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1 **More than meets the (Rationalistic) Eye: A Neophyte Sport Psychology Practitioner's**
2 **Reflections on the Micro-politics of Everyday Life within a Rugby League Academy**

3
4 **Abstract**

5 Despite the welcome contributions of the reflective practice literature, understanding of
6 the complexities, nuances and dilemmas of applied sport psychology practice is in need
7 of further development. For example, there remains a paucity of inquiry addressing how
8 practitioners make sense of, and subsequently write themselves into, the (micro)political
9 landscape of a sporting organization. Utilizing a reflective, ethnographic approach, this
10 paper examined the first author's engagement with the socio-political dynamics of
11 everyday life within a professional rugby league academy. Key themes identified were
12 that; a) players simultaneously collaborate and compete with one another; b) tensions
13 exist between the coaches; and c) most players end up being released. The micro-political
14 workings of Ball (1987), and Kelchtermans (1996, 2009a, 2009b, 2011) were used as the
15 primary heuristic frameworks, thus promoting the utility of these theories to inform
16 critical appreciation of the day-to-day realities of applied sport psychology practice. The
17 paper concludes by highlighting the potential benefits of researchers, educators, and
18 practitioners better engaging with the contested, ambiguous, and professionally
19 challenging demands of practice than that which has been achieved to date.

20 **Keywords:** reflective practice, ethnography, vulnerability, stakeholders

21
22 **Introduction**

23 The emergence and continued evolution of the reflective practice literature has
24 provided valuable insights into the fundamentally human (and social) elements of
25 professional practice within applied sport psychology (McDougall, Nesti, & Richardson,

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26 2015). Such inquiry has shone some much needed light on the difficulties that neophyte sport
27 psychologists may experience (Huntley, Cropley, Gilbourne, Sparkes & Knowles, 2014).
28 These have included; the evolution of personal philosophies of practice (e.g. Collins, Evans-
29 Jones, & O'Connor, 2013; Holt & Streat, 2001; Owton, Bond, & Tod, 2014; Tonn &
30 Harmison, 2004), the demands of fulfilling multiple roles within an organization (Jones,
31 Evans & Mullen, 2007), adapting practice to fit with organizational routines (Rowley, Earle,
32 & Gilbourne, 2012), and changes in practitioner's perceived competencies over time (Tod &
33 Bond, 2010). Collectively, this evolving line of inquiry has portrayed how neophyte
34 practitioners come to recognize some of the philosophical, developmental, and practical
35 issues which characterize applied work (Tonn, Gunter, & Harmison, 2016). In a similar vein,
36 Knowles, Katz and Gilbourne (2012) provided a valuable insight into the 'minutiae' of
37 practice from an experienced practitioner's perspective with issues regarding communication,
38 role clarity and acceptance were at the heart of the critical reflections offered.

39 This growing body of reflective literature challenges the often straightforward and
40 technical portrayals of practice that have traditionally characterized sport psychology texts
41 and, relatedly, many educational and professional preparation programs (Knowles et al.,
42 2012; Tonn et al., 2016). Such accounts of practice have typically been produced after major
43 international sporting events, and focus on the sport psychologist's role in supporting
44 effective athletic performance, and the problematization of such rationalistic representations
45 of practitioner experience, is consistent with wider calls for more nuanced and process-
46 orientated accounts of practice (Tod & Lavalley, 2011; Tod & Andersen, 2012). Here, for
47 example, McDougall, Nesti, and Richardson (2015) have argued for the evolution of a
48 knowledge base that better reflects how;

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49 Sport psychology delivery and its place, role, function, and/or influence may vary,
50 and indeed be tested, depending on the sport, sporting culture, and the athletes and
51 individuals who coexist within a particular environment. (p.267)

52

53 Crucially, such arguments (and related lines of inquiry) represent a distinct shift away from
54 the historical emphasis placed on the implementation and assessment of psychological skills
55 training programs within the discipline.

56 Despite the progress outlined above, there remains little understanding as to how sport
57 psychologists experience and grapple with the day-to-day demands of practice. Indeed, there
58 remains a lack of published literature that directly explores how practitioners build, maintain,
59 and advance working relationships with various stakeholders, thereby recognizing how
60 stakeholders (and their interests) are connected with, and relate to, each other (Eubank, Nesti,
61 & Cruickshank, 2014). It is here that sport psychology research may benefit from adopting a
62 similar focus on the dynamic and frequently contested nature of inter-personal relations to
63 that which has been adopted in the sports coaching literature (e.g. Jones & Wallace, 2005;
64 Magill, Nelson, Jones, & Potrac, 2017; Potrac, Mallett, Greenough, & Nelson, 2017).

65 Specifically, researchers within sports coaching have increasingly challenged the
66 dominant, sanitized and functionalistic representations of practice within their domain
67 (Cassidy, Jones, & Potrac, 2016; Potrac, Jones, Gilbourne, & Nelson, 2013). For example,
68 Potrac and Jones (2009a) highlighted how a coach was required to work with a diverse range
69 of individuals, who not only brought different traditions, values, and goals to the workplace,
70 but who actively sought to pursue them where opportunity permitted them to do so. Other
71 related work within high-performance sport contexts (e.g., Booroff, Nelson, & Potrac, 2016;
72 Huggan, Nelson, & Potrac, 2015; Thompson, Potrac, & Jones, 2015), has similarly

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73 highlighted how organizational life is characterized by the ‘dynamic and fluid process of
74 forging and re-forging alliances and working relationships’ (Cassidy et al., 2016, p.60); a
75 challenge that requires practitioners to read, initiate, and respond to the inescapably political
76 demands of the sporting workplace. Within such studies, (micro)politics is conceptualized as
77 pervasive feature of all shared endeavors, including all acts of collaboration, negotiation, and
78 conflict (Leftwich, 2005; Potrac & Jones, 2009a, 2009b). Leftwich (2005) states that
79 (micro) politics consists of three key ingredients these are; a) people (who often have
80 different beliefs, ideas, and interests); b) resources (which may be material or non-material in
81 nature, and often limited in terms of availability); and c) power (the ability of a group or
82 individual to achieve desired outcomes).

