Chapter 7: Dave's Story; The Cost of Caring

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Abstract

Dave's story is an important narrative that explores how caring for athletes may reflexively influence the personal and social lives of coaches. The narrative begins by revealing some of the ways that coaches may care for athletes and their wider wellbeing. For example, Dave uses basketball as a vehicle to support athletes' education. He also provides pastoral care to athletes with challenging family and social circumstances. This 'labour' can however be time consuming and emotionally intensive. Accordingly, caring for athletes can have significant negative consequences for coaches' own personal and social lives. Readers may recognise Dave's struggles to balance caring for athletes and a passion for sport, with his family commitments. To aid readers in such positions, Dave's story is analysed with reference to sociological literature on emotional labour and psychological literature on burnout. The combination of these literatures is novel, and provides theoretical explanations relevant to the wider coaching community. Practical suggestions for coaches who may find caring to be an exhausting form of labour are also included, as are future implications for coach researchers and educators. Thus, the chapter provides an important case study that can impact coach development and coaching practice.

Chapter 7: Dave's Story; The Cost of Caring.

At our first interview, I, (Colum) immediately connected with Dave. Like me, Dave is a basketball coach. That said, in addition to his role as a coach in a school, he has coached at a much higher level than I do: county teams, national championships and international teams. He has even had successful teams at major international championships, which is far beyond my own modest coaching achievements. Despite his lofty success, during our interviews Dave is generous with his time and helpful. I am not surprised, therefore, when Dave explains how he often spends time supporting teenage basketball players and their families;

> Players' mums sometimes ring me (Dave) up and say, "look he (the athlete) has been foolish at home. Can you have a word?" So, I have word and say "get your act together. Do I have to take basketball away from you to get the point across"? Normally it works straight away and from that point of view the parents are finding it very helpful.

Dave's emphasis on positive youth development reflects his day job as a basketball coach in a school. Within this role, he teaches basketball to all the children (ages 13-16) at an inner city high school. He predominantly teaches them basic skills, but he does so in order to achieve outcomes associated with the English national curriculum such as improving performance and educating young people to lead healthy lives (Department for Education, 2013). In addition to these aims, Dave is very keen to develop 'good character' through basketball. He provides examples of meeting parents after coaching sessions to discuss the behaviour of players, and meetings with families in their homes to support young people when they are choosing university. Through these stories, Dave emphasises the potential to use basketball as a vehicle that has a positive influence on young people's wider social development.

> Some of our kids are very difficult to handle in a classroom. A lot of the kids have done well just to stay in school. There have been quite a few success stories given the background they are coming from. Single parent families, socio economic problems, living in tough areas that are not safe. That kind of thing. But on a basketball court they are really committed. And basically, cause of the power of the game and their love of the game these kids will basically do anything I want them to do, or ask them to do. From that point of view, I get a lot of respect from the teaching staff and particularly senior management.

Thus, Dave straddles two distinct basketball contexts (Côté, Young, North, & Duffy, 2007). In the evenings and weekends, he works with very talented young athletes who are part of a national talent development pathway. For this work, Dave receives modest remuneration[i]. So, during weekdays, Dave works with children who have a more recreational approach to basketball in a setting with a mass participation focus. His work in schools provides Dave with a sustainable income akin to a physical education teacher. This does, however, mean that Dave leads a very busy coaching life. Caring for the holistic development of players in both school and high-performance contexts is an intensive and time-consuming labour, which has some negative influences upon Dave's personal and social life.

> You know my schedule is crazy. This is something that is the one thing that annoys her (his partner). If I come back from training and I am late by half an hour, it could be because I am talking to a parent about a player's performance at school. My partner finds that frustrating. She is always saying "you know you have your family too. They need to take care of their own kids".

On this theme, the narrative which follows explores how caring for athletes and caring about sport performance can have negative implications for coaches, and their families. To explore these issues further, the narrative is followed by two disciplinary analyses. Firstly, John Hayton draws on sociological literature to consider caring in sport coaching as an emotional labour. Secondly, Sören Hjälm considers Dave's story from a psychological perspective and draws upon wider literature that explores burnout in coaches. As with the other stories in the previous three chapters (Jane, Terry and Julie), this chapter concludes by summarising key take home messages. These messages are valuable for coach educators, employers and coaches themselves because if coaching is to be recognised as a legitimate caring activity, then caring must become a sustainable ethic for coaches.

