy, 2010; Denison, 2010), however it is the effect of such practices that is illuminated in the narratives. Shogan (1999) demonstrated how docility in athletes resulted in disillusionment and burnout, however to date, scholars have not made this assertion with coaches.

A tacit acceptance is expected by the group of coaches assembled in the story *'Professional development'*, when the head coach determined that none were teaching the correct freestyle progression:

> *You are not bloody here so that you can have your own conversations! You guys need to listen and learn this and do it my way, otherwise you are out!*
>
> *(Chapter 5, Professional development)*

Space was not given for the co-construction of knowledge but rather a linear framework of coaching knowledge was offered where the head coach was the bearer of expert knowledge and power and the assembled junior coaches were the resources in need of development (Holt, 2008). Denison and Avner (2011) suggested that this is particularly problematic as it positions coaches (in this case the head coach) as a bringer of expertise without encouraging critical

thinking and reflection on practice. This is illustrated in *'Catching a break'* when Micah felt the effect of her conformity to an endorsed coaching practice:

> *The problem for me was that I was mostly doing the things that Wendy wanted and found acceptable, and this was creating an internal conflict because I felt that most of it was not really appropriate or at least not the way that I would have approached it*
>
> *(Chapter 8, Catching a break)*

Further renunciation of coaching knowledge and practice was illustrated by Aaron in response to repeated and aggressive critical review of his programs by the head coach in *'National coach'*. Initial rebuttals and argument, which represent a denial of the dominant ideology and the expression of critical thought, were eventually silenced and this acceptance of his fate became a part of his self-renunciation and possibly the beginning of the constitution of his new self:

> *Aaron's answers become weaker, less convincing, and eventually stop… Finally it is over, Aaron is suitably crushed. The head coach steps back from the group.*
>
> *(Chapter 10, National coach)*

The relationship that Aaron had with the head coach of the training camp was the same for most junior coach participants. The parade of Aaron had a profound effect on my coaching practice, and my developing coaching identity. This camp would form a key part of the practical hours that a coach would have to undertake to achieve accreditation, but perhaps more telling was the fact that in order to gain acceptance and selection in teams a coach must negotiate formal

and informal hierarchies in order to be accepted. These very complex interactions are specifically what Denison (2010) referred to as leading to indoctrination and coaches being moulded into learning machines. In this way, Australian swimming through intermediaries was intent on hegemony and the rejection of any commitment to developing coaches committed to change (Cassidy, 2010). The extreme cultural immersion experienced by Jaime and myself in the passages above is evidence of the development of expert knowledge or best practice (Denison & Avner, 2011) as espoused by agents of SA. The normalisation of this regime of disciplined and conforming coaching practice where coaches become self-monitoring and self-reporting must also be self-sustaining as outside of such formal gatherings there is less governance. Expert knowledge and confirmation that acquiescence will lead to acceptance was reinforced for the group of coaches that experienced Aaron's examination in *'National coach'* by the director of coaches for the national open team when he said:

> *…becoming a member of the coaching staff does require that you have a clear understanding of how things work.*
>
> *(Chapter 10, National coach)*

For me, this experience became an ideological crossroad that brought about my departure from the sport as I was not able to sustain a coaching identity that conformed to the dominant paradigm. In Jaime's case, conformity resulted in her continued employment with this coach for a number of years, albeit with the internalised tensions created by her acceptance of the dominant practice.

It is important not to underestimate the significance that conformity has to coach development, in particular the progression of coaches through formal coaching hierarchies. For most coaches interviewed, the tension created by interactions within hierarchical constructs was at best a source of frustration and at worst a catalyst for an extreme change in practice. This was evidenced in Quinn's purposeful reorganisation of her coaching practice in response to the knowledge that her work would come under extreme scrutiny due to her gender:

> *"Don't fuck up! You know that (refers to board member) doesn't think you can do the job because you are a female!"*
>
> *(Chapter 9, Out of the pan)*

This interjection, though accepted graciously and without apparent tension, was a significant misrecognition of the effect of surveillance, normalising judgement and what followed was the actualisation of a process of self-reform and self-control:

> *…if I am going to survive this, I have got to just learn how to not take offence to what these guys say.' I made the conscious decision to hide my any displeasure I might feel in case it positioned me outside the accepted thinking of the group.*
>
> *(Chapter 9, Out of the pan)*

This illustrates the internalised systems of control that Quinn activated in response to a hostile and closed group, and how this self-control had a profound impact on her coaching practice:

> *As I developed my presence in this role, I positioned myself in a support role, partly because of my previous experiences and partly because of my*

> *reception at this job, I decided to go in from a less threatening position. I knew that for me to be successful, they need to see me as non-threatening, as a supporter worker, you know, so I can make their life easier and still get a result.*
>
> *(Chapter 9, Out of the pan)*

In essence, Quinn had transformed her coaching practice (conduct) and way of working with this group in order to achieve success, happiness and perfection (Foucault, 1988a). Quinn's previous experiences with hierarchical power and this new introduction of "nonegalitarian and mobile relations" (Markula & Pringle, 2006) simultaneously made her the object and subject of power. Her ability to transform her practice in such a way that she could proceed was taken lightly on the surface:

> *You're not getting down in the gutter with them, you know, it's a game, just treat it as such and don't take it personally.*
>
> *(Chapter 9, Out of the pan)*

However, when viewed as an outsider, the practice revealed the most damning evidence of subjectivation and the transformation and control of an individual (Foucault, 1988a; Markula & Pringle, 2006). This may also be evidence of self-stylisation in which Quinn's relationship with herself becomes a creative reinvention of her identity (Foucault, 1983b; Markula, 2004).

Summary.

This chapter elaborated the extent to which power was exercised with relationships experienced by participant coaches within the coach education pathway and by social structures inherent in relationships associated with coach

education, mentoring and the coaching sub-culture. The chapter illustrated why power was exercised, how power impacted on an individual's practice and the effect that individuals can have on their own practice through self-regulation or the internalisation of systems of control. In order to question taken for granted coaching practices and the unintended consequences of such practices, we must understand how "the tensions that operate within competitive sport… are socially constructed and not fixed or permanent" (Denison & Scott-Thomas, 2011, p. 34). It is only with critical awareness of how disciplinary technologies shape coaching practice that coaches and other individuals within the coaching culture can renegotiate how they govern themselves (Denison & Scott-Thomas, 2011).

With this understanding of the overarching systems of thought that impact individuals within the coach education pathway, the focus moves to developing an understanding of the field of practice in which swim coaches operate.

Chapter 14: Social Structures in Coach Education

This chapter is driven by the need to elaborate the social landscape inhabited by sports coaches, in particular the social structures experienced by swim coaches in Australia and the impact of these structures on coach education. Australia has a rich history in swimming and this history has a strong correlation with the increasing use of beaches for recreation in the early 1900's (Adair, 2009). Historical documents reveal that the administration of swimming was valued just as highly as the achievements of the swimmers. The contextualisation of administrative developments in the sport of swimming is tainted by tensions between the related sports of water polo and diving (Phillips, 1998). The nature of professional coaches operating in an association with an amateur ideology was also a source of great tension in the early years of Australian swimming, however, the notion that coaches contributed to many of the sports successes was commonly accepted (Phillips, 1998).

Swim coaches interviewed as a part of this research were professional coaches and worked in either private pool organisations for swimming clubs or for Australian Swimming via the various programs the organisation runs at state and regional level. All of the swim coaches were on the continuum for coach accreditation as prescribed by ASCTA and endorsed by SA. The importance of coaching to athlete development in Australia was recognised in 1985 with the inception of the Australian Sports Commission. One of the roles of this organisation was "to improve the sporting abilities of Australians generally through the improvement of the standard of sports coaches" (Department-of-Health, 1989, Part II - Objects). Coach education in Australia is similar to that of

the United Kingdom where sports specific knowledge and pedagogy are valued (Australian-Sports-Commission, n.d.). The value of this is contested by scholars such as Cushion et al. (2003) who suggested that without an understanding of the complex nature of coaching, effective professional development of coaches is unlikely. In this chapter, with critical reflection on narratives and with reference to Bourdieusian themes, I examine and explain the social landscape, consider the relationships between positions in this landscape, determine how resources are used for the expression of power and influence and consider the prevalence and implications of the misrecognition of power. In this way, I illuminate how individual coach dispositions are shaped by mentor and colleague coaches, coach education and agents of SA.