83 Given that sport psychologists practice within these same high-performance contexts,
84 it is perhaps naïve to believe that they are somehow immune from the challenges and
85 dilemmas that accompany shared endeavors with others (Leftwich, 2005). Indeed, McCalla
86 and Fitzpatrick (2016) have, for example, illustrated how other stakeholders, and the micro-
87 political nature of such contexts, may potentially impact upon a sport psychology
88 practitioner’s attempts to integrate him or herself within a multi-disciplinary professional
89 support team. To date, however, there remains a paucity of inquiry addressing how sport
90 psychologists experience and respond to working with various stakeholders, who may hold,
91 and actively pursue opposing beliefs, motivations and goals (Cassidy et al., 2016; Potrac &
92 Jones, 2009a, 2009b). The current paper seeks to address this disparity, by offering an
93 analysis of the political context in which I (the first author) had previously practiced (cf.
94 Rowley et al., 2012); one which delves beyond the veneer of unproblematic subscription to
95 shared organizational goals and unified ways of working together (Jones & Wallace, 2005).
96 However, rather than just offering descriptive insights, this paper purposively seeks to aid

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97 conceptual development within this topic area through the provision of a theoretically robust
98 scrutiny of contextual reflections. Here, the respective theorizing of Ball (1987) and
99 Kelchtermans (1996, 2009a, 2009b, 2011) are not only employed as heuristic devices for
100 interpreting personal meaning-making, but also as tools for enriching conceptual
101 understandings of the everyday 'grit' of organizational life in which applied sport
102 psychologists are embedded.

103 The significance of this paper therefore lies, therefore, in its response to calls for a
104 micro-political analysis of high-performance sporting contexts (Potrac & Jones, 2009a,
105 2009b). By scrutinizing my experiences, observations and reflections in this way, this study
106 contributes to an evolving body of knowledge, and related educational provision, addressing
107 how applied practice frequently occurs in settings that are characterized by varying degrees
108 of ideological agreement, co-ordination, and actual, or potential for, conflict (Cassidy et al.,
109 2016). Furthermore, this paper responds to ongoing calls for further ethnographic research
110 within sport psychology (Krane & Baird, 2005; Wagstaff, Fletcher, & Hanton, 2012),
111 promoting the utility of such inquiry as a vehicle for critical reflection (Knowles &
112 Gilbourne, 2010). Rather than seeking to unproblematically generalize the first author's field-
113 based experiences and interpretations to other practitioners however, the reader is, instead,
114 invited to critically reflect upon the material, issues, and ideas presented in this paper. In
115 particular, practitioners working in various amateur, professional, and elite contexts are asked
116 to consider how, why, and to what ends they practically read, understand, and ultimately
117 respond to the political dimensions of practice (Jones, 2009; Potrac et al., 2013).
118 Accordingly, we encourage others to consider the merits of this piece in terms of both its
119 naturalistic and analytical generalizability (Smith, 2018).

120

121 **Method**

122 **Ethnographic Inquiry and Knowledge**

123 At the heart of ethnographic inquiry is the study of relational practices, and the common
124 values, beliefs, and shared experiences that feature in particular cultural or social settings
125 (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011). As Hamersley and Atkinson (2007) summarized,
126 ethnography involves a researcher;

127 participating, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of
128 time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, and/or asking questions
129 through informal and formal interviews, collecting documents and artefacts – in fact,
130 gathering whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the
131 emerging focus of inquiry. (p3)

132

133 Within the context of sport psychology, ethnographic inquiry provides a valuable tool for
134 developing empathetic accounts of organizational life, reflecting the experiences of athletes,
135 coaches, and other stakeholders, and permitting practitioners to try and hear the voices of
136 those with whom they work (Krane & Baird, 2005). Such explorations may not only help
137 deepen our understandings of organizational life in sport, but they can also provide an
138 important avenue for enhancing the interconnections between theory and practice within the
139 applied domain.

140 The ethnography presented within this study was conducted from an interpretivist
141 perspective (Krane & Baird, 2005; Whaley & Krane, 2011), with its central focus being to
142 develop empathetic understanding of the participants' lived experiences. Accordingly, this
143 research was informed by a 'relativist ontology' which assumes the existence of multiple,
144 subjective realities, and 'epistemological subjectivism', where knowledge is seen to be

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145 constructed through interactions with others and the social and cultural environment (Smith
146 & Sparkes, 2016a). The current ethnography also provided a framework through which my
147 critical reflections on practice could be examined in juxtaposition with wider contextual
148 factors. Micro-political theorizing had subsequently allowed for a critical introspection of my
149 own applied practices throughout the data analysis process, but my time in the field had
150 initially sought to further enhance my contextual understanding as both a researcher and
151 neophyte sport psychology practitioner. Indeed, the combination of personal reflection-in-
152 and on-action (Schön, 1983, 1987) and ethnographic inquiry, permitted a prolonged, critical
153 engagement of my professional self, and my connection to the relational complexities of club
154 life (Knowles & Gilbourne, 2010).

155

156 **Contextual Underpinning: The Academy and the Corresponding Participants**

157 A prior publication (cf. Rowley et al., 2012), provided a reflective account of practice from
158 the academy of this same Super League rugby league club. In keeping with the approach
159 adopted previously, the current paper offers a reflective account of applied practice; one
160 where the author's 'voice' is utilized as a tool to convey lived experience (Rowley et al.,
161 2012). As is documented within the preceding publication, my initial responsibilities at the
162 club had been to provide weekly workshop sessions for the academy players to assist their
163 respective development towards a potential first-team future. Over time, I had increasingly
164 sought to adapt my practice in accordance with my increased understanding of the day-to-day
165 organizational functioning, and as a result, I had come to spend an increased amount of time
166 with the players and coaches outside of the scheduled workshop sessions. Following the
167 completion of my formal sport psychology support contract with the club, and the
168 corresponding cessation of any formal applied workshops, I obtained permission to undertake

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193 established a rapport, and the data reported here is largely comprised of my observational
194 data, and interviews conducted with; a) four academy players (aged 16 to 18, three of whom
195 were in the E.D.S.); b) the Head of Youth Development (HoYD) whose role was manage the
196 academy and scholarship system as a whole; and c) the Player Performance Manager (PPM)
197 who was tasked with youth player recruitment and development across the academy system.