Dave's story

After much time discussing basketball and sharing our views, Dave began to talk to me (Colum) in a more personal manner. This occurred during our third interview. Prior to this point, Dave was relentlessly positive and professional. He had described exhilarating experiences while coaching national teams, outlined the generous support provided by the

school where he teachers, and also detailed how much he enjoys building relationships with athletes. It was, therefore, a surprising shift in tone, when Dave confessed,

> I will be honest with you. Sometimes, it takes up so much of my time. Cause I kind of feel I have to follow through with a lot of social support. You know cause otherwise I feel what we are doing with the basketball academy is ineffective. If I am not making sure they are 'toeing the line' in lessons or around the school, then I am not being totally effective. But that is time consuming.

I sensed Dave wanted to open up about the demands of his role, and he went on to declare:

> I am getting inundated with emails every day. If there is a problem with a kid in a history lesson, they won't email the form tutor they will email me. If he has a basketball academy tie on, I will get an email saying so and so hasn't done his homework or so and so is playing up in my lesson. Really what they should be doing is emailing the form tutor, but it has become the situation now. That is not formally done but it has come about this way. They contact me now instead of the form tutor.

It is clear that the pastoral care of young people is a significant part of Dave's coaching role and one that is demanding. Dave's concerns about the extent of this pastoral care and its effects on his wider personal life resonated with my own experiences as a lecturer who also coached youth basketball in the evenings after work and at weekends. I was regularly unable to spend weekends with family. I have missed birthdays, anniversaries and other important occasions. For me, basketball coaching has often led to a tension between my duty to care for players and to be with family and friends. Dave also experienced this tension.

> "I (Dave) was married to a woman who hated sport and basketball is in my heart. I'd never leave the sport you know and she didnt want to share me with basketball. We went our seperate ways because I was involved with the national team. In fact, at the time I was just getting involved and it was a constant battle every day. Even going out to practice on a Saturday morning was a challenge, and she couldn't understand, she didnt understand our culture. She didn't understand that our way of life is to be out at every weekend. She had never been exposed to it." (Cronin & Armour, 2017, p. 928)

Although, I could empathise with Dave, I have not shared his experience of international basketball. In order to understand the tension between the demands of coaching at that level and sustaining familial relationships, I asked Dave to explain what a typical national team-coaching weekend is like.

> We had Sweden here for a tournament last weekend. It was a pre-European preparation series, series of games really, erm. We played them on Friday night we played them on Saturday night and we played them on Sunday, erm, early evening. But on top of the games we had 2-hour practice Friday, 2-hour practice Saturday and

> then 90-minute practice on Sunday. And on top of the practices we had 2, no 4, no we had 5 video analysis session and in-between those times we had player individual meetings. And on the Friday, we had positional meetings, and again on the Saturday. We had another team meeting on the Sunday. It was very taxing for me because I was looking over my shoulder every 2 seconds, basically I was under surveillance from the GB performance director.

When recounting these experiences, Dave explicitly acknowledged the demanding nature of the coaching lifestyle. It was clear that he cared deeply about the team, success and the sport. I was surprised by the amount of time that Dave spends with players off the basketball court. Indeed, a large section of his weekend was spent in meetings and in video sessions with players where he 'got to know them', so that he was able to care for and about their sporting development. These days, I have reduced my own coaching workload and I do not invest as much time as Dave in developing relationships with athletes in this manner. I am acutely aware that weekends such as this would be at the expense of my own familial relationships, and it is a price that I have not been prepared to pay. In contrast, Dave was in a reflective mood and rather than regret spending so much time coaching, he began to lament not starting his coaching career even earlier.

> You know one assistant coach at the national team is only 22 and is pretty top for his age. I said to him, "look, you're not attached. Why don't you persue a job overseas. Just for a year". And you know so he's going over to the States soon. I wish, I always wish I'd have done it sooner, like him. But I was still chasing the days of playing. I thought that I was better player at 25 but I was no longer as good as I was when I was 20. And as I got towards 30, I still thought, 'the body is going to feel better'. But the body never heals like it used to, so you know you chase your playing days up until your late 20's. Then the body's gone, and the back is gone, and you start coaching.

It was clear from this answer that Dave was engrossed in basketball to a level that I was not. He had clearly decided to invest his time in his coaching; he cared about basketball and he cared deeply for his athletes. Yet, he also recognised the cost of caring about his sport and caring for athletes upon his wider social relationships.