The use of Bourdieusian theory in this research is not without consideration of some of the criticisms levelled at his work. In particular, Jenkins (2013) contended that free-will is considered to be restricted by the relationship between habitus and field. The result of this would be that individuals are then assumed to have no choice governing their own practice. Bourdieu (1990) clarified the relationship thus: while habitus is a “structuring form of structure” (p. 53), it still allows an individual agent to plan their actions, though previous experience still has a considerable influence.

Coaching swimming is a social process; a coach may work simultaneously with a huge variety of swimmers, within a coaching hierarchy and for various stakeholders such as parents and pool operators. Behind these obvious groups, swim coaches in Australia are required by the governing body, SA, to be a part of the formal coach education process. The human interactions encountered by

swim coaches offer both opportunities, constraints and social pressures (Cushion, 2001; Cushion et al., 2003). As one could imagine, such an activity that involves interaction within multiple groups will be complex and contested on many levels. While a great deal of research is directed at the coach/ athlete dyad, it is the other significant space, 'coach as learner', that is the focus of this chapter. As elaborated earlier (Part A), coaching knowledge is formally developed via coach education programs, however, for many coaches experiential knowledge and the observation of other coaches remains the most highly valued and for many the primary source of rich coaching information (Gilbert et al., 2006; Gould, Giannini, Krane, & Hodge, 1990; Piggott, 2012). This leads scholars to the conclusion that "socialisation within a sub-culture" (Cushion et al., 2003, p. 217) is an inherent element in coaches learning how things are done (Potrac & Jones, 2011). Indeed, Fernández-Balboa and Muros (2006) defined coaching as an 'ideology' as it is derived in and through a "culturally structured world" (Cushion & Jones, 2014, p. 276).

Alongside the many nuanced practical and theoretical elements of coaching practice reside coach dispositions. Bourdieu (1977) described habitus as the acquired dispositions, or capacities and expectation instilled by the social environment that determine the actions and practice of individuals. Habitus orients the actions and practices of an individual and gives them "a sense of how to act and respond in the course of their daily lives" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 13). In effect, the body becomes a repository of embodied natural responses. In order to understand the underlying competencies and dispositions which result in taken

for granted practices, we must consider the enculturated “actions and knowledge that are valued within a particular field” (Townsend & Cushion, 2015, p. 6).

The personal experiences for coaches vary significantly and therefore their habitus is unique. Habitus requires the harmonisation of a coach’s experience and the subsequent reinforcement of those experiences. In this way, social and cultural conventions are unquestioned, are perpetuated and can become taken for granted (Bourdieu, 1977; Cushion & Jones, 2014; Townsend & Cushion, 2015). This harmonisation and reinforcement, otherwise described as socialisation, can also be understood as an apprenticeship (Cushion et al., 2003). For the neophyte coach, this practice may well have begun before more formal coach learning was undertaken. For some coaches, their experiences as an athlete will inform their early coaching ideology, though this can be looked upon as a starting point within the continuum of formal coaching practice as a junior coach and structured coach education develops dispositions that enable the development of competent practice (Cushion & Jones, 2014). The aim of this section is to deconstruct sufficiently the covert and embedded guides and expectations for behaviour in such a way that taken for granted assumptions can be problematized. In this way, how coaches’ social reality is organised, constrained and reproduced can be better understood (Cushion & Jones, 2014; Evans & Davies, 2002).

Shaping dispositions in swim coaches.

In order to acquire and internalise particular dispositions, a coach must feel the social constraints and inherent possibilities within interactions. The coaching processes detailed in participant and personal narratives is the most significant

generative site for the development of a unique coaching habitus (Bottero, 2009). Stoszkowski and Collins (2015) supported this notion when they detailed the complex "influence of the social milieu on coach learning" (p. 1), and the need for more critical engagement with informal development of coaches. Detailed below are extracts of narratives identified as the productive locus wherein patterns of thought, by which coaches are trained, reside. In addition, consideration is given to durable behaviours or embodied postures, such as speaking and standing, as these contribute to the bodily hexis (Bourdieu, 1991). In this way, account is made of the objective structure and how this "defines the social conditions of the production of habitus" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 78).

Instruction, language and coaching practice.

While the section that follows contains an elaboration of the mundane minutiae of interactions, it is important as it is precisely this furtive and gradual inculcation that so powerfully moulds the body (Bourdieu, 1991). An individual coach's *practice* is most obviously conveyed by the overt instruction utilised. Language and the signs that coaches make with their body make up the majority of this form of instruction. In *'Bilateral breathing,'* the head coach utilised coercive strategies to shape Jaime's practice. This was done without explicit reasoning or explanation of intent, but rather it is conveyed as reasonable, albeit gruff manner, adopted by the head coach:

> *…he explained the strengths and weaknesses of each child; what I should be focussing on; what the children's parents are like and how I should discipline the children.*
>
> *(Chapter 5, Bilateral breathing)*

This in not altogether unproblematic as illustrated by the ideological tension described by Jaime:

> *I nod at everything that he says, not daring to speak up even though I disagree with some of the stuff.*
>
> *(Chapter 5, Bilateral breathing)*

Key to the homogenisation of Jaime's experiences is the reinforcement of these practices which is facilitated by the head coach lingering to observe her coaching practice. Jaime's adoption of the head coach's practice is illustrated by her use of overt practice to convey to the assembled swimmers and to the head coach that she is capable and competent:

> *I stick to safe ground… loudly telling them the set twice, like he has shown me. I know that this is not me and that I am just seeking approval and more importantly wanting to avoid getting in trouble.*
>
> *(Chapter 5, Bilateral breathing)*

While this form of practice is not altogether unwittingly produced by Jaime, the head coach has still actioned a universalising mediation on Jaime's practice and is contributing to the homogeneity of her habitus via the construction of the norms associated with this social group (Bourdieu, 1977). In effect, the head coach is producing the laws for behaviour in the culture by coercive means;

> *It all feels incredibly awkward, I want this job, I want to coach, I need to do these hours here otherwise I will have to start over somewhere else.*
>
> *(Chapter 5, Bilateral breathing)*

The dual constraints of fitting-in to a culture and developing a profile within the formal coach education pathway, via the accumulation of mentored coaching

experience (coaching hours), combine to homogenise and gradually stabilise the appropriate dispositions (Cushion & Jones, 2014). This same action is evident in *'A trial by fire'* when Nick's mentor coach brought financial and accreditation resources to bear in order to homogenise his practice:

> *Well I'm not really happy to be honest with how you have been performing. You know you have had some issues with Amanda's mum, just your general sessions, I just don't think you are there yet and I am not prepared to keep paying you the full wage.*
>
> *(Chapter 7, Hawk eye)*
>
> *I want you to start again with us, forget what you think you know. We are still keen to employ you but I want to train you.*
>
> *So I was back to square one. Andrea told me that I had to do the equivalent of my accreditation hours again but there was no need for me to log them as she would monitor my progress.*
>
> *(Chapter 7, A trial by fire)*

Following the structural power associated with mentors, the other site of significant acquisition of dispositions is within formal coach education processes. The agents of SA who conduct such processes are what Bourdieu (1977) termed natural persons and they advance the process of production and reproduction of such dispositions (Thompson, 1977). They are uniquely placed within the structure to push a linguistic and cultural competence which references the linear and mechanistic nature of coaching knowledge as illustrated by Denison and Avner (2011), the standardisation of coach problem-solving

described by Denison (2007), and the ’hidden curriculum‘ elaborated by Cushion and Jones (2014).