198

199 **Data Collection**

200 Krane and Baird's (2005) ethnographic recording process was utilized within this
201 study, with field notes being translated into a detailed research log within a 24-hour period. A
202 reflective journal was also kept which sought to make links to wider issues of research and
203 practice. Field based discussions and interactions with participants in turn helped to inform
204 the interview guide used in a series of semi-structured interviews (cf. Gobo & Molle, 2017).
205 These interviews allowed further exploration of the meaning-making that key stakeholders
206 ascribed to the everyday events and incidents that I had witnessed. Further detail regarding
207 each stage of data generation is provided below.

208

209 **Participant Observation and Field Notes.** Considered to be the 'backbone' of
210 ethnographic research (Krane & Baird, 2005, p.94), observation aims to provide 'thick
211 description' of the events and interactions that occur in a social setting, as well as the
212 meanings attributed to them by participants (Thorpe & Olive, 2016, p.125). In keeping with
213 the subjective epistemology of this study, observational data collection focused toward social
214 interactions and conversations, capturing the 'seemingly mundane' (Krane & Baird, 2005,
215 p.95) day-to-day functioning of the organization. Field notes usually took the form of brief
216 text typed up on my mobile phone, with these notes serving as the basis for my research log,

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217 which provided a detailed account of context, and the interactions between stakeholders. I
218 also kept a separate reflective journal (comprised of 300 to 500 word extracts), which sought
219 to advance my critical analysis, and support my ongoing process of staged reflection
220 (Knowles & Gilbourne, 2010). This journal also encompassed my researcher-orientated
221 reflexive notes, as suggested by Krane and Baird (2005). In total, 11 observational visits were
222 recorded over a 10 month period, including attendance at training sessions and occasional
223 competitive fixtures when the coaches had granted me permission to travel with the team to
224 collect data. My prior role within the field had allowed for participant observation (cf.
225 Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) to occur, whereby a ‘typical’ day of data collection involved
226 me arriving in the morning to speak with the coaches and/or support staff, observing first-
227 team training from the touchline, and interacting with any players who were injured or not
228 involved in the specific drills. I would then remain at the club until late in the evening when
229 academy training took place. Here, I would spend time with the coaches, and talking with
230 individual academy players.

231

232 **Ethnographic- and Semi- structured Interviews.** The informal conversations which
233 took place during the observational period of this study are akin to what Gobo and Molle
234 (2017) termed as ‘ethnographic interviews’. Such discussions were often recorded, with
235 verbal consent being provided by the participant, and sought to clarify the meanings that key
236 stakeholders attributed to any events and incidents that I had observed. These interactions
237 informed a series of more formal, semi-structured interviews, each of which were recorded
238 and transcribed verbatim by the first author during the ongoing data collection process. These
239 interviews were comprised of; ‘questions of practice’ and ‘questions for practice’. ‘Questions
240 of practice’ related to the interviewees’ own interpretations of their respective roles with the

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241 club, for example ‘What do you feel are your primary responsibilities at the club?’ In
242 contrast, ‘questions for practice’ served to make more implicit links to my own applied
243 practice, for example; ‘What do you feel have the club done to try and nurture your talent and
244 enhance your development?’ My prior work with the club had allowed me to develop a
245 degree of trust, rapport, and empathy with the interviewees, qualities that are deemed to be
246 beneficial for effective interview data collection (Smith & Sparkes, 2016b). These interviews
247 took place in a private room at the club, typically lasting between 45 and 60 minutes. In an
248 attempt to ensure sufficient depth and richness of data, follow-up interviews were conducted
249 in each instance, allowing time and space to reflect on what had already been told (Smith &
250 Sparkes, 2016b), with specific questions being developed based around the transcripts of
251 prior discussions. In total, six ethnographic interviews and eight semi-structured interviews
252 were recorded with the four identified players, with two interviews also being recorded with
253 both the HoYD and PPM respectively.

254

255 **Data Analysis**

256 The various data that comprised the ethnographic record were subjected to an iterative
257 process of analysis (Tracy, 2013), focusing on the identification of critical incidents, phases
258 and persons amongst both participant and researcher sourced data. Specifically, Tracy’s
259 (2013) process model for the etic and emic reading of data was utilized. The first stage
260 entailed the organization and preparation of the data, which was all stored electronically.
261 During the following data immersion and primary-cycle coding phase, my supervisory team
262 were often used as critical friends (Patton, 2015) to aid the rigor and quality of the analytical
263 interpretations developed (Smith & McGannon, 2017). In this instance a manual coding
264 approach was adopted, whereby inductive, in-vivo coding (Patton, 2015) was utilized to help

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265 ensure that the vocabulary of the participants remained apparent. During secondary-cycle
266 coding, hierarchical codes were then generated to help organize, synthesize, and categorize
267 data. Finally, prior to commencing the writing process, analytical memos were utilized to
268 ensure that the emerging higher order themes provided a logical, conceptual and
269 theoretically-robust account of the ethnographic record (Tracy, 2013). Indeed, the utilization
270 of analytic memos represented a key intermediary step between coding and analysis, serving
271 to define the codes and explicate their properties, provide examples of raw data that illustrate
272 the codes, and examine the relationship between the generated codes.

273 Throughout the analytical process, the interpretive creativity of the research team
274 allowed for a process of ‘prospective conjecture’ (Tracy, 2013, p.194), permitting the first
275 author to consider novel theoretical juxtapositions and seek relevant theorizing from other
276 fields of study. More specifically, the micro-political writings of Ball (1987), and
277 Kelchtermans (1996, 2009a, 2009b, 2011) were identified as particularly productive
278 explanatory tools. At the heart of their respective theorizing is the challenging of long held
279 and unrealistically functional accounts of working life. Importantly, rather than subscribing to
280 a view of organizational relationships that are characterized by authority (i.e. a hierarchical
281 organizational structure), goal coherence (i.e. the collective pursuit of shared organizational
282 goals), ideological neutrality (i.e. agreement upon the strategies which are deployed within
283 the organization), consent (i.e. an acceptance of organizational policies) and consensus (i.e. a
284 conformity in relation to organizational rules or ideologies), both authors articulate how
285 individuals and groups are, instead, actively engaged in varying degrees of negotiation,
286 conflict and collaboration. In particular, this corpus of theorizing acknowledges that power
287 (i.e. the influence which one individual or group may look to establish over another), conflict
288 (i.e. disputes or differences in opinion between organizational members), control (i.e. the way

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289 in which individuals aim to influence policy decisions) and goal diversification (i.e. the
290 pursuit of alternative objectives by individuals within the organization), are inherent and
291 dynamic features of life within organizations.