> I was away all Summer, I came back on the 31st of August, we returned to school on the 1st of September. We had no holidays. That takes a lot of support from families. A lot of understanding. So from that point of view, I'm very lucky with my new partner. I was listening to my staff, while we were away at a camp. I just came home and thanked her "thank you for being so understanding, because when I heard these guys, what they were going through with their wives…" Not all of them, some of them, it's- I remember how it used to be from years ago, you know, with a different partner.

Dave's story is underpinned by his choice to care about sport and care for players and the consequences of this choice for his wider relationships. Other coaches involved in this book also told similar stories. For example, Julie (see chapter 6) declared;

> You know my relationship broke down (yeah) because I was away so much coaching. No, there are all sorts of reasons, but you know, coaching didn't help. I don't know whether it's because I'm female or what, but I've decided that now I have to have a balance between my coaching and my home life (yeah). I think if you're going to be a professional coach, it is almost a 24-hour day job. I'm sure there are people who manage with a partner to do that, but I don't think I'd be very good at it.

Jane (see chapter 4) also reflected on the cost of coaching for her family life.

> My parents love hearing about coaching when I get back, but they don't necessarily want me going off all the time as much as I do. I think they see that I don't get the opportunities to go on holiday because this is the time of year I am coaching. And we do have a little place over in North Wales that I would love to go to more often. And I just don't get to it. My parents get frustrated with me not using that facility – "oh you only ever go for one night at a time". And I can only go for one or two nights at a time because I just have too much to do.

In all three cases, these coaches have embraced caring for athletes as an integral part of their role. They also care deeply about their sport and performance success, and this level of care has had consequences for their wider personal and social relationships. There can be little doubt that the world of the caring coach goes beyond the field of play and does not stop at the final whistle; indeed, Dave cares in meetings, hotels and even in players' houses. This means that coaching is an extremely demanding activity. The initial analysis in the next section, raises interesting questions about the cost paid by coaches who care for players and care about their sport.

Initial Analysis by Colum Cronin

The holistic and person-centred coaching that Dave described chimed with my personal view that sport can[1] be a powerful vehicle for positive youth development (Camiré, Trudel, & Forneris, 2014; Armour, Sandford, & Duncombe, 2012; Holt, 2008; Hellison, 1995). Interestingly, Dave's positive influence on young people often occurred away from the

[1] However, I also recognise that sport can be a negative experience for many people.

basketball court in meetings and in discussions with athletes, teachers and family members. Indeed, Dave's story suggests that off the field coaching interactions are not only opportunities for Dave to listen to athletes, care for them and be a positive influence, but are also productive sites in which to help improve sporting performance. For example, Dave describes how getting to know athletes away from the field of play was paramount to sporting success at a European Basketball Championship;

> "On the first day we arrived at the European Championship, we sat around in a circle at the hotel, and I said, "Round one; tell each other one thing we didn't know about each other". Then I said, "Round two, now say something about you that will make someone laugh. It might make you a little bit vulnerable, but it doesn't matter, we're here together". We went around the group and told some funny stories. Then I said, "Right, round three! We are all going to share a personal battle we have had to overcome in our life". I wanted them to feel a little bit vulnerable in this moment. So I led it, and gave them my story, and we went around the circle. The coaches went next and one talked about his divorce. Then it went on to the players. The Captain went first. He told us about his father passing away when he was seven years old and how his life has been a struggle since. Another person talked about his grandfather dying, and he's the one who would come to watch every single game. Tears were shed. Oh, a lad told us about how his brother was beating him up. He started telling us "this is why I don't like it when people shout at me". All I could think was, "Jeez if only we knew these months ago we would have coached him differently." He's the one with the most potential, and I used to really bust his balls.
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> Anyway, going into the Bronze medal game, which we won, we had the pre-game changing room talk. I said to them, "Lads, two weeks ago we sat in the hotel and we talked about stuff we've overcome in our lives, challenges we've overcome," I said, "think about those challenges. Some of you are sitting here nervous because there's a promotion game but it's just another challenge that is nowhere near as difficult as the challenges you've had to overcome in your life. So go out there now, and meet this head on like you met that challenge and you'll walk out of here with an easy win." You could feel the energy. Everyone's sitting up straight, ready to go".
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> (Cronin & Armour, 2017, p. 927)