The legitimisation of particular orientations is evident where participant coaches describe formal coach education. In these instances, participant coaches describe their desire to learn and gain knowledge such that they are seen as competent, skilled and experienced:

> *I am desperate for information, for knowledge and for insight. I want for myself what he [Robbie] has got.*
>
> *(Chapter 10, Flog em!)*
>
> *I wanted to be able to provide those game changing moments in kids' lives where they looked back and said; wow that was the best!*
>
> *(Chapter 6, A weekend course)*

Formal coach education in swimming is sporadic at best with a high concentration at the entry level and then little additional requirement until a coach wishes to progress from one accreditation level to the next. Reaccreditation can be achieved almost entirely through experience described as accredited coaching hours (Australian Swim Coaches and Teachers Association, n.d.-b). The excerpt above illustrates the isolation I felt as a regional coach and the value I place on my evolving coach practice, indeed the desperation with which I search for information. For me, this was not the only site in which I received socialising practices from an agent of Swimming Australia. In *‘Sweet success,’* I describe a post-race swimmer assessment with William, a development officer for SA:

> *I just dropped myself in it too. He [William] just bagged me out in front of one of my top swimmers and all of the coaches. He could have waited until she had gone and just told me.*
>
> *(Chapter 10, Sweet success)*

This location became a site for learning and the transmission of a powerful hidden curriculum which defines "acceptable practice within the context of the field" (Cushion & Jones, 2014, p. 282):

> *…look at the performance without emotion so that you can see what needs improving; you can't get into the habit of praising your swimmers too much.*
>
> *(Chapter 10, Sweet success)*

In this way, the social differentiation constructed by William, and elaborated in *'The examination'* (Chapter 12), where an agent of SA imposes his dominance is consolidated. The effect is profound and impacted the way that I interacted with swimmers and behaved when coaching as described in the post script:

> *I censure my behaviour on pool deck even when there are no other coaches present. I know how to behave and begin the coach talk–coach walk the moment I arrive at a venue… And as I look outward, I also look inward; for the coach. I catch myself asking; do they see it?*
>
> *(Chapter 10, Sweet success)*

In the excerpts above (and below in *'Patterns of thought'*) we also see evidence of the (re)production of what (Bourdieu, 1991) termed legitimate language. This legitimate language can be utilised in a sub-culture to enact a unifying action but can also be perceived as a way for declaring superiority,

reinforcing authority or ordering within a hierarchy. Bourdieu (1991) further suggested that education systems such as the formal coach education process lead "the construction, legitimation and imposition" of a language (p. 48). While Bourdieu described this phenomenon via the devaluing of dialects; some sub-cultures see this differentiation in a more positive light (Hebdige, 1979). Sub-cultures overtly position their difference to wider societal norms through practice, attire and language (Hebdige, 1979; Sandberg, 2012). This standard language of the sub-culture of sports coaching becomes a political vocabulary with its own euphemisms, metaphors and representation of the social world (Bourdieu, 1991). Bourdieu further suggested that linguistically competent members can play a decisive role in the establishment of hierarchies. The expression of catch phrases in coaching is evidence of the construction of coaching language that can have a profound effect on coaching practice:

> *If you can control it, then control it, just the same as if it can be measured, then measure it…*
>
> *…You have got to love the girls, and challenge the boys.*
>
> *…everyone needs to know your role. They have to know that you are in charge and you need to show them who's boss.*
>
> *(Chapter 10, The best coaches)*

This expression of legitimate language within formal coach education combines the linear nature of coach education with the production of difference through language, and rejects more critical reflection on the effect of coaching practice. This statement parallels Piggott's (2012) finding that coach training has become

a “standardised curricular presenting a ‘tool box’ of professional knowledge” (p. 4) which individual beginning coaches are expected to copy.

Patterns of thought.

Formal swim coach education is a site in which coaching knowledge is (re)produced. Some of the more structured processes that contribute to the shaping of dispositions and therefore habitus relate to the formal coach education pathway undertaken by coaches. As elaborated above, the much lamented linear nature of current coach education programs leads to an unproblematised view of coach learning (Cassidy, 2010; Piggott, 2012) though this remains a significant site relating to the shaping of habitus. Townsend and Cushion (2015) found evidence of significant tension between prescribed knowledge within a coach education program and the knowledge present within the individuals of the sporting culture. This is perhaps a result of the recent neo-liberal agenda to modernize and educate professional coaches and to this end there has been considerable research on coach educational structures (Green & Houlihan, 2006; Piggott, 2015). Piggott (2015) found that the term coach education references three broad categories, first, is the certification course offered by the governing body, in this case, Swimming Australia. Also referenced are the formal and informal learning situations which are utilised above and below to illustrate the shaping of dispositions, and finally, socialisation which is elaborated in detail below. It has already been established that coaches gain much of their valued knowledge from other coaches, and as Mallett, Trudel, Lyle, and Rynne (2009) pointed out the “highly institutionalised, bureaucratic, curriculum-driven and certified” (p. 328) form of coach education has limited impact on coach

development, however there is still scope for the inculcation of patterns of thought in this process.

It is important to note that while formal coach education is often under-valued by coaches, formal courses and workshops are most often run by coach practitioners acting as agents of the sport's governing body, SA. Bailey illustrated this tension associated with the linear nature of formal coach education (Cassidy, 2010; Piggott, 2012) and the use of phrasing that contributes to patterns of thought that encourages coaches to view their practice as mechanistic:

> *They just looked at me down their noses and when they answered, I felt like they didn't really know what it was and they closed off discussion by saying, "Traditionally, Australian coaches develop speed through endurance!" The speaker moved on quickly…*
>
> *(Chapter 6, A weekend course)*

This exchange, which occurred during an entry level or Bronze licence course, illustrates the non-critical or reflexive nature of that particular course. This instance also highlights a significant point of crossover between Bourdieusian and Foucauldian perspectives with the referencing of docility in coach education. No encouragement was offered for coaches undertaking the course to critically analyse taken for granted assumptions and/or the power relationships that shape the assumptions:

> *The three word answers and body language told me that the presenters were getting annoyed and it became a little intimidating as I felt like I was regularly being shut down in front of the group.*

(Chapter 6, A weekend course)

As a result of such social pressures and disciplinary techniques, participants may become obedient to those practices (Denison & Avner, 2011). The excerpts above were in response to a challenging new idea suggested by a participating coach (Bailey). This unacceptable new knowledge that is incompatible with entrenched beliefs challenged the presenter's ontological security (Cushion, 2011) and the thinking of the group was quickly realigned and further contributions discouraged with the use of negative body language. In addition, we see the tension associated with this attempt to impose the legitimate mode of thought (Bourdieu, 1977) with the resultant frustration:

> *At the end of the course I walked out with more questions than answers and no real understanding of how I could work towards my own better understanding. I was devastated, because I wanted to be able to provide those game changing moments…*
>
> *(Chapter 6, A weekend course)*

Additional evidence of the shaping of patterns of thought are revealed in *'The best coaches'* (Chapter 10). In response to critical questioning about swimmer motivation, discussion is closed off with the 'check box' answer:

> *If you can control it, then control it, just the same as if it can be measured, then measure it.*
>
> *(Chapter 10, The best coaches)*

Also, in *'Flog em!'* a widely held, un-problematized view, that through a large volume of high intensity training, the best swimmers will thrive:

> *Robby fixes his manic eyes on me and nods slowly. As I collect my pad and pen and turn to leave he pauses his monologue long enough to focus everyone's attention and says; 'Do me a favour Chris … Flog em!'*
>
> *(Chapter 10, Flog em!)*

These assertions may seem benign to the reader, however, as McMahon and Penney (2012) pointed out the durability of body pedagogies experienced by athletes is profound. These authors found evidence of the effect of extreme bodily practices up to 30 years post experience. Embodied practices associated with the themes identified above contribute to the normalisation of such thinking within a sporting culture, and have a significant effect on swimmers' internalised dispositions through coaching practice (McMahon & Penney, 2012). This is a reminder of how habitus can function "below the level of consciousness and language" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 466) and outside of casual scrutiny by the individual.

Social situatedness/norms.

The development of dispositions that contribute to the homogeneity in social situations such as the formal interactions between coaches within a coaching hierarchy include the perpetuation of structures that manage individuals. While at an initial glance, some interaction might be occurring between individuals, hidden are the structures and relationships between other assembled individuals. This has significant crossover with the concept of 'capital' detailed below. Objectification or alignment within a structure involves the development of cultural competence as illustrated in *'Balancing act'* (Chapter 6) when the head coach defined the objective structure of the

relationship (between Bailey and the head coach) by ignoring Bailey's request for key information until she approached him via the appropriate intermediary:

> *I talked to Jan, the other assistant coach, and there was an almost immediate reaction… I suppose I got an answer but this is just one example of how I had to play the game if I wanted something.*
>
> *(Chapter 6, Balancing act)*

It is important to recognise Bourdieu's suggestion that interpersonal relationships are rarely one-to-one relationships and that the relationship is not entirely situated within the interaction. Consideration must be given to the assemblage of agents (Bourdieu, 1977) and the surrounding structures for the full picture to be realised and for consideration of the effect on other to be acknowledged.