292

293 **Ensuring Quality**

294 As qualitative research within sport psychology has continued to grow and develop,
295 critical discussions around concepts of rigor and quality have emerged (cf. Burke, 2016;
296 Smith, 2018; Smith & McGannon, 2017). Such dialogue encourages researchers to reflect on
297 the methodological strengths of their work, and challenges traditionally held notions of
298 validity and trustworthiness within qualitative research (Burke, 2016). In this instance, a
299 relativist approach to conceptualizing validity was adopted (Burke, 2016). Here a variety of
300 evaluative criteria that reflected the assumptions and beliefs of the interpretive paradigm were
301 employed. Accordingly, this investigation seeks to demonstrate *credibility* via the first
302 author's prolonged engagement with the research participants, and *transparency* through the
303 rich description of the multi-method approach employed, inclusive of the utilization of
304 critical friends to support the rigorous analysis of a substantive data set (Patton, 2015).
305 Furthermore, this study seeks to make a *substantive contribution* to the advancement of
306 contemporary knowledge by examining issues of practice through the adoption of a novel
307 theoretical lens. As such, the *resonance* of the paper is best judged by way of readership
308 response to the paper, and in relation to the timeliness and prevalence of the issues discussed
309 in relation to applied practice. Accordingly, we invite the reader to actively judge the *impact*
310 of this paper by reflecting upon their own understandings of applied practice, and to consider
311 whether the contextually-bound reflections and accompanying theorizations offered here
312 serve to disturb the rationalistic and descriptive accounts that have typified the sport

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313 psychology literature to date. In short, we invite the reader to consider both the potential
314 naturalistic and analytical generalizability of this piece (Smith, 2018).

315

316

Results

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324

Players simultaneously collaborate and compete with one another

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Throughout my time at the club, I always felt that the players were a generally cohesive group, and their interactions at training, and occasional social events which I was invited to, served to illustrate this. Nevertheless, there were occasions when the underlying competition amongst them to try and progress to the first-team became an apparent source of tension and personal vulnerability. This was highlighted in a reflective journal entry:

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331

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336

I didn't speak to the coaches as much as usual today, but I did get to spend time with the players, and it is clear that there is an apparent degree of anxiety amongst them regarding their respective futures at the club. I overheard a number of conversations about; the amount of playing time they are getting; who is involved with the E.D.S. and who is not: and how their respective contract negotiations were progressing. Every player is subjected to a continued state of flux, and paradoxically, their peers are the people who they can relate with the most, but yet they are the same

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337 individuals with whom they are competing to obtain opportunities to progress into
338 the first-team. An increasing number of players are now starting to disclose their
339 frustrations and concerns with me, and whilst I can offer a sympathetic ear and
340 compassionate support, I cannot directly appease the tension and uncertainty that
341 exists amongst them. **Field note: 8th December**

342

343 Competition amongst youth-level players with a view to progressing into the first-
344 team is not a revelation within professional youth sport. Naturally, I appreciated that not all
345 the players who I worked with would be fortunate enough to achieve their ‘dreams’ of
346 playing professional rugby at a Super League club. The manner in which some players
347 seemingly embraced the competition with their teammates had always interested me though,
348 reflecting an apparent marker of industrial culture, whereby players were required to
349 collaborate effectively, whilst at the same time attempting to prove their work in comparison
350 to others. This was particularly apparent within my interviews with one player, who stated:

351 I come to training with a competitive outlook, like I know he’s on my team but I
352 want to beat him you know? I don’t care if he’s my mate, my best mate, my
353 brother...when they pick that 17, you want to be in it don’t you? (**Participant 3,**
354 **Interview 1 of 2)**

355

356 During particularly turbulent periods of a given season though, such as periods of contract
357 negotiations, even the most assured players were left to feel vulnerable, with the same player
358 further recalling:

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359 I was getting a bit worried because they don't really tell you much, they keep it in
360 the dark and I heard {one academy player} signed so your head starts thinking 'Oh
361 shit' and then I kept asking {P2} if he'd heard out [anything]. (P3, I1)

362

363 With players feeling as though they were being left 'in the dark', it was unsurprising that they
364 would seek any updates or further indications of progress from each other, aware of the
365 potential ramifications that their teammates' contract negotiations may have for them
366 individually. It was in these periods where every appraisal from a coach, and inclusion or
367 exclusion on a match-day team-sheet, seemed most pertinent.

368 Throughout this ethnography, this competition amongst the players was accentuated
369 further by the introduction of the aforementioned E.D.S. For those players who were on the
370 scheme, they could understandably take their status as a positive indication of their chances
371 of progressing, with one such player recalling:

372 When you got picked you were like 'Yeah I'm better than him' you know what I
373 mean?'...that's the way we were meant to think about how good it was...all the other
374 players think you're big headed and think you're first-team if you get on it. (P3, I2)

375

376 In contrast, those players outside of the scheme were left to reflect on their seemingly bleak
377 prospects of further progression, and accordingly, ruptures gradually emerged within the
378 academy. This was heightened by the fact that the players outside of the E.D.S. were left to
379 train separately on an evening. These individuals would often complain that they 'weren't
380 getting any progression' and were 'doing drills that we'd done when we first joined which are
381 shit.' (Participant 4, Interview 2 of 2). Having observed such training sessions from the

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382 side-lines, I had witnessed this discontent amongst the players, and was left to consider how I
383 might try to support the players within these different sub-groups.