Thus, Dave's story demonstrates that coaching is a task that does not begin and end with training sessions, nor even competitions. Indeed, many researchers have recognised that coaching is a complex activity that requires greater intrapersonal insight than is often recognised (Barnson, 2014; Bowes and Jones, 2006; Cushion, 2007; Jones and Wallace, 2005; Jones, et al., 2016). Dave's story builds on this body of knowledge by demonstrating how an international coach cares for athletes in private spaces such as meetings, meals and hotel rooms. More specifically, Dave's story illustrates how coaches can care by listening to

athletes, their families and teachers. From this position (i.e. engrossed in the needs of athletes), coaches such as Dave are well placed to act in the best interests of athletes (motivational displacement)[ii]. Interestingly, the powerful positions of coaches also has the potential to enable them to enact harm and abuse (Raakman, Dorsch, & Rhind, 2010). In Dave's case, however, listening to athletes' life stories appears to have had a positive influence upon their sporting performance.[iii]

It is also important to note from Dave's story that caring for the holistic development of athletes is not an easy task. Basketball coaching has clearly been an emotive and time-consuming commitment for Dave. In fact, during our interviews, when Dave explained how much he cared for players and how he addressed issues such as school behaviour and family challenges, I began to feel concern for him. He had already recounted the negative impact of coaching on his previous marriage, and the impact of the emotional and pastoral care he provided for players was evident. In fact, Dave's commitment to care for players in both school and high-performance contexts could be best described as an all-encompassing commitment. I wondered if he ever found time for rest and recuperation. I asked myself whether he was in danger of 'burning out'.

In the next two sections, we attempt to answer pressing questions about Dave's practice and the personal costs of care. From a sociological perspective, John Hayton frames care as a form of emotional labour and considers the implications for coaches such as Dave. Sören Hjälm then focuses on the issue of coach burnout and from a psychological perspective considers whether caring in an engrossed and motivationally displaced manner can lead to burnout. Together, these perspectives provide a layered analysis of Dave's story that highlights key take-home messages for coaches concerned about the cost of care on their family and their own well-being.

Theoretical Perspective 1: A Sociological Analysis by John Hayton. Care as an Emotional Labour?

Coaching and sports work is implicitly bound up with emotion (Hayton, 2017), and the care that Dave exhibits both within his professional practice and outside of his job connects with Hochschild's (1979; 2012) related concepts of emotion work and emotional labour. Emotion work or emotion management refer to the act of trying to 'feel' an emotion, to try to adjust, evoke, shape or supress one's own feelings in-line with the perceived requirements of a given social situation or context (Hochschild, 2012). Such conscious efforts made by an individual to transmute emotion by 'working on' their inner feelings to align them to situationally prescribed emotional displays is termed 'deep' acting by Hochschild (2012). There are two principal forms of deep acting as outlined by Hochschild (2012). The first is to exhort feeling, to have the will to feel, and to make conscious and forced efforts to feel; however, this only allows someone to "duck" a signal temporarily and becomes unsustainable and emotionally draining over time. The second form is to imagine feeling: to do this requires an individual to recall feelings from prior experiences and apply them *in situ*. In contrast to deep acting, one may also simply pretend to feel, or feign an emotion, and this is known as surface acting (Hochschild, 2012).

Hochschild (2012, p.7) differentiates between emotion work and emotional labour, explaining that the former is undertaken within personal and private contexts, whereas as the latter is typically performed by a paid employee "to create a publically observable facial and bodily display" that is intended to elicit a desired emotional response in their clients. Emotion work is therefore guided by 'feeling rules' which, in turn, inform 'display rules'. Feeling rules then, are "socially shared, often latent rules", and as such they govern how people should try to feel in a given situation (Hochschild, 1979, p.563). For Hochschild (1979), feeling rules inform people when and how to publically demonstrate types of emotion (display rules) appropriate to the social context.

As Hochschild (2012) expounds, maintaining an act or display of emotion which is estranged from actual feeling incurs a cumulative strain on the actor, and unless the transmutation of emotion occurs, managed feeling cannot be maintained indefinitely as emotional dissonance

and emotional labour will turn to emotion fatigue, and ultimately burnout. Critically, this original framework of emotional labour did not accommodate for instances where employees may naturally or spontaneously feel what is required and expected in a specific context of paid work. To this end, Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) added a third form to the typology: 'genuine expression'. The concept of genuine expression has subsequently been appropriated within sports coaching research (c.f. Lee and Chelladurai, 2016; Lee, Chelladurai and Kim, 2015), and has been negatively related to emotional dissonance and exhaustion.