Embodied coaching posture.

Not only are the skills and competencies important to me as I see understanding of the values of the sub culture as a way of 'fitting in':

> *I glance across the warm-up pool to where a senior coach is describing the same motion for a distressed swimmer standing next to him. With eyebrows lifted, he holds a pencil tightly with his teeth, his twin stopwatches tethered together by their cords swing from his neck as he describes the same movement glancing repeatedly from the swimmer to his hand as it sweeps down. He is wearing a club shirt but the same style of denim shorts and running shoes that I do. I allow myself a little smile as I notice these details…*
>
> *(Chapter 10, Walks like a coach)*

In this instance, I am not undertaking formal coach education, but rather, I am attending a regional championships where swimmers and coaches vie for selection into representative teams. The selection of swimmers in these representative teams is somewhat dictated by their achievements compared with the Fédération internationale de natation (FINA) rankings. However, for coaches this selection is less clear. While success of coached swimmers contributes to coach selection, so too does evidence of acceptable practice within the field. By definition then, such an event is a site for cultural reproduction, and the covert messages imparted throughout the course of my formal education process, and displayed on pool deck are evidence of my socialisation. The above excerpt highlights a point of significant crossover between Bourdieusian and Goffmanian thinking where overt symbolic communication of my coach disposition becomes an embodied coaching posture.

On a superficial level an interpretation of the interaction between the head coach and myself in *'Walks like a coach'* (Chapter 10) when he suggested a new coach dress code demonstrates socialisation:

> *…we need to show people that we mean business; "These shirts will set us apart, and show that we are more prepared, more together than the rag-tag coaches you see on pool deck up here…*
>
> *(Chapter 10, Walks like a coach)*

What is hidden, is the fact that this particular coach had recently moved from a large metropolitan club interstate and was expressing what Bourdieu (1977) described as fundamental cultural reproduction, the effect of which is a subtle reorientation and reorganisation of our posture in line with his embodied habitus.

The intended effect crosses into Goffmanian theory as the head coach is looking for cultural signs that will demonstrate proficiency (Blumer, 1962; Goffman, 1959) to the casual observer.

Habitus.

The embodied dispositions that are ingrained in coaches' bodies, reference the broad range of practical learning experiences that coaches are exposed to. While formal coach education is not seen as the most significant generative site for the development of habitus, the storied analysis of narratives above illustrates how this process provides a formalisation of the key dispositions valued by SA. The experiential learning most valued by practitioner coaches is underlined as a site where durable dispositions that are transferred from coach to coach through a gradual inculcation are internalised and reproduced. Though nuanced, the effects are diverse, with the possible development of a linear and unproblematic view of the coaching process which can effect a form of coaching docility, to tensions arising in individual coach practitioners due to ideological and philosophical divergence. It is important to note here the dyad of coaching effect that references both the positive (physical/emotional) benefit intended and the potential negative effect to athletes through the internalisation of durable embodied body practices.

The coaching field.

This section elaborates the arenas in which a coach practices. This should not be interpreted as the physical arena, but rather, the various social arenas associated with a sports coaches practice. When an individual (coach practitioner) acts, s/he does so within a specific social context and because of

this, cultural practices are "the product of the *relation between* the habitus, on the one hand, and the specific social contexts or 'fields' within which individuals act, on the other" (Thompson, 1977, p. 14). While Bourdieu used numerous terms to refer to the social contexts and settings that individuals act, 'field' offers this investigation a generative title that can refer to the various arenas in which swimming coaches practice (Bourdieu, 1984; Thompson, 1977). Simply put, a field is the setting in which individuals are located and their social position acknowledged. The position of an individual in a field is pursuant to the result of the interaction between an individual's habitus and capital under the specific rules of the field (Bourdieu, 1984). Intuitively the reader will sense how relationships of power effect social positions within a particular field. Thompson (1977) described the field as a "site of struggles" (p. 14) where individuals look to gain or alter cultural, symbolic or economic capital. From a coaching perspective, the coaching field is replete with "dominant values and common beliefs that appear natural" (Cushion & Jones, 2014, p. 226) and can be taken for granted. The core values and fundamental principles that are "viewed as inherently true and necessary" are termed doxa (Webb, Schirato, & Danaher, 2002, p. xi).

Various researchers have identified the autocratic and hierarchical nature of sports coaching (McMahon & Penney, 2013; Purdy et al., 2008). In order for such structures to be developed and maintained, newcomers are socialised via a complex process similar to an apprenticeship (Coakley, Hallinan, Jackson, & Mewett, 2009; Cushion et al., 2003). This elaboration of Bourdieusian theory in relation to stories of experience focuses on the micro structures within coach

practice that lead to socialisation of coaches. In the context of an Australian swim coach, the field is made up of coaches, mentor coaches, athletes, parents, pool operators, the sport's governing body (SA), the coaching accreditation body (ASCTA) and the overarching government body (ASC). These stakeholders have various levels of input into the curriculum and to practices exhibited within this field. The struggle within the field described by Wacquant (1992) is how individuals, either by themselves or collectively look to maintain or advance their position or to "impose the principle of hierarchization most favourable to their own products" (Wacquant & Bourdieu, 1992). Put simply, this is reference to the constant struggle that coaches undertake in order to hold their position of knowledgeable or successful both in the eyes of their athletes and in the eyes of those that can help to elevate them within the hierarchy.

If we consider the narratives in terms of the coaching field and think relationally, the most common themes include: micro hierarchy associated with everyday practice, the tensions created by relationships, and the willingness of individuals to accept the field rules. In many cases, this is the relationship between a coach and the head coach of a program, though stakeholders such as the governing bodies (SA, ASC, and ASCTA) can have a significant influence on the day to day practice of swim coaches.

The struggling and manoeuvring that is characteristic to the field of swim coaches is exhibited in numerous narratives, however the following excerpt is particularly illuminating:

> *…working under my new mentor coach was an emotional balancing act. I worked alongside Jan, another junior coach, who was doing her bronze*

> *licence at the time. She was the assistant to the head coach but in terms of swimming experience, I had been in the game a lot longer than both the head coach and Jan.*
>
> *(Chapter 6, A balancing act)*

The relational manoeuvring between two assistant coaches such that chains of command and hierarchical organisation was established is indicated in the excerpt below:

> *I talked to Jan, the other assistant coach, and there was an almost immediate reaction… just one example of how I had to play the game if I wanted something.*
>
> *(Chapter 6, A balancing act)*

This particular exchange saw the expression of power through micro penalty, where Bailey was forced to submit to the constructed hierarchy:

> *…when I asked he just sort of ignored the question.*
>
> *(Chapter 6, A balancing act)*

This then forced Bailey to establish her position with a coach closer to her level. In this way, the limits of the field are established by the individual agent (Bailey) and her assessment of which elements will be allowed or accepted as taken for granted, i.e. the worthy doxa of the field.