384 To my mind, the introduction of the E.D.S. had inadvertently created a chasm
385 between the different groups of academy players. Whilst I was not running scheduled
386 workshops during this ethnographic study, I still found myself talking to players about their
387 training and match-day performances, as well as their own perceived prospects of progression
388 towards a potential first-team contract. Such conversations with those players outside of the
389 E.D.S. had gradually become more focused around their lives and aspirations outside of the
390 club itself. In contrast, my conversations with the E.D.S. players had a different focus. The
391 time they had spent training with the first-team squad had left them feeling confident about
392 their prospects, but my discussions with the coaches also meant that I was aware of how they
393 rated each of the E.D.S. players, and the apparent likelihood of them receiving a professional
394 playing contract. The dilemma that arose from these interactions was concerned with how a
395 practitioner might balance performance-orientated objectives and wider welfare needs with
396 players, who may have little understanding of, or may misread, their own standing within the
397 organization. My personal objectives though, were to support the players throughout their
398 athletic development, attempting to adopt a holistic perspective which accounted for any
399 aspects of their sporting, or non-sporting lives which seemed important to them at a given
400 time. As such, my dialogue with them shifted over time in accordance with what *I felt* might
401 be most beneficial for them.

402

403 **Tensions exist between the Coaches**

404 As I spent time moving between the first-team and academy training sessions, it had
405 also become apparent that the coaches did not always share the same views or beliefs in

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406 relation to their goals and objectives within the club setting. The academy coaches aspired to
407 see the first-team populated with academy graduates, and there was an apparent belief
408 amongst them that some of the players were talented enough to make that transition. This
409 view did not seem to be mirrored by the newly appointed Head Coach however, as was
410 highlighted in a reflective journal entry:

411 In my recent interviews with the coaches they have mentioned an incident where the
412 Head Coach allegedly went in to the changing rooms after the academy team had
413 suffered a heavy defeat, and told the players that they were 'all shit' and that he
414 would help them to look for other clubs to play for. A number of the players have
415 also mentioned this to me, which suggests that some form of lasting impact has been
416 felt. For those players who are not involved in the E.D.S., it may not have come as
417 a great surprise that the Head Coach did not see them necessarily having a first-team
418 future. But some of the players effected are part of the E.D.S., and have supposedly
419 been earmarked as having the potential to progress, which now seems increasingly
420 unlikely. **Field note: 28th May**

421

422 The appointment of a new Head Coach is always likely to result in a certain degree of change
423 within an organization. Prior to his arrival, there had been a genuine sense of anticipation
424 amongst the academy, as he had come with a reputation for developing youth players when
425 working as an Assistant Coach at his previous club. Following the frequently cited 'you're all
426 shit' incident, this anticipation quickly dissipated however. As the PPM recalled:

427 Myself and [HoYD] tried dealing with it [the incident]...I tried to sit down with a
428 few of them who took it quite personally...It kind of, it popped the bubble so to
429 speak, we had this team ethos and it kind of felt like the fella who sits at the top of

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430 that totem pole, who pulls all the strings and can say yes or no to your future has
431 turned around and said 'you're all shit'. Some of them was on that E.D.S. and just
432 fell even further behind because they were thinking, 'he don't rate me anyway' and
433 where do you go from there? **(Player Performance Manager, Interview 1 of 2)**

434

435 Similarly, the HoYD suggested that 'there was no pulling that situation round...The lads felt
436 disillusioned, the coaching staff at that age group felt disillusioned' **(Head of Youth**
437 **Development, Interview 1 of 2)**. In expanding upon his reaction to this incident, he also
438 depicted himself as being a 'long-term analyst', a position which he viewed as being in direct
439 contrast with the new Head Coach's number one priority of 'self-survival'.

440 My discussions with the academy coaches, had suggested that they held an
441 appreciation of the 'pressure' which the Head Coach was under. As part of these discussions
442 though, they also highlighted the importance of 'putting ourselves in the players' shoes', and
443 the 'duty of care' **(HoYD, I2)** that they felt they held as part of their roles. In expanding upon
444 this, and highlighting another conflict between the academy coaches and their first-team
445 counterparts, the PPM recalled:

446 There were a couple of lads who [the first-team coaches] wanted in during school
447 time...and it was a case of 'no chance' they're in their last year of education and we
448 scrapped it totally. They wanted them in because they are potential first team players
449 and its results based, they want the best players...on the flipside there's me pulling
450 my weight saying we've got to look out for what's best for the individual. **(PPM, I1)**

451

452 This particular incident suggested that tensions between the coaches extended beyond the
453 athletic potential of a given player, incorporating the holistic well-being of academy players

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454 also. Interestingly, my discussions with the academy coaches allowed me to gain an insight
455 into their own sporting backgrounds, with both of them acknowledging that they had been
456 left without an education when they were released as former youth-level players from their
457 respective clubs. In that regard, I could understand why they contested the wishes of the Head
458 Coach in some instances, attempting to ensure that the players' non-sporting development
459 was taken into account.

460 For me, such insights were significant in helping me to recognize that the
461 organization was not the unproblematically cooperative and collaborative environment
462 that I had previously assumed it to be. Over time, I came to recognize how the first team
463 agenda, and the performance discourse in which it was enshrined, permeated the day-to-
464 day interactions, relationships, and culture at the club. This contrasted starkly with the
465 developmental ethos that I had observed in the academy, and as such, the academy
466 coaching and support staff (including myself) were left to reflect on the extent to which
467 they were willing to sacrifice or bend their personal beliefs, in order to conform with the
468 dominant performance discourse of the organization. Indeed, my own focus on player
469 well-being could be seen to be in conflict with the objectives and needs of the first-team
470 coaches and, arguably, the organization as a whole. This was a chastening and very
471 uncomfortable experience and is an issue that remains unresolved in my mind. Who am I
472 there for, those who pay me or those who I am asked to help? What should I be doing?
473 Where do my loyalties and obligations lie? Over time, I also came to recognize my
474 emotional and political connection to some members of the organization. Specifically, as
475 some of the players and coaches started to share their reactions to the 'you're all shit'
476 incident, I found it increasingly hard to remain impartial and refrain from harboring
477 negative feelings towards other figures, such as the Head Coach. For me, that incident had

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478 significant repercussions for the individuals with whom I had previously worked, and, in
479 light of my own vested interest in their progression and well-being, I had found it
480 increasingly hard to emotionally detach myself from the fall-out which emanated from this
481 incident.