Colum highlights Dave's love for his sport (Basketball) and the care with which he expresses towards his athletes. To me, when Dave's focus is purely on the coaching of these players, he is 'being natural', exhibiting a genuine expression which is unlikely to incur negative emotional labour. I would suggest that when Dave is fully immersed in his role, he becomes energised by it. As a case in point, Dave recounts a "pre-game changing room talk" to his players, and engrossed in this moment, he describes "feeling the energy". As part of this team talk, Dave explains that he "wanted them (the athletes) to feel a little bit vulnerable in this moment. So I led it, and gave them my story". Such 'expressive' emotion work is intended to serve a dual purpose according to Hochschild (1979) and Hayton (2017): to first shape Dave's own internal feelings so as to facilitate a feeling display which, in turn, is intended to elicit a desired emotional response in his athletes. My interpretation of this example is that although Dave sets out to deliver a motivational and rousing display, his feeling is in alignment with his emotion, and such congruence manifests a truly authentic display; one of passion and one of care. This, to me, is no better exemplified than by Dave's repeated use of the personal pronoun 'we', as he becomes part of the group and part of the moment, thus evincing an expression of genuine immersion.

In contrast however, it is other nuances of his role – some of which might not be laid out in the black and white ink of his contract – as well as aspects of his personal life, which, from my perspective, are most likely to engender emotional strain for Dave. First, Dave is regularly called upon to perform wider roles 'off the court' by both school staff and athletes' parents due to the respect and credibility he possesses across both Basketball contexts in which he operates. These role extensions take the form of 'social support' and acting as a de facto authority figure. From Dave's comments, it is apparent that he is expected to present a voice of command to the athletes in his charge. When issues to do with their schooling or home life arise, Dave is required to 'handle' the feelings of his players in order to chide them

into demonstrating self-discipline and decorum within the activities in which they engage outside of Basketball. To undertake such parallel roles to the business of actually coaching Basketball, Dave therefore must conform to display rules that correspond to such pastoral tasks, and this may cause Dave to 'curb' feelings that are typical of his passionate and enthusiastic coaching disposition to instead present a sterner authoritarian persona in order to instil discipline. Enforcing such standards of behaviour may shift the feeling rules that Dave is accustomed to within his coaching practice and instead, induce emotional labour which, over time, may lead to emotion fatigue which could spill-over into his actual coaching role.

Connectedly, and like his counterparts Julie and Jane, Dave describes his work schedule as 'crazy' and, as a consequence, the multifaceted aspects of his job reduce the time he has available for his 'home life'. This has, in the past, caused tension in his personal relationships, which would have likely aroused regular and sustained bouts of emotion work for Dave. Of his previous marriage, Dave spoke of "a constant battle every day" to try to get his ex-wife to "understand our culture" (Basketball), to understand "our way of life", in the hope that he could overturn her "hate" for (the) sport and be able see the job from his point of view. In attempting to make his marriage work and imploring his wife to understand his relationship with his job, such a challenging and protracted situation would have likely manifested in fatiguing emotion work for Dave. The key point to be made here is that the long hours and additional responsibilities generated through the combination of Dave's school based and performance-coaching roles clearly encroach into his personal life, and when the job(s) becomes almost all consuming, it may force the coach to have to perform more emotion work within their personal life. This could potentially prove to be a vicious circle. If the home environment is similarly draining, it could lead the coach to grow increasingly estranged from those emotion(s) that correspond to the display rules of the coaching context. On the other hand, the coaching platform could offer a cathartic escape to a highly passionate professional such as Dave; yet the trap here may be that the 'sanctuary' that becomes the workplace could draw the coach further away from their home life, thereby exacerbating private troubles.

If a coach has to labour (emotionally) on two fronts, then two critical questions emerge for me. First, does the coach, who cares 'too much' about the job take sufficient care of him or herself, and his or her own personal relationships? If the answer to this first question is 'no',

then the second question must be; at what point is the coach's capacity to care for others affected?

In sum, emotion management, whether in public (emotional labour) or in private (emotion work), is a coping mechanism that allows a person to orchestrate a countenance that is congruent with the feeling rules of the social context. However, if feeling and emotion are not regulated appropriately, then such emotional dissonance can, over time, prove detrimental to wellbeing and potentially lead to stress, emotional exhaustion and burnout.