The level of importance placed on valued behaviours by an individual is variable and can determine the level of submission and willingness conform through behaviour or practice (Kitchin, 2014). Due to this, a shift in the taken for granted assumptions of the field can therefore lead to either change as elaborated

in the example of Bailey above, or resistance from an individual as exhibited by Nick when he interacted with his head coach:

> *…she started huffing and stepping up into my face said, "There is no need to be sarcastic! You don't need to speak to me like that."*
>
> *... "Nick! Come out the back and we will talk about this.*
>
> *(Chapter 7, The final straw)*
>
> *The discussion quickly descended in the back room where I staunchly defended my position and she blew up at me telling me that I couldn't accept feedback, eventually telling me to just leave. As I walked out the parent that had been included in our little stoush avoided catching my eye.*
>
> *(Chapter 7, The final straw)*

The tension created by this encounter produced such a strong resistance from Nick that he was unable to internalise his head coach's logic regarding his disposition and was such that he was no longer able to exist within the organisational space, in his words:

> *Long term, I believe our fundamental differences in opinion would not have led to a supportive or productive workplace, on your terms.*
>
> *(Chapter 7, The final straw)*

Indeed, how micro hierarchy can be produced in relationships that make up the everyday practice of swim coaches is evident. With consideration of the remaining narratives, one can see that this theme is consistent throughout the data. As stated above, the values, beliefs and taken for granted assumptions of an organisation or agents not in daily contact with an individual can have an

organising influence on the way they develop relationships with the field. The rules of a field permit an individual to enact a range of strategies, however we also need to consider large scale forces outside the individual, or heteronomous forces (Kitchin, 2014). Quinn described how she shaped her job description and personal practice in response to faceless pressure from her departments governing body:

> *… I positioned myself in a support role, partly because of my previous experiences and partly because of my reception at this job, I decided to go in from a less threatening position. I knew that for me to be successful, they need to see me as non-threatening, as a supporter worker, you know, so I can make their life easier and still get a result.*
>
> *(Chapter 9, Out of the pan)*

The rules of this particular field are overtly established and reference extreme sexual discrimination and coercion at the most vulnerable time of Quinn's orientation into this field, her first day:

> *"Don't fuck up! You know that (refers to board member) doesn't think you can do the job because you are a female!"*
> *And I'm like, "OK, sure, no worries." 'What am I supposed to say to that?' I think.*
>
> *(Chapter 9, Out of the pan)*

As detailed in Nick's excerpts, a shift in the structure of the system or doxa, can either cause resistance or conformity. Quinn's experience with her boss on her first day demonstrated the social conditioning and the elaboration of the social order of the group. Quinn's understanding of this scheme and her conformity to

the values elaborated, transforms them into shared values that become viewed by her as necessary. For the shared assumptions to be understood, particular dispositions are required, thus how the field contributes to the formation of habitus becomes evident (Wacquant & Bourdieu, 1992). In so doing, this became an example of what Kitchin (2014) referred to as a nested field, or a smaller field with its own rules and struggles that is contained within a wider field of swim coaching in Australia.

Capital.

In contrast to Foucault, Bourdieu elaborates power as the varieties of resources required to contest an individual's position within the field. These resources can take the form of economic, cultural or social capital (Bourdieu, 1989). While economic capital remains important to the way that individuals differentiate themselves within a field, it is cultural, social and symbolic capital that are of particular importance to this research project. Individuals within the coaching field "actively pursue strategies to improve and transmit their power" (Cushion & Jones, 2014, p. 279) such that they can contribute to the differentiation of the social hierarchy for coaches. Social capital is accumulated from an individual's position within the formal and informal social hierarchy. This can be very discrete and in larger organisations is in a constant state of flux. Such positioning is illustrated by my former club president in 'Child abuse' (Chapter 10) when he reasserted himself into a superior position and demonstrated his surveillance of my practice:

> *"Did you see this in the paper?" asked Michael, proffering the crumpled newsprint. "Someone wrote in to letters to the editor about how you*

> *don't let your swimmers take toilet breaks during the session!" His tone was slightly accusatory and I felt a little defensive…*
> *Shaking my head I quickly explain to Michael… that I do allow toilet breaks, just never in the middle of a set.*
>
> *(Chapter 10, Child abuse)*

The striving of Michael to maintain and extend capital through position and connections confirms his importance and position within the club hierarchy. This contributes to the taken for granted nature of the logic of this positioning (i.e. doxa) and through acceptance by me becomes unquestioned and natural (Bourdieu, 1977). While this incident did not highlight particular impediments to coach learning, it served to illustrate the contested nature of the space that coaches inhabit. This particular incident also provided insight into the layered nature of the space and how position is constructed through differentiation of power between individuals (Bourdieu, 1986). In so doing, it also demonstrated Bourdieu's elaboration of cultural capital in the embodied state; where a "long lasting disposition of the mind" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243) an internalised understanding of my position as 'the observed' or surveilled individual.

Cultural capital is generally accumulated by coaches through qualifications and experience rather than through inculcation as described above and in 'Instruction, language and coaching practice'. The accumulation of cultural capital sits at the heart of this investigation because even though it has been demonstrated that coaches do not to value formal coach education (Piggott, 2012), it is these qualifications and the experience, through mentored practice (mentored coaching hours), that define the contested space in which many of the

narratives are situated. In some ways, it may be inferred that the accumulation of such cultural capital or certified achievement is a necessary evil whilst coaches amass their social capital.

Social capital is central to the accumulation of experience expressed as experiential knowledge so valued by coaches and resembles a network of mutual recognition and acquaintance by members of a group (Bourdieu, 1986). The amount of social capital possessed by an individual is therefore multiplied by the social capital of his or her connections and as such an individual may seek to invest in useful relationships that might result in material profit. Implied in this, is the notion that accruing social capital via good relationships with head coaches and state and national selectors will benefit an individual over their peers (Kitchin, 2014). Activating and producing social connections within the coaching field is synonymous with the prevailing site of tension within the narratives of this investigation. All participants recorded relational conflict as central to the challenges that they faced as a developing coach. In particular, my personal experiences with the expression of hierarchical power by a key stakeholder within the hierarchy of state swimming and a person with whom I could accrue significant cultural and social capital from highlights this:

> …I [newly appointed coach of a high performance centre] *am going to develop a squad for those swimmers who have achieved a national qualifying time...*
>
> *I want to bring them together as a squad in our high performance program so they get the benefits of great facilities and coaching.*

> *I nod, and think to myself, are you talking about 'my' national level swimmers, and 'your' coaching?*
>
> *(Chapter 10, Hot curry)*

The profits of remaining a member of this relationship relate were both material and symbolic. Material profit related to this coaches support in gaining sponsorship to travel to the national conference and achieve silver licence accreditation, and symbolic due to the status gained by my association with a prestigious group (Bourdieu, 1986). My ability to accept the situation as stated by this development coach and the subsequent exchange of gifts (travel and conference sponsorship) references Bourdieu's (1986) notion of consecration where exchange of resources induces mutual recognition of group membership and as such "reproduces the group" (p. 250). This narrative (*Hot curry*) also highlighted the way that coaches use exchange as a way to affirm and reaffirm the group through direct expenditure of economic capital:

> *I am shocked and becoming a little frustrated now, "Do you really think that you will get all of the national swimmers?"*
>
> *The Head coach smiles confidently and relaxes back into her chair, "We'll get them alright; they'll come for the money. Coaching will be free, free tracksuits, gear bags, travel, they won't be able to resist.*
>
> *(Chapter 10, Hot curry)*

This exchange illustrated how another significant party and associated member of the field, the swimmer, was coerced and the group expanded.

The nexus between fields and capital.

Intuitively, links between capital and field can be recognised. For a coach to value a particular capital, will only be in response to the existence of a field in which the capital can be employed (Wacquant & Bourdieu, 1992). In order to become a valued member within the coaching field, one must strive to gain a significant enough volume of the appropriate forms of capital to be accepted. Aligned with much of the research around the relationship between coach and athlete "this results in a dynamic between those who hold the capital" (Cushion, 2011, p. 47) such as mentor coaches, and associated agents of SA and the developing coaches who aspire to it.

Just as the head coach in *'National coach'* (Chapter 10), disciplined Aaron through the examination (see Chapter 12), he also assigned him with capital valued by the field. When Aaron capitulated and complied with "professional ideals legitimated" by the head coach (Cushion, 2011, p. 50) he gained capital:

> *Finally it is over, Aaron is suitably crushed and the head coach steps back from the group and using a pleasant tone that conveys his compassion, "This is just something we all have to go through if we want success on the national open team. You need to be able to justify what you are doing.*
>
> *(Chapter 10, National coach)*

Aaron thus concurrently improved his position within the field through his acceptance of the ideals and the legitimisation by both the head coach and the director of coaches (Wacquant, 1989). Insiders of the culture, for example, the

assembled junior coaches that were present during the Aarons examination, passively accepted this legitimisation, though not without the development of some personal internalised ideological tension:

> *This is ridiculous! There is no way I could answer those questions any better than Aaron … I can't believe coach would do this. I stare blankly at the front of the room trying not to attract any attention. How can I fit into the team without drawing this attention?*
>
> *(Chapter 10, National coach)*

A site for symbolic violence.