482

483 **Most Players end up Being Released**

484 Whilst the players all strived to obtain first-team contracts, there understandably
485 remained an implicit understanding amongst all stakeholders that opportunities to progress
486 to the first-team would ultimately be limited. The introduction of the E.D.S. had intended
487 on facilitating this transition for some players, but the Head Coach's overall appraisal of
488 the academy squad suggested that the E.D.S. players would still face a considerable
489 challenge in attaining a squad number for the following season. My discussions with the
490 coaches had served to reiterate this point. For example:

491 I talked with the coaches for a while about their thoughts on the 'you're all shit'
492 incident, as well as which players will be in the squad for the next match. [C7]
493 suggested that two particular players were 'pissheads' and were not trying hard
494 enough to get into the starting line-up. The coaches also spoke about all the players
495 being 'out on their arses next year', with the term 'shirt-fillers' being assigned to
496 those players whose futures have seemingly already been determined. For some
497 players, the writing has been on the wall for a while now, and regardless of whether
498 they have admitted it openly, I would assume that the 'shirt-fillers' have already
499 accepted that their futures lie outside of the club. For others, it would be fair to say
500 that they have received positive indications from various key figures at the club
501 regarding their chances of progressing to the first-team level. As such, I am

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502 increasingly concerned about what the lasting impact may be if their contracts are
503 then not renewed for next season. **Field note: 27th June**

504

505 As part of my subsequent interviews with the academy staff, I had been keen to ascertain
506 exactly what they meant by the term 'shirt-fillers'. Although the HoYD stated his displeasure
507 at the use of the term, he did offer some elaboration, stating that:

508 There's no way in an academy Under 20's, have you got 25 players who are going
509 to end up being first-teamers...I don't like the term but everybody uses it, they're
510 shirt fillers. Because you've got to put a squad out there every week. **(HoYD, I2)**

511

512 This unfortunate group of players were largely comprised of those outside of the E.D.S. who
513 were left to train alone on the evenings. As a result, there seemed to be a pragmatism
514 amongst them in relation to their futures at the club, with one such player recalling:

515 We were just going through the motions. The majority of us didn't wanna be
516 there...we'd often say at the end of training 'Oh that was shit, get us home'.

517 **(Participant 4, Interview 2 of 2)**

518

519 Given that apparent acceptance shown by these players, I often pondered why they still
520 invested their time and effort at academy training, assuming that they were attempting to hold
521 on to their dream for as long as possible. For other players, their futures were seemingly
522 much less predetermined however, and ironically, it was often these individuals who
523 appeared to be the most vulnerable on account of this uncertainty. As one player stated:

524 We've kind of committed a part of our lives which we'll never get back you know?
525 Being 16, 17, 18 are probably the best years of your life aren't they?...and we've

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526 dedicated it to rugby and given up loads for it, and at the end of it we get kicked out
527 because it's out of our control, it just doesn't seem fair (**Participant 2,**
528 **Ethnographic Interview 1 of 3**)

529

530 That player did indeed end up being released, and he subsequently highlighted how he had
531 been told by the Assistant Coach three weeks previously, that he would 'definitely be there
532 next season' (**P2, Interview 1 of 2**). He had voluntarily chosen to study a University degree
533 alongside his rugby commitments, expressing his thankfulness that he had left himself with
534 an alternative career path when he had been released by the club. Worryingly though, I was
535 aware of other players who had turned down programs of education or trade apprenticeships
536 in an attempt to focus solely on their rugby, and unfortunately, they too were left to share the
537 same fate of not having their contracts renewed.

538 During the prolonged periods of uncertainty that preceded players being released, the
539 consensus amongst them was that the coaches were directly avoiding discussing their contract
540 renewals. When I spoke to the HoYD about this, he offered his perspective, stating:

541 You've got to take into consideration, long term, what the Head Coach wants...and
542 it is very difficult and you have a lot of sleepless nights... and I've found that really
543 difficult this time round. Because you know, after two games he was saying 'well
544 you can get rid of him, you can get rid of him' you know and that ain't the way I
545 work. (**HoYD I2**)

546

547 Accordingly, the academy coaches were also left in an uncertain position, as the contract
548 negotiations they were engaged in with players were ultimately dictated by decisions made at
549 a first-team level. As a result, they were required to withhold information and prolong the

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550 periods of uncertainty for a number of players, based upon the needs and requirements of the
551 first-team squad. My discussions with the coaches helped me to understand their role within
552 these negotiations in a more empathic manner, but ultimately the fact remained that the vast
553 majority of the players who I was working with would end up being released once the season
554 had concluded.

555 My increased understanding of the coaches' perspectives, and the way the club
556 functioned in general, meant that I was becoming more aware of issues behind-the-scenes
557 that had implications for the academy players. Within this complex and inherently political
558 context, I had become increasingly convinced of the significant role which applied sport
559 psychology practitioners might play by offering unconditional support to these players as and
560 when they seek it. I appreciated that my role in helping them to actually progress to the first-
561 team was always likely to be limited, and so instead, I increasingly believed that I needed to
562 simply be there for them; assisting them in their efforts to cope with the highly scrutinizing,
563 unforgiving and ever-changing sporting environment that they found themselves in. As such,
564 I think it is important for practitioners to spend time standing on the side-lines during
565 training, or waiting around after matches have finished, so that players and/or coaches can
566 approach them if they wish to do so. Somewhat frustratingly however, I also realized that no
567 matter how closely I might work with a player, there was always a distinct probability that
568 they would not be at the club for the following season. The label of an 'elite level athlete'
569 was likely to only be temporarily applicable for the vast majority of those who I was
570 affiliated with. Indeed, in this instance, the reality was that the majority of the academy
571 'players' I had worked with were young men who played professional youth rugby on an
572 always-temporary basis.