Looking to solutions for those who find themselves in scenarios similar to the narrative outlined here, Dave is in the advantageous position that he is ostensibly an experienced and assured coach who is more likely than not to exhibit genuine expression through his practice. As Lee and Chelladurai (2016) reinforce, the ability to tap into the emotional labour of genuine expression is the optimal means by which to guard against emotional exhaustion. For Dave, it appears that responsibilities peripheral to his day-to-day coaching are a potential cause for overload, and the suggestion here would be for him to redefine the parameters of his role(s). For those who are not yet capable of genuine expression, instead resorting to surface acting in particular, both Hochschild (2012) and Hayton (2017) speak of emotion management 'training grounds', such as the family, education settings, and work-related learning placements, as sites through which learners can develop their emotion coping and management strategies. Key recommendations for developing junior coaches would therefore be to: a) educate them on what emotional labour is and how it might present itself in coaching episodes (Hayton, 2017), and b) to provide training opportunities/placements tied to structured supervision, mentorship and support systems (Lee & Chelladurai, 2016).

Theoretical Perspective 2: A Psychological Analysis of Burnout by Sören Hjälm.

Caring and coach burnout

The description of Dave's life situation is very similar to what I (Sören) recognise from my studies in elite football (soccer) coaches in Sweden (Hjälm, Kenttä, Hassmén & Gustafsson, 2007; Lundkvist, Gustafsson, Hjälm & Hassmén, 2012). Through the interview, it emerges that Dave is tasked with training the players, and he is expected to assist both teachers and parents in caring for players in school as well as in their family life. Being available to care for these players means that Dave' own recovery time decreases, which in the long term could lead to fatigue and burnout. In addition, it appears that Dave wrestles with his conscience about being unable to care for his own family, which leads to frustration. There is no doubt that Dave is exposed to a life situation that is very time-consuming and emotionally challenging. For coaches like Dave, this risks creating high levels of stress. Unfortunately, this is not uncommon in coaching.

Why are coaches stressed?

Excessive workloads and unclear roles and expectations are examples of possible risk factors for developing a high level of burnout among coaches (Hjälm, et al., 2007; Capel, Sisley & Desertrain, 1987). Coaches in smaller and voluntary clubs can also experience poorer working conditions compared to those coaches in elite larger clubs; e.g. part-time contracts. This can mean double work for the coach; first as a 'civilian', coaches will work during the day, and then in the evening they will use their 'free-time' for training and matches (Hjälm,et. al., 2007). Many coaches, who have high ambitions to lead major elite clubs, work in these smaller clubs. Thus, to reach their personal goals, they may invest long working days in their own professional development. In these scenarios, it is not surprising that stress is a factor in the daily work situation of many coaches and that it may eventually lead to burnout (Frey, 2007; Olusoga, Butt, Hays, & Maynard, 2009; Olusoga, Butt, Maynard, & Hays, 2010).

What is burnout?

Burnout is a work-related syndrome that develops over time and is characterised by fatigue, cynicism and a low sense of professional performance (Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001). Those who experience burnout may perceive a sense of being mentally and emotionally exhausted, have a negative and distant attitude to work, and perceive work as less valuable or interesting. Sufferers of burnout may also experience a reduced personal ability to perform, which is characterised by impaired learning, impaired concentration ability, impaired memory capacity and feelings of low professional self-esteem (Maslach et al., 2001). Typically, it is highly motivated individuals who 'care about' improving performance in a demanding job that experience burnout. High performance coaches like Dave fit this description. More specifically, those who suffer from burnout have been described as very passionate, committed and motivated for their work (Bentzen, Lemyre, & Kenttä, 2014; Lundkvist, et. al., 2012). Actually, it appears that the strong internal drive in the form of devotion, which Dave exhibits, actually increases the risk of developing burnout (Pines, 1993). This is because coaches are often "passionate about what they do, but may not see the paradox of passion, which may mean that the endeavour that stimulates them most" can also cause them to burnout (Giges, Petitpas, & Vernacchia, 2004, p. 434).

What can happen to Dave in the long run? – The burnout phases.