Detailed above are the numerous ways in which an individual's practice might be shaped by the various forces that coaches interact with. Symbolic violence is the misrecognition of the dominating power that shapes individuals, Bourdieu (1977) also referred to it as a gentle violence, often invisible to the individual that it acts upon. For Kitchin (2014), the key element to this misrecognised violence was that "the disposition of the habitus permit[s] the dominated to see it as natural and acceptable" (p. 41). Put simply, an individual coach who experiences such an expression of power sees the dominant values and behaviours exhibited in the field as natural and acceptable. The legitimisation of such behavioural schema hide and make unrecognisable the existing power relations (Cushion & Jones, 2006) and perpetuate the universal truths of the way that things are done, thus rejecting the critical reflection on practice.

A collective title of the most prominent themes present in the narratives utilised in this investigation could be generatively titled 'the way things are done

around here'. The advancement of legitimate practical knowledge held as capital by head coaches, mentor coaches, sport development officers and agents of SA is seen to maintain the order of things. Mentee coaches who are complicit in their own domination make this perpetuation possible. Quinn's acquiescence in response to her new boss's welcoming address illustrates this complicity:

> *"Don't fuck up! You know that (refers to board member) doesn't think you can do the job because you are a female!"…*
>
> *And I'm like, "OK, sure, no worries."*
>
> *(Chapter 9, Out of the pan)*

In this way, the taken for granted practices of this new field of coaching practice are elaborated for Quinn, and while this incident did result in tensions the most significant effect was that Quinn's practice was transformed and order was maintained such that the dominant ideology remained uncontested. Quinn shaped her role to fit with the dominant ideology:

> *As I developed my presence in this role, I positioned myself in a support role, partly because of my previous experiences and partly because of my reception at this job, I decided to go in from a less threatening position. I knew that for me to be successful, they need to see me as non-threatening, as a supporter worker, you know, so I can make their life easier and still get a result.*
>
> *(Chapter 9, Out of the pan)*

The development of coaching practice via formal education programs is a particular priority of the governing bodies, SA and ASCTA, and is also a site for the expression of symbolic violence, and a site where coaches can comply with

or challenge the linear nature of the current swim coaching curriculum. The linear nature of such an education program created a prominent tension for Bailey:

> *I didn't feel like I had the space to verbalise my thinking, the presenters seemed to have a super strict schedule that only included their views rather than any collaboration or discussion. I felt like they were using a cookie cutter, you know; bang here is the course, now we are off to the next place. I feel like this just produced carbon copies, or coaches who always do the same thing, there was no room for innovation nor any suggestion that innovation was a good or appropriate.*
>
> *(Chapter 6, A weekend course)*

In the same course, docile acceptance of the content was encouraged by the presenter's use of body language to disengage from critical reflection or co-construction of coaching practice:

> They just looked at me down their noses and when they answered… they closed off discussion by saying, "Traditionally, Australian coaches develop speed through endurance*!"*
>
> *Three word answers and body language told me that the presenters were getting annoyed and it became a little intimidating as I felt like I was regularly being shut down in front of the group.*
>
> *(Chapter 6, A weekend course)*

Rather than accept and internalise these universal truths, the effect on Bailey became an ideological crisis:

> *It was most frustrating when I started to hear the same stuff that I had learned as a swimmer being regurgitated like no time had passed… training technique that was rubbish back then and here we were fifteen years later all nodding our heads saying 'Yes, yes, what a good idea.' I was devastated, because I wanted to be able to provide those game changing moments in kids' lives where they looked back and said; wow that was the best!*
>
> *(Chapter 6, A weekend course)*

Perhaps the most powerful and significant change agent in all of the relationships that a developing or mentee coach encounters is the head coach of a program; often the mentor coach. This individual is also responsible for the endorsement of a developing coaches formal coaching hours, required to progress their claim for accreditation. As noted in detail above, beginning coaches value this practical coaching knowledge above all other educational forms, and for this reason power relations can be obscured and therefore misrecognised by an individual coach (Cushion, 2011). On balance, the coaches in this investigation viewed the authoritarian actions of their head/mentor coaches as somewhat justified or legitimate, this acceptance however was not without tension. Nick felt compelled to accept the dominant ideology as elaborated by his head coach:

> *For the next few weeks I shadowed her as she coached… it was more like; just watch, and do it exactly like this. This learning environment was really awkward for me because I have an enquiring mind, and always want to know 'why'.*

> *Andrea said, "This is how you learn, just keep your eyes and ears open."*
>
> *(Chapter 7, A trial by fire)*

This legitimate and accepted knowledge was publically acknowledged by Nick's colleague coaches and featured in the overt practice exhibited in the presence of Andrea:

> *I realised that loud or shouted instructions that Andrea could overhear were words and phrases that Andrea used regularly.*
>
> *(Chapter 7, A trial by fire)*

And in the same way insinuated itself into Nick's practice:

> *…and in this way I suppose that I integrated into their systems.*
>
> *(Chapter 7, A trial by fire)*

Summary.

This chapter contextualised power, both within a relational framework, and within the social landscape of swim coach education in Australia. Evidence of the way that individual coaches navigate relational structures was highlighted, and the way that patterns of thought can pervade a culture were demonstrated. In particular, this chapter revealed the way that coaching dispositions are reproduced and recycled. This is particularly relevant for this investigation as the mediation of coach practice, values and behaviour by insiders of a social group can contribute to uncritical, non-reflective docile practice.

There are two key points that the reader should see highlighted by this section. The first is how an individual is an active agent in the development of legitimacy around coaching practice and coaching dispositions. The second point is the degree to which power relationships are misrecognised by individual

coaches. Contrary to many of the scholarly sources utilised in this section direct coercive control was not unilaterally misrecognised but rather was a source of tension due to individual coach's acquiescence to the dominant discourse. Whether this tension is created within formal coach education or experiential coach learning the effect on coaches is significant.

This section built on Cushion and Jones' (2014) alternate critical perspective of how social and cultural practices are internalised and unquestioned by coaches, in that I demonstrated how compliance with taken for granted practice can result in significant ideological tensions in beginning or mentee coaches rather than being universally unquestioned as is suggested.

PART D: Conclusions and Recommendations

Warm-down.

The final section of this thesis is dedicated to answering the research question and considering the theoretical and practical implications of the investigation. In addition, I identify the limitations of the investigation and therefore directions for future research. Great value is placed on how the research process impacted participants and shaped my reflexive practice. To this end, I relay how the epistemological underpinnings have been shaped by and now shape my coaching practice. I also consider the emancipatory potential of this research methodology for participant coaches. While this section values the researcher's authoritative voice, conclusions drawn from this investigation must be balanced with the readers' own understanding.

Chapter 15: Conclusions and Recommendations

Introduction.

This investigation followed the call of numerous scholars to investigate the nature and structure of coaching. Cushion (2011) called for ethnographic inquiry into the "complex power-dominated nature of coaching" (p. 48); to do this I value Wacquant and Bourdieu's (1992) suggestion that the "boundaries of the field can only be determined by empirical investigation" (p. 100). However, it is Foucault's thoughts that were my most powerful catalyst:

> If one is to challenge the domination of particular truths, a particular truth regime, then they must do so by playing a certain game of truth, by showing its consequences, by pointing out that there are other reasonable options (Foucault, 1997, pp. 295-296).

While it is not suggested that the analysis of coach narratives provides us with a wholly conclusive knowledge of the challenges faced in swim coach education, it does provide both the participants and the reader with the space to construct new knowledge around how social and structural elements inherent in the sub-culture of coaching and the coach education pathway influence beginning and experienced coaches' practice.

In this conclusion, I draw together the political intent from the realist tales presented above (Chapters 12, 13 & 14). As the authoritative researcher voice, I outline what I have learned by investigating the research question, though it remains the intent of this research that participant stories are brought to the fore and may provide the reader with an alternate view. In this way, I consider the

social and personal significance of this investigation (Clandinin, 2006), I reveal my new understandings and reflect on issues brought to the fore by the research.

Achieving the research goals.

The core aim of this investigation was to determine the presence and extent of organisational and social structures that are evident in coach learning, and the effect that these structures have on coach practice. With consideration of the researcher's authoritative voice in the discussion chapters above (Chapters 12, 13 & 14) and consideration of the discussion that follows, it is clear that these aims have been achieved. The application of Foucauldian and Bourdieusian theoretical perspectives was key to investigating the very complex field of swim coach education in Australia. The application of these theorists illustrated how power can shape practice and reveals the contested space that participant swim coaches inhabit. The use of Goffmanian theory to disentangle coach symbolic and strategic interactions and other social structures completes the investigation. This thesis has contributed to a growing understanding of the sociological considerations that impact coaches lives, particularly those of beginning and experienced swim coaches in Australia.