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Discussion

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The results presented reflect how my time-in-context within this particular ‘arena of struggle’, was typified by ideological diversity, poor coordination, and conflict between key stakeholders (Ball, 1987, p.19). The players all held a shared goal to progress into the first-team, but this effectively required them to compete amongst themselves, whilst simultaneously trying to harbor a cohesive team dynamic. Furthermore, the continued uncertainty regarding their future prospects meant that they were often left to seek assurances from the appraisals offered to them by their coaches. However, while the academy and first-team coaches seemed to share an apparent desire to promote youth players into the first-team, they had disagreements about how best to nurture a player’s overall development, and simultaneously manage the needs and expectations of a results driven industry. Furthermore, the lack of influence perceived by the academy coaches during important periods of organizational change had seemingly led to further rifts developing between them and their first-team counterparts. Such reflections depict everyday organizational life as a negotiated and contested activity for these key stakeholders, the roots of which can be traced back to their respective ideological standpoints (Ball, 1987). As Ball (1987) suggests, life within the club was found to be far from ‘mundane’, with a degree of power, conflict, control and goal diversification typifying some of the day-to-day interactions.

Here, Kelchtermans’ (2009a, 2009b, 2011) workings around professional vulnerability can also be used to exemplify the passivity and uncertainty which both the academy players and coaches experienced. Kelchtermans (1996) acknowledged how the narrative biographies of teachers highlighted the impact of critical incidents as sources of professional vulnerability, with such incidents serving to question the normal daily routines of teachers, provoking emotions of distress, unease, doubt and uncertainty (Kelchtermans,

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598 1996). Given that ‘critical incidents’ such as the introduction of the E.D.S. and the ‘you’re all
599 shit’ episode had generally typified my time-in-context, I was left to reflect on the apparent
600 vulnerability of the players and coaches with whom I worked. Kelchtermans (2009a, 2009b,
601 2011) depicted vulnerability as a structural condition, as opposed to a purely emotional
602 experience, with a perceived lack of control, uncertainty regarding the efficacy of one’s
603 actions, and the thoughts and opinions of significant others, all serving as apparent
604 antecedents. Furthermore, Kelchtermans (1996) stated that the social recognition of technical
605 skills, competences, and moral integrity, was a crucial element of one’s professional self
606 (self-esteem and task perception), with appreciation from other key stakeholders constituting
607 as a highly valued, non-material, social workplace condition. As such, the vulnerability
608 experienced by the players stemmed from the continued requirement for them to try and
609 impress the academy and first-team coaches with a view to ensuring a first-team future at the
610 club. This structural vulnerability also extended to the professional lives of the academy
611 coaches however, in that their own professional competencies and moral integrity were, at
612 times, challenged in their interactions with their first team counterparts. My prolonged
613 engagement with this micro-political context, and my continued dialogue with key
614 stakeholders had led me to reject any previously held conceptions of assumed authority, goal
615 coherence, consent and consensus within the club (Ball, 1987). Instead, I was left to reflect
616 on the critical implications that this may hold for applied practice, and whether or not other
617 practitioners found themselves battling with similar issues of practice.

618

619 **Applied Implications**

620 Whilst I was no longer delivering scheduled sport psychology sessions during the
621 ethnographic study presented here, my time spent with key stakeholders throughout the data

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622 collection process had left me wanting to understand them more as *people*, as opposed to just
623 *coaches*, or *athletes* (Gilbourne & Priestly, 2011). Such a sentiment echoes the
624 acknowledgement made by Gilbourne and Priestly (2011) that;

625 The people we study are complex. They have fears, worries, weaknesses, and needs;
626 they are vulnerable, just like other people. In fact, they are *just people*. (p.230).

627

628 Within this context, the vulnerability that typified the professional lives of the players and
629 coaches, often extended beyond their role-related performances. In a similar manner, my own
630 emerging understanding of their perceived complexities, had led me to recognize how my
631 own professional vulnerability was always likely to be moderated by my ability to
632 successfully maintain effective relationships with any number of key stakeholders; a finding
633 increasingly highlighted within recent research (e.g., Eubank et al., 2014; McDougall et al.,
634 2015). Upon recognition of vulnerability as a structural condition (Kelchtermans, 2009a,
635 2009b, 2011), the realization that practitioners are not immune to the day-to-day functioning
636 of their applied contexts, highlights how social recognition from key stakeholders can be seen
637 to be a key antecedent of a practitioner's own professional self-understanding (Kelchtermans,
638 1996, 2009a, 2009b, 2011). Kelchtermans' (2009a, 2009b, 2011) work addressing
639 professional vulnerability and professional self-understanding has much to offer the
640 discipline, both in terms of analyzing the thoughts, emotions and behaviors of athletes and
641 coaches, and also in stimulating critical reflection on the work and careers of applied sport
642 psychologists.

643 During my initial period of professional practice at the club, my interactions had
644 always been restricted to the players and coaches within the academy. As such, I had always
645 judged my own accountability in relation to how my practice aligned with the interests, hopes

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646 and needs of these individuals alone. My subsequent ethnographic study, and my
647 corresponding reading of the (micro)politics literature however, had provided me with a more
648 rounded insight into how the club's primary need to win matches regularly at the first-team
649 level, permeated all facets of organizational life. Accordingly, I can now understand why
650 some colleagues continuously challenged me to consider the following questions; how would
651 I seek to demonstrate the effectiveness of my practices to key stakeholders at the club?; how
652 would I justify my evolving approach to practice to a prospective new employer?; how
653 flexible might I need to be in terms of my applied practices to ensure that I can achieve the
654 necessary 'buy-in' from numerous key stakeholders?; how would I try and initially seek a
655 better contextual understanding when starting work within a new organizational setting?

656 Whilst my extensive time-in-context has permitted me to reflect upon some of the
657 factors which impacted upon my applied work there, comprehensive answers to the
658 aforementioned questions of identity and practice have remained elusive. As such, the research
659 team have purposefully refrained from offering any definitive recommendations for practice.
660 As a research team however, we would encourage readers of this paper to also consider their
661 responses to the questions above with respect to the critical reflections offered within this
662 paper, as well as their own encounters and their approaches to applied work. Furthermore, we
663 would encourage readers to reflect upon the fundamental suggestion made through the paper
664 that applied practice within sport psychology may be facilitated by a degree of *micro-political*
665 *understanding* and activity on the practitioner's part. Such emergent messages highlight the
666 need for practitioners to develop and utilize their micropolitical literacy when attempting to
667 develop, maintain and advance their working relationships with various organizational
668 stakeholders (Kelchtermans & Ballett, 2002a, 2002b). From our perspective, such an approach
669 to research and practice is essential if we are to bring into sharper focus the vulnerable and

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670 often ideologically contested nature of sports work, as well as its connection with, and to,
671 applied sport psychology practice. In light of this, the current paper seeks to encourage further
672 academic debate within the domain, as to what a social analysis of applied contexts might mean
673 for the enactment of sport psychology practice.