Classic burnout literature (e.g. Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001) argues that burnout is a dynamic process involving several phases. In *the initial phase,* individuals often experience an inability to calm down, or to reduce their focus on their work. This description complies very well with Dave's account of his work situation. It can be described as an "absorbent commitment" (Hallsten, 2001). As the coach has difficulty calming down, the risk is that their performance is likely to deteriorate. Deteriorating performance is also a feature of the second *depersonalisation phase* of burnout, when dramatic behavioural changes may occur. These changes are due to coaches' experience of physical and emotional fatigue. During this phase, it is common that the previously exaggerated commitment that the individual exhibited begins to change. The behavioural change usually involves individuals reducing their

commitment to work, by deprioritizing the requirements they considered most demanding to live up to; e.g., a coach perhaps schedules fewer team meetings, or simply becomes low-key and silent in their relationship with both players and their employees. In order to avoid going further into the burnout process, the coach in the second fatigue phase, might develop a cynical approach to his surroundings and work. This cynical attitude is an unconscious coping strategy that in the short term reduces or relieves the stress the coach experiences. For example, it may feel nice to blame their players if the team has not performed well during match.

In the final *burnout* phase of the process, the coach is forced to separate himself or herself from everything in the environment that creates stress for health reasons. This sometimes means that they can no longer be in touch with work colleagues, or perhaps their employer may force them on to sick leave. During this phase, the coach is unable to perform any work without having to rest. Usually this is because the body is affected by a hormonal imbalance. The imbalance is because adrenal glands are tired of prolonged stress, resulting in constant low cortisol levels (Pruessner, Helhammer, & Kirshbaum, 1999). A person with low cortisol levels is usually very tired and stress-sensitive. Depending on the duration of the individual's stress, the risk of psychosomatic diseases such as diabetes and cardiovascular disease increases (Wahlberg, Ghatan, Modell, Nygren, Ingvar, Åsberg & Heilig, 2009).

What does Dave need to take care of himself?

Coaches in danger of burnout or in need of care would benefit from ensuring a balance between work and recovery. Awareness about their vulnerable situation is a key precursor to action that ensures this balance. The most common prompt for individuals to start the recovery process is that they realize the seriousness of the situation they are in. This awareness can be prompted by dramatic experiences such as panic attacks or long-term and severe stress-related disease symptoms.

Once aware of their predicament, coaches can benefit from interrupting their high levels of stress. The length of the break is dependent on the person's burnout or fatigue level; the more serious the symptoms, the longer the interruption is required. However, it is not uncommon for individuals to continue as a coach for another year or more (Hjälm, et al., 2007).

Unfortunately, this may lead to insufficient recovery. Thus, coaches may slowly increase fatigue, which then causes them to terminate their coaching assignment due to complaints from players and management.

Through *reflection*, it is common for coaches to start re-evaluating and questioning old values and approaches, meaning that they no longer experience stress and develop strategies to handle the stress (Bernier, 1998). For example, if the coach chooses to remain as an elite coach, it is usually required that the coach changes his perception of achievement through cognitive restructuring, leading to a more relaxed attitude towards achievement. Similarly, through *reorientation* individuals can benefit from reappraising their life situation and changing their view of the future (Bernier, 1998). This means that the coach, based on what is achieved during the reflection and reorientation, might choose the option that is best for their health.

What can coaches do to avoid being burnout?

Many activities are available to coaches that facilitate recovery from stress. Studies that investigated the effects of recreational leisure time (evenings and weekends) show that relaxing and stimulating activities as well as the avoidance of work-related activities favour the recovery (Fritz & Sonnentag, 2006). Relaxing activities also have positive effects on human wellbeing (Fritz & Sonnentag, 2006). Examples include meditation (Grossman, Niemannn, Schmidt & Walach, 2004), yoga (Oken, et al., 2004), music listening (Pelletier, 2004), long hot baths (Bourne, 2000) and progressive muscle relaxation and breathing exercises (Calder, 2003).

Different forms of physical activities such as walking, which paradoxically require some effort, have also been shown to reduce the need for recovery. This is most effective when the physical activities differ from the demands that individuals have in their daily lives and they increase psychological well-being (endorphins) (Sonnentag, 2001; Sonnentag & Natter, 2004). Spending time in nature is also a possible source of recovery from stress (Kaplan, Kaplan, & Ryan, 1998; Stigsdotter & Grahn, 2002). In addition, it is possible that physical

training involves a distraction from the surrounding demands and disturbing thoughts (Yeung, 1996; Martinsen, 2002; Jonsdottir, Rödjer, Hadzibajramovic, Börjesson, & Ahlborg Jr, 2010).