The researcher voice.

As the primary researcher for this investigation, I provide the researcher's authoritative voice and provide one reading of the data and response to the research question. In this research, I suggest that there are significant structural and social impediments to coach learning and that the effect of these impediments can be considerable. I suggest that through the tension-resistance milieu illustrated, coaches can be effected by structural constructs and embedded

relationships, and that this can profoundly affect the significant other in the coach-athlete dyad; namely the athlete. I further suggest that within the social structures outlined, the ability for coaches to make independent decisions is dependent on their personal disposition and the inherent social and structural factors that they face.

The investigation reveals how formal coach education encourages the recycling of legitimised knowledge that reflects an uncritical and docile acceptance of the dominant coaching ideology. The investigation reveals how the mentoring process which is embedded in the coach education process, and is mandated for the accreditation of new coaches, can limit a beginning coach's ability to construct their knowledge free from constraint through the expression of power. It reveals how repressive control is often the result of the mentor-mentee dyad. It reveals how tensions associated with the coach development pathway and coach learning can lead to ideological breakdown, confusion and how these tensions can act as a catalyst for individuals to leave coaching.

With particular reference to the research aims, I have found that mentor coaches, agents of the sport's governing body and therefore the governing/accreditation body, apply a number of disciplinary instruments in order to produce compliant coaches and reproduce the culturally accepted practices described as legitimate knowledge which is subsequently expressed through coach practice. The organisational structures that impeded coach learning and the production of critically reflective practitioners in this investigation, include: elaborate hierarchical mechanisms; and techniques for the elaboration of power found within the mentor mentee dyad, swim clubs, the

education and accreditation process and the overarching governing body, SA. Social structures that came to impact the coaches in this investigation included disciplinary practices in which an individual coach's actions were acted on by another. This other agent was often a party that could have significant impact on an individual coach's professional development, progression through the formal coach education pathway and employment potential.

The effect of disciplinary practices experienced by participant coaches encouraged the development and reproduction of legitimate or culturally accepted knowledge. Also revealed was the tension-resistance quandary that beginning coaches found themselves in when taking part in the formal coach education process, coach mentoring arrangements and representative groups. What is also represented in the participant narratives is the complicity of mentee coaches in the reproduction of culturally accepted practice. This is in part due to the internalisation of disciplinary instruments where mentee coaches subscribe to cultural norms and act in an un-critical or docile manner. This internalisation or tacit acceptance could be due to a misrecognition of the situation or economic concerns (employment) of the individual coach.

This investigation revealed that the effect of disciplinary practice on participant coaches varied from tacit acceptance and internalisation to tension and even resistance or breakdown. Tacit acceptance of dominant cultural values may have been due to financial or other considerations and aligned with Johns and Johns' (2000) finding that individuals may settle for a "power structure as long as they can find reasons to accept and internalize explanations that justify such an arrangement" (p. 232). The other possibility is acceptance through the

misrecognition of power structures, where an individual accepts the core value without consideration of any possible negative intent. Finally and most prominently revealed in the narratives, was the tension, resistance and breakdown experienced by coaches as a result of immersion in the coaching sub-culture or the coach education pathway.

Space for differing points of view.

A primary consideration of the methodology utilised in this investigation was to offer opportunities for alternate points of view. To this end, the narratives give voice to the unspoken about experiences that shape participant coach practice. The narratives are utilised to sensitise the reader to the immanent structures and regularities of the social world of sports coaching and the analysis provides one account for those narratives. This is not to suggest that I offer the definitive interpretation and the reader may well come their own conclusion.

Limitations.

This investigation considers swim coach education in Australia and while this may parallel experiences in other countries and in other sports it is not meant to be a definitive statement about sports coach education in general. Regional, sporting and cultural differences combine with the very complex relational processes in sports coaching to ensure that the experiences of beginning coaches in other sports and other countries will vary widely.

The coaches represented in this investigation include beginning coaches, experienced age-group coaches, and an elite international coach. This does not infer that I have included nor sought to achieve a representative sample that might provide a traditional generalizability of the research findings. The

methodology with which I undertook this investigation precluded the use of conventional statistical generalisation (Sparkes & Smith, 2014), however I value naturalistic generalisations as described by Stake (1995). Naturalistic generalisations are conclusions arrived at (by the reader) through engagement with a life's affairs in such a way that the reader can make links to their own experience (Stake, 1995). In this way, "researchers and consumers both share a responsibility when it comes to assessing the value of a particular set of qualitative research findings beyond the context of the original study" (Chenail, 2010, p. 6).

Implications and recommendations.

If I am to consider the effect of power on coach practice and one's self, I must also extrapolate and ponder the causal link between athlete experience and coach practice. What effect does uncritical, non-reflective practice or coach docility that leads to the recycling of practice have on the athlete? This question dove-tails seamlessly with McMahon and Penney (2013) and Barker-Ruchti and Tinning's (2010) finding that coach practice inscribed body pedagogies that resulted in athlete docility, dependence and breakdown. The implications of this, for those organisations that oversee accreditation and training, is to include some consideration of the training of mentors and the development of critical reflective coaches in and through the formal coach education process. In particular, I must consider Colley's (2003) assertion that people should be "allowed to negotiate mentor relationships on the basis of their own needs and concerns" (p. 162). If these organisations wish to empower coaches through the mentoring process, they must consider the mentee/mentor dyad as a site for reciprocity, solidarity

and the absence of power (Colley, 2003). This investigation echoes Cushion and Jones' (2006) call for a reflexive 'bottom-up' transformation of coaching practice where coaches and change agents from SA are mutually obliged to work together to develop new coaching structures. This bottom-up transformation must be matched at an institutional level by the consideration of training approaches that seek to reduce error. One such approach is the evolution of crew training in the aviation industry wherein training seeks to encourage a culture where there is freedom to respectfully question authority and that this is encouraged (Helmreich, Merritt, & Wilhelm, 1999).

Scholarly literature cited throughout this thesis laments the difficulty coaches' face when considering the forces that shape their practice, and highlight coach dissatisfaction with the formal education process. The integration of narrative development and reflection in formal coach education may serve to short circuit the timeframe for reflection on experiences that could lead to an ideological impasse or the uncritical recycling of poor practice. Following McMahon's (2013) use of athlete narratives in challenging dominant ideologies, I propose that reflective practice through the development personal narrative should be inextricably linked to the construction of a personal coaching philosophy as prescribed in formal coach education.

What cannot be understated is the possibility that many of the illustrated impediments to coach learning in this investigation could potentially infuse other complex relational systems. To this end, the reflective consideration of practice, the problematization of knowledge creation in sport coaching and the mediation

of systems of repressive control must be a consideration of governing bodies that oversee and accredit coaches.

Acknowledged in the elaboration of the project boundaries of this investigation was the absence of a gendered perspective. This decision was made for practical reasons and occurred with much consideration as I hold aspirations of gender equality in high esteem. In the future, the consideration of female coaches' experiences within the sub-culture of Australian swimming and the Australian coach education pathway should be the focus of ongoing investigation.

Personal reflexivity.

Selfishly this investigation began with the desire to better understand my own position within the culture of swim coaching in Australia. With the conclusion of this investigation, the tensions that contributed to change in my coaching ideology are brought to the fore. The use of narratives brought about a reflexive action in which I was able recognise the forces that shaped my coaching practice and developed adequate agency in my coaching practice. Through an awareness of the pressures exerted by social structures and my determination to resist when there is ideological separation, I was able to develop a sustainable coaching identity.

Concluding statement.