674

675 **Strengths, Limitations and Future Research Directions**

676 Notwithstanding the potential implications of the multidisciplinary approach to understanding
677 applied contexts adopted here, the current study represents reflections from a single setting,
678 and as such, the experiences accounted are not necessarily representative of the experiences
679 of other practitioners. However, the key strength of this paper is in the adoption of a novel
680 theoretical lens to illuminate and examine applied practice issues within sport psychology, in
681 a manner that disturbs the rationalistic and descriptive accounts that have typified the
682 literature base to date. Consequently, we call for practitioners to not only reflect on whether
683 the issues highlighted here resonate with their own experiences and training, but to also
684 consider how they would address some of the everyday challenges and dilemmas which are
685 documented within this paper. Furthermore, we hope that this paper acts as a stimulus for the
686 development of critical and rich, reflective accounts of sport psychology practice, that allow
687 the profession to better consider issues of power, interaction, agency, ambiguity and
688 vulnerability, in a more contextually-informed manner than has been achieved to date.

689 Further research, which seeks to recognize the inherently (micro)political nature of
690 the high-performance contexts and, relatedly, the sport psychologist's role within such social
691 milieus, offers the potential to significantly advance our collective understanding of some of
692 the more tacit and understated challenges that practitioners are likely to encounter. More
693 specifically, scholarship which offers a critical insight into the relationships that practitioners

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694 seek to forge and re-forge, and the strategies that they adopt in order to survive, thrive and
695 learn within these settings, holds significant implications for the discipline. Furthermore, by
696 considering the utility of organizational analyses and theorizing from outside of the sport
697 psychology domain (cf. Ball, 1987; Kelchtermans, 1996, 2009a, 2009b, 2011), future
698 research might also seek to examine how a practitioner's self-understanding is impacted upon
699 by the social recognition and engagement that they (may or may not) receive from key
700 contextual stakeholders within a given applied setting. Such multi- and inter-disciplinary
701 inquiry may provide a fruitful avenue for enhancing our knowledge of applied practice and
702 the preparation and development programs put in place to support it.

703

704 **Conclusion**

705 The current paper has offered a reflective, ethnographic analysis of everyday life within a
706 professional rugby league academy, with the goal of not only illuminating the micro-political
707 nature of organizational life, but also highlighting how such understanding could be
708 connected to applied sport psychology practice. By depicting how the issues of power,
709 conflict, and vulnerability featured in day-to-day organizational life, this paper problematizes
710 the rationalistic portrayals of practice that have traditionally dominated the literature base.
711 Arguably such accounts of practice have much to offer in terms of encouraging a
712 phenomenology of practice that includes (as a central component) reflection on the reflection-
713 in-action of practitioners within sports clubs and organizations (Schön, 1987). Such dialogue
714 and debate may also help the field to productively embrace the complexity and uncertainty of
715 applied practice and provide conceptual insights that better reflect the 'grit' of organizational
716 life in which applied sport psychologists are embedded.

717

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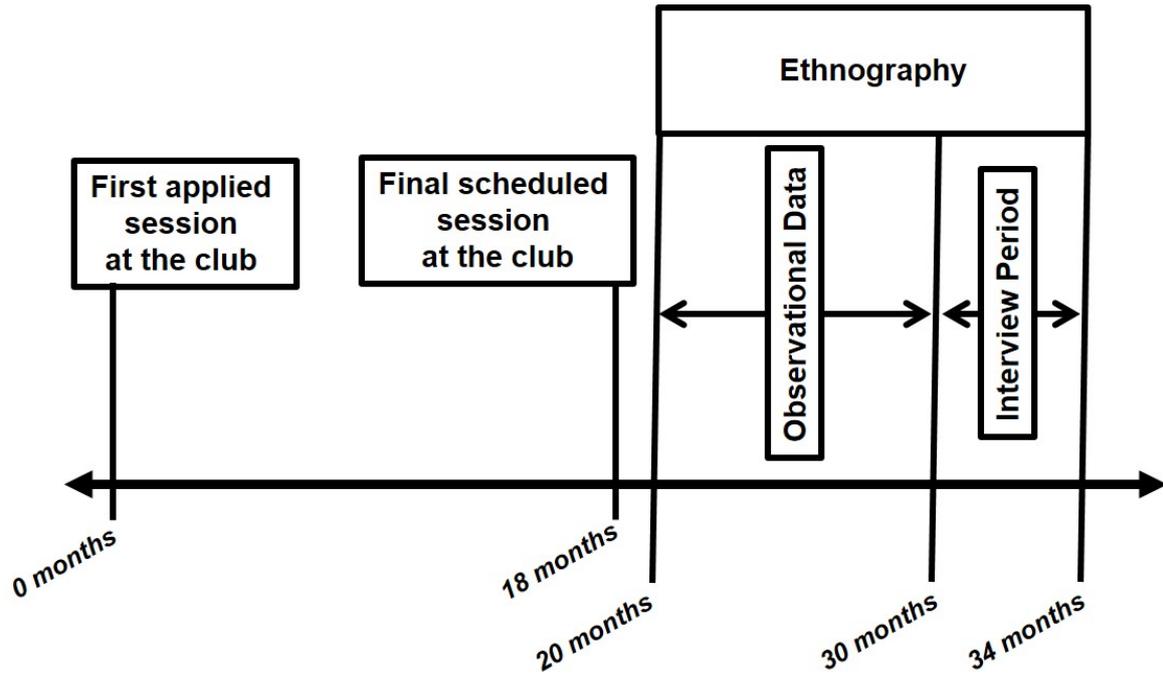
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860 Figure 1: A timeline portraying the first author's changing association with the rugby league

861 club in question over time