Finally, it has been argued that the most powerful mechanism to avoid burnout is to have good sleep, because it restores both biological and psychological functions in the body (Åsberg, Wahlberg, WiKlander, & Nygren, 2011; Ekstedt, et al., 2006). Good sleep habits include regular awake times, appropriate durations of sleep, minimising caffeine, tobacco and alcohol intake before sleep and reducing environmental noise (Brown, Buboltz, & Soper, 2002; Brick, Seely, & Palermo, 2010). Without good sleep habits, the individual's ability to perform decreases radically and the risk of burnout increases dramatically.

How can others care for coaches?

While it is important that the coach is personally responsible for ensuring effective recovery as well as developing adequate coping strategies, it is equally important to eliminate the stressful factors that arise in the work situation. In order to avoid the coach experiencing excessive workload and high demands, the organisational leadership should be clear when describing the coach's role, duties and responsibilities. For examples, clubs employing young coaches with relatively little or poor professional experience of the elite environment should pay particular attention to the early signs of stress symptoms. This is because it appears that young trainers with less experience are at greater risk of burnout (Gencay & Gencay, 2011). It is also important to point out that clubs, as employers, have responsibilities and a duty of care to their employees.

Implications from Dave's Story

Dave's story suggests that caring for athletes is not an easy task. On the contrary, it is emotive, time consuming and laborious. It is however, rewarding, and for Dave, it is very much a part of his identity and his everyday life. This means, that Dave's passion for sport and care for players, can negatively affect his relationships with family and friends. In Dave's case, it has been a struggle for him to meet the demands of his coaching and fulfil the expectations of family members. I suspect that this is not an uncommon experience amongst coaches. It is also a problematic situation because, as John explains, caring for athletes can be an emotionally straining process. This is because coaches may need to present certain emotional dispositions in order to care for athletes; e.g. supportive and optimistic language. This is not to say that coaches are not authentic in their care, but rather to care appropriately, coaches may need to manage their emotions. This can be a fatiguing process. Of course, coaches may suffer more 'emotional fatigue' if they also have to manage emotions in their own personal lives. Interestingly, as Sören describes, when the (emotional) demands placed upon coaches consistently exceed the resources that they have, then coaches are liable to experience burnout. Burnout is a process, which can have negative consequences for the health and performance of coaches (McNeill, Durand-Bush, & Lemyre, 2016). Thus, Dave's story and the accompanying analyses raise important questions to consider. Specifically;

- Coach researchers need to further explore the role of emotion in coaching. What are the emotional demands of coaching? Do these demands differ depending on the environment and athletes that coaches' experience? This is an important question, because if coaching is to be recognised as a caring activity, then coaches will be required to emotionally engage with athletes.

- Coach educators also have a responsibility to consider emotions and coaching. How do they prepare coaches to enact emotional labour? Can this emotional labour be developed? Are coach educators aware of what emotional labour is required and undertaken by coaches?

- In addition to understanding the emotional role in coaching. It is also important that coaching researchers further explore burnout. How should existing coaches prevent burnout? How do coaches recover from burnout? Can coaches 'self-care'? These questions have been somewhat addressed above, but coaches' accounts of burnout are rare and more case studies are desirable (McNeill, Durand-Bush, & Lemyre, 2016; Hjälm, Kenttä, Hassménan, & Gustafsson, 2007). Large-scale intervention studies that address coach burnout are also required (Lyle, 2018).

- Coach educators could, perhaps, be positive influences who prepare coaches to manage their emotional fatigue. Furthermore, recovering from burnout is preceeded by an awareness of one's fatigue. Do coach educators help coaches to recognise the signs and symptoms of burnout? Could coach educators care for coaches in this manner? Could they educate coaches to self-care?

- Finally, burnout is linked to a deficit of resources and capacity to respond to demands. To date, most solutions to burnout have focused on the individual (Kilo & Hassmén, 2016). As Sören alludes to, however, coach employers such as a sport clubs and national governing bodies also have a duty of care towards coaches. Indeed, research suggests that when organisations provide supportive environments, coaches are less likely to experience burnout (Kilo & Hassmén, 2016). Such environments could be characterised as stable and collaborative contexts with a realistic/sustainable approach to coaches' remuneration and ensuring that coaches are valued and rewarded. Thus, employing organisations have an important role in developing caring contexts for coaches.

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[i] This reflects the amateur status of much basketball coaching in the U.K. Although played extensively in schools, professional and elite structures in the U.K. remain under developed.

See Chapter 2 for further discussion of the terms engrossment and motivational displacement

[iii] Readers should be cautious in extrapolating these behaviours to their own contexts and may want to consider the efficacy and ethical aspects of this behaviour.