In the critique of ethnographic research relating to swim coach practice in Australia, criticism has been directed at the historical nature of some investigations (J. McMahon, personal communication, November 16, 2015). Criticism inferred that while such damaging practices may have occurred in the

past, it is unlikely that such poor practice still occurs today. The conclusion of this investigation coincides with the release of Leisel Jones' book *Body Lengths*, in which she details disturbing coach practice that had a devastating emotional and physical effect on her. If SA is committed to "enrich the lives of all who are involved…at whichever level they participate" (Swimming-Australia, 2015), then their commitment to the development of critical and reflective coach practitioners must also be put to the fore. While this investigation reveals the presence of, and extent to which structural impediments effect and influence six beginning and experienced coaches within the Australian coach education pathway, there can be no conclusive interpretation of the findings. What can be determined is that this investigation highlights tensions caused by paradoxes within the coach education pathway and that these must be critically analysed and challenged by those involved in coach education.

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Appendix 1 Ethics approval.

Social Science Ethics Officer
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Tasmania 7001 Australia
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HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (TASMANIA) NETWORK

UTAS

7 November 2012

Assoc Prof Karen Swabey
Faculty of Education
Locked Bag 1330

Student Researcher: Chris Zehntner

Sent via email

Dear Assoc Prof Swabey

Re: MINIMAL RISK ETHICS APPLICATION APPROVAL
Ethics Ref: **H0012889 - An investigation into mentoring relationships within an elite swimming culture**

We are pleased to advise that acting on a mandate from the Tasmania Social Sciences HREC, the Chair of the committee considered and approved the above project on 7 November 2012.

This approval constitutes ethical clearance by the Tasmania Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee. The decision and authority to commence the associated research may be dependent on factors beyond the remit of the ethics review process. For example, your research may need ethics clearance from other organisations or review by your research governance coordinator or Head of Department. It is your responsibility to find out if the approval of other bodies or authorities is required. It is recommended that the proposed research should not commence until you have satisfied these requirements.

Please note that this approval is for four years and is conditional upon receipt of an annual Progress Report. Ethics approval for this project will lapse if a Progress Report is not submitted.

The following conditions apply to this approval. Failure to abide by these conditions may result in suspension or discontinuation of approval.

1. It is the responsibility of the Chief Investigator to ensure that all investigators are aware of the terms of approval, to ensure the project is conducted as approved by the Ethics Committee, and to notify the Committee if any investigators are added to, or cease involvement with, the project.

A PARTNERSHIP PROGRAM IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

Appendix 1 Ethics approval.

Appendix 2 Participant information sheet.

Locked Bag 1330, Launceston

Tasmania, 7250, Australia

Telephone: (03) 63243512 Facsimile: (03) 63243679

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

School of Education

INFORMATION SHEET

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET SOCIAL SCIENCE

HUMANITIES RESEARCH

TITLE: An investigation into mentoring relationships within an elite swimming culture.

Invitation

You are invited to be involved in the research study; "An investigation into mentoring relationships within an elite swimming culture."

Empowerment through the use of various mentoring schemes has recently gained popularity in coach education pathways both as a formal rite of passage and informally as a way for coaches to extend their own understanding.

This study has been designed, and will be conducted, by the following team:

Associate Professor Karen Swabey, Head of School and Associate Professor in HPE, School of Education

Professor David Kember, Professor in Curriculum Methods & Pedagogy, School of Education

Chris Zehntner, PhD candidate, School of Education

This study is being conducted in partial fulfilment of a PhD degree for Chris Zehntner under the supervision of Associate Professor Karen Swabey and Professor David Kember.

What is the purpose of this study?

The purpose of this investigation is to find out how mentee coach practice is shaped by both their informal and formal mentors. Theorists suggest that individuals (mentors) are the vehicles of power and are concerned with bringing about mentees with certain types of characteristics. Specifically this study investigates power within mentor relationships and how this shapes, if at all, mentee coaching practice.

Why have I been invited to participate?

You have been invited as part of a purposive sample to take part in this study due to your extensive experience as a coach. It is evident from your past experiences that you have achieved significantly within this genre and can make a meaningful contribution to our understanding of mentor/ mentee relationships.

Please be assured that your involvement is voluntary, that there are no consequences if you decide not to participate, and that this will not affect, for example, your relationship with this University or the researchers.

What will I be asked to do?

As a preparatory measure you will be invited to organize your memories of significant relationships by making use of a timeline or similar organizing tool. Then, at a location and time of your choice, you will be invited to take part in a semi-structured interview.

The interview will take approximately two and a half hours. The audio of this interview will be recorded digitally, transcribed and then the audio recording will be deleted. The transcript of the interview will be made available to you so that you can review and correct if required.

Your identity is kept confidential from the other participants in the research.

Are there any possible benefits from participation in this study?

We will identify ways to improve coach education to identify new strategies that can be applied to benefit future mentee coaches on a short and long term basis. Wider benefits of this study extend to the use of critical reflection on your coaching practice as a recognized tool in the pursuit of lifelong learning.

Are there any possible risks from participation in this study?

There are no specific risks anticipated with participation in this study. The interview is not expected to pose any risk or threat to you. Questions are based around your recollections of coaching experience.

However, if you find that you are becoming distressed, we will arrange for you to see a counselor through the University of Tasmania at no expense to you.

What if I change my mind during or after the study?

You are free to withdraw at any time, and can do so without providing an explanation. If you choose to withdraw from this study, I will ask your permission to retain any data that has been collected so far. You are free to decline this request.

What will happen to the information when this study is over?

The data from this study that is kept (transcripts) will not bear participants' names or be identifiable after the completion of the project. The interview audio recordings once transcribed will be deleted. In accordance with the research requirements, research data (transcripts) will be kept for 5 years from the date of completion of the study.

How will the results of the study be published?

The study forms a part of the requirements for a PhD and, as such, findings will be presented at a number of forums for educational research. The dissertation may or may not be published. Any participant who would like to learn of the results of the study can contact Chris.Zehntner@utas.edu.au for copies of any reports. No participant will be identifiable in the final report. Pseudonyms will be used in cases where a participant is referred to specifically. Locations and events will be veiled to protect the participant.

What if I have questions about this study?

If you have any questions about this study you may contact the following people.

Associate Professor Karen Swabey, Head of School, School of Education.

Email: Karen.Swabey@utas.edu.au or phone: +61 3 6324 3512

Professor David Kember, Professor in Curriculum Methods & Pedagogy, School of Education

Email: David.Kember@utas.edu.au or phone: +61 3 6324 3287

Chris Zehntner, PhD Candidate, School of Education

Email: Chris.Zehntner@utas.edu.au or phone: +61 3 6324 3562

Contact details for the Ethics Committee:

"This study has been approved by the Tasmanian Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have concerns or complaints about the conduct of this study, please contact the Executive Officer of the HREC (Tasmania) Network on (03) 6226 7479 or email human.ethics@utas.edu.au. The Executive Officer is the person nominated to receive complaints from research participants. Please quote ethics reference number "H0012889."

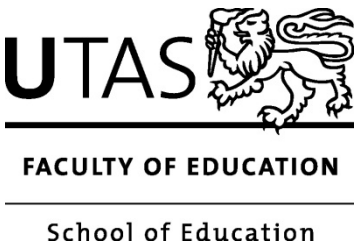
Should you wish to give your consent to be involved in this interview, please complete the appropriate section on the consent form (see attached).

Appendix 3 Consent form

Locked Bag 1330, Launceston

Tasmania, 7250, Australia

Telephone: (03) 63243512 Facsimile: (03) 63243679



TITLE: An investigation into mentoring relationships within an elite swimming culture.

1. I agree to take part in the research study named above.
2. I have read and understood the Information Sheet for this study.
3. The nature and possible effects of the study have been explained to me.
4. I understand that the study involves me being invited to make a timeline of my coaching experiences, and participating in a one-on-one interview with the student researcher, which will be audio recorded and transcribed.
5. I understand that participation involves no foreseeable risk.
6. I understand that all research data will be securely stored on the University of Tasmania premises for five years from the publication of the study results, and will then be destroyed.
7. Any questions that I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.
8. I understand that the researcher(s) will maintain confidentiality and that any information I supply to the researcher(s) will be used only for the purposes of the research.
9. I understand that the results of the study will be published so that I cannot be identified as a participant.
10. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without any effect.
11. I understand that I will be able to withdraw any unprocessed data.

Participant's name: _____

Participant's signature: _____

Date: _____

Statement by Investigator

I have explained the project and the implications of participation in it to this volunteer and I believe that the consent is informed and that he/she understands the implications of participation.

Investigator's name: Chris Zehntner

Investigator's signature:

_____

Date: