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Coaching: Arena Life, Organizing Performance and Managing Hopes

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Coaching: Arena Life, Organizing Performance and Managing Hopes

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Table of Contents

RÉSUMÉ	VII
ABSTRACT	IX
LIST OF TABLES	X
LIST OF FIGURES	XI
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	XII
INTRODUCTION	1
<i>Coaching: Arena Life, Organizing Performance and Managing Hopes</i>	1
The Subject	1
The Research Project	3
The Journey	5
Summary	14
SECTION 1: UN TERRAIN QUI N'EST PAS PAREIL	1
CHAPTER 1	2
<i>A Short History of Sport: How We Found Our Game and Began Organizing Play</i>	2
The Evolution of Sport	6
Kingdom: Play and Episodic Culture	10
Play	12
Phylum: Mimetic Culture and our Ability to Game	15
Rock Throwing and Stick Swinging	17
Endurance Running	22
Class: Games and our Capacity to Hunt	27
Order: Athletics and Coordinated Competitions	28
Family: Theoretic Text Driven Culture and Sport	31
Polo	33
Cricket	34
Association Football	34
Summary	39
CHAPTER 2	42
<i>Passion's first Profession: The Personification of an Object and Emergence of Coaching</i>	42
Historical and Cultural Context	46
The Arrival and Transformation of the Coach	49
The Object: Mid 15 th century to present day	49
Acquiring Prestige: 18 th century to present day	53
Participation in Sport: Mid 19 th century to present day	57
A Universal Solution: Late 20 th century to present day	63
Fundamental Characteristics of Coaching	69
Post-technological	70
Reciprocal Performance of Bodies	73
Extremes	74
Aesthetics	76
Impurity	78
Coaching and Management	81
Summary	86
SECTION 2: METHOD AND EMPIRICAL DATA	89
CHAPTER 3	90
<i>Method, Subject and Object in the Quest for Truthiness</i>	90
Methods and Approaching the Subject	93
Case Method	96
Actor Network Theory and Black Boxes	97
Technology	100
Connected Materials	100
Objects as Actors	101
Relevance to Biology	103

The Importance of Action	104
A Travel Guide	107
The Field Study (Jumping into the river)	109
Phase 1: Data Collection	111
Field notes	111
Organizational texts	112
Phase 2: Synthesizing Data	112
Phase 3: Making Sense of the Season and Investigating Four Themes	113
Why Hope	114
Hope and the Data	115
Hope and Participation	117
Phase 4: Increasing Coherence	121
Phase 5: Authenticating Results	122
Academia	125
Participants	125
Practitioners	126
Limitations and Challenges of the Field	127
Institutional and Macroenvironment	127
Assumptions about the Field Environment	128
Particularities of the field	129
Acceptance	129
Ethics	131
Barriers to Participation	134
Summary	134
CHAPTER 4	137
<i>Habits and Habitat</i>	137
Setting the Stage for a Hockey Season	138
College Hockey	138
Arenas	140
The Arena	141
Facility Operation	142
The temperature	142
The Ice Resurfacer	143
The lounge and concession area	143
The stands	144
The Playing Surface	144
Varsity Space	146
The Hall	146
The Locker room	146
The Coaches office	147
Practice	148
Preseason	149
Talent	149
Systems	150
Guts	151
A Practice	152
The bus	156
Chirping	157
Food	157
On the bus	158
The Bus Ride Home	160
Arriving at home	161
Game day	161
Constellations of Meaning	165
Staring and the Hedgehog	167
Swearing and the Fox	168
Laughing and the Romantic	169
CHAPTER 5	173
<i>Going from Good to Great</i>	173
Act I Scene 1: Reflecting because of the Future	174
A Record Season	175
Records and Awards from Season 1	176

Act II Scene I: Training Camp	177
The information meeting	178
The First Practice	183
Act II Scene III 'Best we could hope for'	187
Exhibition Results	187
Critical Incident: Whose in net?	189
Coaches Corner: Geese and Leadership	192
Act III Scene I: Talent 'It's a puzzle'	195
As it happened: Playing our game	195
Critical Incident: What was he thinking?	198
Coaches Corner: Emotions and Action	200
Talent: Summary of Results	202
CHAPTER 6	203
'Make work your play'	203
Act III Scene II: Systems 'Managing this isn't easy'	204
As it happened: Solving Puzzles	204
Assessing Systems	206
Making Adjustments	208
Responding to a Challenge	218
Critical Incident: Systems Failures	220
Coaches Corner: I don't know have never been in this situation before	223
System Summary	226
Act III Scene III: Guts 'We stand alone together'	227
As it happened: Pushing for Playoff Performances	227
Guts Summary	230
Playoffs	230
Round One: Wanderers	233
Game One	233
Game Two	233
Critical Incident: Why did we let up now they think they can score	234
Game Three	234
Coaches Corner: It always comes down to leadership	235
Round Two: Wheat Cities	238
Playoff Summary	240
Players Comments	241
Coaches Corner: What do we need to do now?	242
SECTION 3: FINDINGS, INTERPRETATION AND MANAGEMENT IMPLICATIONS	245
CHAPTER 7	246
<i>Hope: A Prehensile and Elusive Phenomena</i>	246
Conceiving of Hope	249
Dimensions of hope	251
Classical Interpretations	255
Myth and Hope	255
Religion and Hope	257
Hope and the Scientific Revolution	260
Contemporary Interpretations of Hope and the Human Sciences	265
Philosophy and Hope	266
Hope as involving Emotion	269
Hope as involving Cognition	270
Hope in Practice	271
Conditions for Hoping	274
Philosophy, Hope and Sportish activities	275
What hope is	277
Summary	281
CHAPTER 8	285
<i>Managing Hopes and Navigating Performance Loops: Articulating the Possible, Facing a Reality, and Accepting Potential Truths</i>	285
Sensemaking and Coaching	289
Performance Cycles	290
Making Sense of a Coach's Sensemaking	292

Hope	294
Cognitive Tools and Constellations of Meaning	296
Romantic	298
Hedgehog	299
Fox	300
Navigating Performance Cycles	301
Limitations, Verifiability and Representing Sensemaking	305
Coaching and Leadership	306
Other fields	309
Participant Reactions	311
Representing the Sensemaking of Coaching	313
Summary	318
CHAPTER 9	321
<i>Final Thoughts: And if they call me Coach....</i>	321
Sport and Hope	326
Sport as a hope based industry	327
Good Science and Remaining Mysteries	331
And if they call us Coach: Implications for Playing Well @ Organizing	335
Decisions	337
Learning and Expertise	340
Coaching Logics	343
Conclusion	349
REFERENCES	355
SECTION 4: APPENDICES	I
APPENDIX 1	II
<i>Questionnaire</i>	<i>ii</i>
APPENDIX 2	III
<i>Postscript</i>	<i>iii</i>
Act IV: Season 3	iii
September	iii
October	iii
January	iv
February	iv
March	iv
APPENDIX 3	VI
<i>Some questions I am asked (frequently) about this research project</i>	<i>vi</i>
What went wrong?	vi
Was your subject a good coach?	ix

Résumé

Le but de cette thèse est de comprendre la popularité du coaching. Pourquoi le coaching? Tandis que le coaching est de plus en plus perçu comme un concept de gestion, il reste un manque de clarté sur ce qu'il est, ce qu'il fait et les avantages qu'il procure. Les coachs de sport fascinent les gestionnaires, mais le sport, malgré son lien intime à nos premières tentatives d'organiser, n'est pas intégré dans notre façon de comprendre les organisations. En se basant sur la théorie *Actor Network Theory*, la recherche est guidée par l'observation d'un athlète qu'un coach est un excellent gestionnaire et plus. En questionnant davantage ce 'plus', cette thèse s'interroge tout d'abord sur le coaching, sur la façon dont les coachs gèrent les cycles de performance et sur la signification du coaching à la gestion. En répondant à ces questions, nous découvrons que le coaching et l'espoir entretiennent une relation intime. L'espoir est un sujet qui comprend une tension dynamique entre ses composantes subjectives et objectives et tout comme le sport, reçoit très peu d'attention du milieu académique.

Avant tout les coaches sont tiraillés avec la réalisation que, s'ils doivent atteindre ce qu'ils espèrent, ils doivent aussi par contre réduire la contribution de l'espoir pour s'assurer de son existence. En naviguant dans cette contradiction, les coaches doivent développer différentes personnalités, ce que les athlètes décrivent comme 'double personnalité', puisqu'ils doivent prendre de dures décisions en se basant sur des données ambiguës. Dans cette optique, le coach affiche 3 visages: le *romantique*, le *hérisson* et le *renard*. Le *romantique* raconte des histoires qui génèrent espoir vers une réalité possible. Le *hérisson* affronte la réalité de nos espoirs et applique les règlements qui existent pour rendre tout but atteignable. Le *renard* songe à la réalité tout en gardant espoir que tout soit potentiellement mieux. La combinaison de ces personnages influence l'exécution de la performance, et le visage approprié est déterminé par les espoirs accomplis. De plus, les coachs décrètent les différentes façons de donner un sens en essayant de renforcer les bons coups et d'éviter les cycles vicieux.

Étudier l'émergence de ce concept explique aussi pourquoi les métaphores de sport ont une telle emprise sur notre imagination, tout comme les habiletés motrices qui ont contribué à la forme que nous incarnons restent fondamentales pour la poursuite d'excellence sportive. Ces habiletés ont facilité l'organisation du jeu. Ces mêmes jeux s'enchevêtrent avec nos cultures, certains ont été transformés en épreuves athlétiques et en fin de compte ces compétitions ont évolué en institution : le sport tel qu'on le connaît aujourd'hui. Les coachs sont devenus de principaux acteurs quand le coach a été transformé d'un objet de transport à un personnage responsable d'améliorer l'exécution de la performance. Essentiellement le coaching a toujours été lié à l'incertitude, à la responsabilité et aux organismes interdépendants à l'intérieur d'une culture scientifique. Cette même culture qui traditionnellement néglige le corps en le dénigrant de ses sentiments et ses actions, et dont le sentiment d'espoir est peut-être son expression la plus authentique. Donc, en tentant d'incorporer le coaching à la gestion, il est essentiel d'entretenir cette relation complexe; car si nous continuons à utiliser les métaphores de sport, mais négligeons le lien entre l'ontologie (ambigu et complexe) et l'épistémologie (imprévisible), le progrès accompli peut être perdu et notre connaissance de l'organisation demeurera incomplète.

Mots clés: Coach, Organiser, Sport, Outils cognitifs, Histoire, Espoir, Equipe de performance

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Abstract

At the heart of this thesis is the desire to comprehend the popularity of coaching. Why coaching? In brief, while coaching is increasingly retained as a management concept, there remains a lack of clarity on what it is, what it does and what its benefits are. Coaches of sport may fascinate practitioners, but sport, despite being systematically organized, is not formally integrated into our ways of understanding organizations. Using Actor Network Theory, the research is guided by an athlete's observation that a coach is an excellent manager and more. Effectively this thesis seeks the more. It asks, why coaching, how are performance cycles managed and what does coaching mean to management. In doing so we discover coaching revolves around an intimate relationship with hope, a subject that involves a dynamic tension between its subjective and objective components, and which, like sport, has traditionally been the object of little academic attention.

Essentially coaches grapple with the realization that, if they are to attain what they hope for, they must also reduce hope's contribution to ensure its existence. Forced to navigate this contradiction, coaches deploy different selves, what an athlete described as a 'split personality', as they take hard decisions that involve making sense of soft data. In this sense the coach displays three faces: the Romantic, the Hedgehog and the Fox. The Romantic recounts stories generating hope towards a possible reality. The Hedgehog confronts the reality of hope and enforces rules designed to enhance the probability of goals. The Fox wonders what happened to reality and seeks hope so things might potentially be better (or not get worse). Together these personas influence performance, and the appropriate face is determined by what hopes have been achieved, as different ways of making sense are enacted in an attempt to strengthen virtuous loops and deflect vicious cycles.

Looking at the emergence of this concept also explains why metaphors of sport have such a grip on our imagination, as the motor skills that contributed to the form we embody remain fundamental to the pursuit of athletic excellence. These skills facilitated the organizing of play, games then became intertwined with our cultures, some were transformed into athletic contests, and ultimately these competitions evolved into the text-governed institution that is sport. Coaches became central actors when the coach was transformed from a transportation object to a character associated with improving performance. Basically coaching has always been linked with uncertainty, responsibility and interdependent bodies within a scientific culture that traditionally neglected the body by looking down upon its feelings and actions, of which the sentiment of hope may be its most authentic expression. Therefore, in striving to realize the benefits of coaching, it is essential to maintain this complex relationship. For if we continue to use metaphors of sport, but neglect the link between ontology (ambiguous and complex) and epistemology (unpredictable) within this arena, our attempt at incorporating this concept is likely to be unsuccessful and our knowledge of organizing will be incomplete.

Key words: Coaching, Organizing, Sport, Performance teams, Cognitive tools, History, Hope

List of Tables

Table I.I Eras in the Evolution of Human Society and their Relationship to Sport	11
Table I.II Influence of Running on Our Biology	24
Table II.I Competition, Federations, Leagues and Clubs	59
Table II.II Books involving Coaching	62
Table II.III Coaching in Sport	63
Table II.IV Coaching and Organizations	68
Table II.V Coaching's Fundamental Characteristics	82
Table III.I Types of Data Collected	112
Table III.II Synonyms and Antonyms of Hope	117
Table III.III Approaches to Articulating Truth	124
Table IV.I Quotes from the Field	170
Table VII.I Historical Implications of Hope	250
Table VII.II The Subjective and Objective Dimensions of Hope	254
Table VIII.I Summary of Personas	301
Table IX.I Hope, Sport and Coaching	330
Table IX.II The Logics of Education Principles in Coaching	344

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 Anatomical Comparison of Chimpanzee and Human Hand	18
Figure 1.2 Anatomical Comparison of Humans and Chimpanzee	19
Figure 1.3 Ongoing Relevance of the Prehensile Precision and Power Grips	20
Figure 1.4 Value of Professional Leagues in Millions of Dollars	37
Figure 2.1 Books by Subject	50
Figure 2.2 Coaching and Sport in the Academy	50
Figure 2.3 Coach to London	54
Figure 2.4 Coach Carrying LOUIS VUITTON Products	56
Figure 2.5 Hermès Logo	56
Figure 2.6 Books on Coaching by Subject 2000-2009	66
Figure 2.7 Drawing from LOUIS VUITTON Archives	72
Figure 3.1 Actor Network Theory, Coaches and Black Boxes	99
Figure 3.2 Harvard Stadium	102
Figure 3.3 Sensemaking Enactment Process	107
Figure 3.4 Graphic Representation of Research Program	127
Figure 4.1 Ice Hockey Playing Surface	145
Figure 4.2 Coach's Primary Position During Training Camp	149
Figure 4.3 Coach's Primary Position During Talent Portion of Season	150
Figure 4.4 Coach's Primary Position During System's Portion of Season	151
Figure 4.5 Coach's Primary Position During Guts Portion of Season	152
Figure 4.6 How Coach's Persona is Transformed	166
Figure 5.1 Evaluating Players	185
Figure 8.1 Evaluation of Performances Season 2	295
Figure 8.2 Evaluation of Performances Season 3	296
Figure 8.3 Reflecting on Performances	302
Figure 8.4 Personas and Performance	305
Figure 8.5 Acting Sensibly and Ordering Information	313

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

OMT: Organizational and Management Theory
 The FA: The Football Association
 IOC: International Olympic Committee
 FIFA: Fédération Internationale de Football Association
 NCCP: National Coaches Certification Program (Canada)
 ICF: International Coaches Federation
 PP or pp: Power play
 PK or pk: Penalty kill
 NHL: National Hockey League
 EP: Barclay's English Premiership
 NFL: National Football League
 NBA: National Basketball Association
 MLB: Major League Baseball
 CHL: Canadian Hockey League
 The Q: Quebec Major Junior Hockey League
 FC: Football Club
 NCAA: National Colleges Athletic Association (American)
 D or d: Defenceman
 D to d: Defenceman to Defenceman
 IIHF: Ligue Internationale de Hockey sur Glace
 ICC: Imperial Cricket Conference
 UEFA: Union European de Football Association
 OED: Oxford English Dictionary
 ICF: International Coaches Federation
 ICC : International Coaching Council
 WABC: Worldwide Association of Business Coaches
 IAC: International Association of Coaching
 ICCO: The International Consortium For Coaching in Organizations
 SCP Society for Coaching Psychology
 ICC: International Coaching Confederation
 AESP: American Sport Education Program
 ASC: Australian Sports Commission
 AEFC: Alliance of European Football Coaches

Dedication

For fathers in all their forms, I am sorry that some of you do not get to see the end of this meandering journey, but rest assured your guidance was appreciated.

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Years have gone by and I've finally learned to accept myself for who I am: a beggar for good football. I go about the world, hand outstretched, and in the stadiums I plead: 'A pretty move, for the love of God.' And when good soccer happens, I give thanks for the miracle and I don't give a damn which team or country performs it.

-Eduardo Galeano, Soccer in Sun and Shadow

This endeavour would not have been possible without the support and assistance of a large number of people. This includes the individuals who let me observe their season, all of you taught me a great deal; I hope I have paid some of it forward. There are also my many wonderful friends who listened to me vent, offered encouragement and who frequently picked up that extra round. I cannot mention you all by name as the list would be way too long, but you know who you are. The staff at Else's for the friendly and timely service, all of you provided a working environment I will certainly miss. Alain, I am deeply appreciative that you saw the potential in this project and topic. There is of course my family who were remarkably supportive of my efforts to do, what others in my family did not have the opportunity to attempt, and I am thankful that all of you encouraged a love of learning. Finally, Catou, merci tellement pour tout, tes efforts, ton soutien, et bien sûr ton amour, tout ceci m'a beaucoup aidé. None of what is good could have happened without any of you, everything else I am responsible for.

Introduction

Coaching: Arena Life, Organizing Performance and Managing Hopes¹

'But what is work and what is not work? Is it work to dig, to carpenter, to plant trees, to fell trees, to ride, to fish, to hunt, to feed chickens, to play the piano, to take photographs, to build a house, to cook, to sew, to trim hats, to mend motor bicycles? All of these things are work to somebody, and all of them are play to somebody. There are in fact very few activities which cannot be classed either as work or play according as you choose to regard them. The labourer set free from digging may want to spend his leisure, or part of it, playing the piano, while the professional pianist may be only too glad to get out and dig at the potato patch. Hence the antithesis between work, as something intolerably tedious, and not-work, as something desirable, is false.'

George Orwell *The Road to Wigan Pier*

The Subject

This thesis begins with a simple observation regarding the immense popularity of sport and its relative absence as a systematically studied subject within organizational and management theory (OMT) (Wolfe et al., 2005). In particular it is interested in the phenomenon of coaching, a phenomenon whose growth Warren Bennis has described as amazing. Why coaching? How did something from an institutional arena we tend not to study come to be so influential within the arenas we do? In brief, prestigious management faculties now advertise how coaching has 'moved from sports to the executive suite', and coaches, universally present within the wide world of sports (Weick & Westley, 1996), fascinate executives (Wolfe et al., 2005) and though promoted @ henrymintzberg.com (www.coachingourselves.com) there remains a lack of clarity on what coaching is, what it does and what its benefits are (Clegg et al., 2005; Feldman & Lankau, 2005). Why has coaching, and not something else, has become so popular? Despite this lack of attention coaching has been transformed from a practice associated with the wide world of sports to a concept whose influence spans academic disciplines, organizational forms and institutional fields.

¹ Chapter 1 was presented during the 2009 Annual Meeting of the Academy of Management in Chicago and a revised version is currently under review at the journal Management and Organizational History. Chapter 2 was presented at the 2010 Annual Meeting of the Academy of Management in Montreal and revised version is currently under review at the Journal of Management History. Chapter 8 is a revised version of a paper that was presented at the 2009 Annual Meeting of the Administrative Sciences Association of Canada in Niagara Falls.

It is increasingly prevalent in all aspects of organizational life and now includes domains ranging from executives to entrepreneurs, and phases of life spanning from parenting to retirement. Estimates of the executive coaching industry place its value in excess of \$1 billion within the U.S. alone (Feldman and Lankau, 2005; Sherman and Freas, 2004). Even the iconic figure of the eighties Mr. T., of Rocky III and the A-Team, has declared himself a life coach for reality television (<http://www.tvland.com/originals/ipitythefool/>). What exactly does the popularity of this phenomenon mean to contemporary notions of management?

Considering the popularity and influence of this concept one would expect coaching to be easily defined, well understood, and easily differentiated from the related concepts of mentoring and psychology-based counselling, but this is not the case (Richarde, 2005; Hackman and Wageman, 2005; Feldman and Lankau, 2005; Sherman and Freas, 2004). Perhaps even more notable is that the efforts to define and comprehend coaching tend to formally exclude those coaching in sport. Today, although attempts to encourage coaching invoke a positive image, as it involves transforming managers from ‘cops to coaches’ (Mueller, Proctor, & Buchanan, 2000), Coaches are often characterized as authoritarian (Novak, 1976) and ‘diametrically opposed’ to the type of coaching best suited to traditional organizations (Arnaud, 2003). Sport may serve as an example of a complex system (e.g. Maguire, 2002; Schultz, 2002) or a knowledge industry (e.g. Berman, Down & Hill, 2002) where Coaches are central to a complex system within which they are implicated in a wide range of management phenomena, including competitive advantage (Berman, Down & Hill, 2002), strategy and human resource management (Wright, Smart, McMahan, 1995) motivation (Harder, 1992), decision making (Staw & Hoang, 1995), and succession (Allen, Panian & Lotz, 1979; Brown, 1982; Fazel & D’Itri, 1999; Pfeffer & Davis Blake, 1986), but they are essentially invisible within our literature. Little is known about how these characters make sense of their situations, though these situations typically involve navigating performance loops (Hackman & Wageman, 2005), which are often discussed in the context of sensemaking (e.g. Weick, 1993; Bougon, Weick and Binkhorst, 1977), but whose management is generally neglected within the literature.

Therefore, more specifically, because managers are frequently fascinated by what they believe they can learn from sport Coaches (Wolfe et al., 2005), this thesis is interested in Coaches of sport, and proposes to get a sense of what it is to be a Coach within their ‘territoire d’origine classico’, the fascinating, albeit non-traditional (Wolfe et al., 2005) world of sport. As a consequence of the location of this field research, this thesis is also about sport, which is considered to be a non-traditional subject; there has never been ‘any systematic effort to address the rationale, benefits, and potential of conducting organizational research within sport’ (p. 182, Wolfe et al., 2005). It is surprising that, despite this lack of attention, OMT has integrated a number of sports- related concepts and there are few management faculties, and fewer prestigious ones, that claim expertise in this field. There is a substantial distance between the domain that provides many of our metaphors and the domain that provides much of our knowledge on organizations. Coaching is interesting not only because of its emergence as a popular concept, but also because of the tendency for participants in and researchers of organizations to increasingly discuss numerous concepts linked with sport, be they goals, teams, or coaches, though sport itself is not systematically studied. As a result, our notions of teams are embedded in our cultures, and coaching, though it is remarkably popular, is somewhat of a known unknown.

The Research Project

In effect, this research project exists at the intersection of the related but often-separate fields of sport and OMT, within what Mintzberg (1989) described as our world of organizations, where goals, teams and coaches have become increasingly prominent. As Feldman and Lankau (2005) have observed, coaching appears to be effective, but very little is known about what makes it so. They describe discussions of coaching as having a black box feel, meaning that the concept of coaching contains ideas that no longer need ‘to be considered, those things whose contents have become a matter of indifference’ (Callon and Latour, 1981 p.285), things we accept without consideration. In the management literature the black box has been used to explore the process of institutionalization (Phillips, Lawrence, Hardy, 2004), types of teams (Gibson and Zellmer, 2001), and what occurs between actions and outcomes (Hung, 2004).

Essentially, a concept like coaching is complicated because it spans disciplines and resists classification. In this sense the coach is known and accepted, yet somehow also unknown and mysterious. These subjects are frequently complicated by the fact that it is difficult to talk about black boxes without invoking another concept that is also considered a black box.

For example, it is difficult to discuss Coaches without discussing teams or sports, as one concept cannot be fully understood without the other, yet, because they are popular and omnipresent, little explanation or justification is required when using sports metaphors within the domain of management. Consequently, the Coach is very much an accepted black box, as within sport the presence of Coaches is so accepted and certain, that it can be treated as fact, though coaches also retain an element of mystery. Given the popularity of books by Coaches (Wolfe et al., 2005) and the 'inordinate sums' that are spent on their seminars (Sommer, 2006, p.288), we appear to be quite fascinated by these characters. What this thesis does is get close to the source of this phenomenon by taking the vantage point of these characters as they organize the performance of athletes. In doing so it seeks to answer to these central questions:

- ☐ Why has coaching become so popular?
- ☐ How do Coaches manage performance cycles within their field?
- ☐ What does the popularity of Coaching mean to management?

The short answer to these questions, involving the why, how and what of coaching, involves these characters' intimate and complex relationship with the many dimensions of hope, which Thornton Wilder described as an organ of apprehension (In Godfrey, 1987), a concept that, much like sport, has received little formal academic attention. Of course, it is a natural reaction for this answer to appear obvious, as discussions of sport often feature hope. As Mike Krzyzewski, Coach K, explained to the media as he prepared America's Dream team, affectionately labelled the Redeem Team, for the 2008 Beijing Olympics,

‘The other teams are good. You can't be so arrogant to think that you're going to play perfect. These teams are good, and we know that. They're going to make you look bad at times, hopefully you make them look bad at times, and hopefully you do that to them more than they do that to you, and you win.’ (In Sheridan, 2007)

What this answer lacks in subtlety it makes up with its explanatory power. It reveals why coaching is popular, serves as a guide for the management of performance cycles and provides a window into the challenges of contemporary management. So while this thesis cannot change the obviousness of this answer, it does deepen one's understanding of our relationship to the many sport-related concepts that are invoked in discussions of organizations. In doing so it provides some knowledge about Coaching, the most recent sport-related concept to rise to prominence, influence management, managers, organizational practices and the discourses that surround organizing.

The Journey

This journey can be broken into three sections, each of which has multiple chapters. The first section describes a history of the field and outlines why coaching is an interesting organizational phenomenon. The second section presents an overview of the methodology and summarizes the events that occurred during the season. The third section discusses the findings, implications and the relevance of the study to management. Taking this approach means Chapter 1 provides a short history of sport and looks at how we came to organize play, an ability that, as will be discussed in Chapter 7, shares with our capacity to hope a strong connection to imagination. In looking at this history, this chapter relies heavily upon the work of the cognitive scientist Merlin Donald. Influenced by Vygotsky (Donald, 2000), who observed that much of how we come to know what we know is a product of our cultural environment (Vygotsky, 1962; Vygotsky, 1978), Donald (1991, 2001) argues our species has evolved to be what it is now because of humans' capacity to generate culture: distributed systems of thought and memory. As a result of our ability to produce culture, Donald considers the human mind to be something of a hybrid; as members of a species we are biologically equal, but how we think about the world and what we value can be remarkably different because of our cultures. Donald proposes that our ability to

generate cultures was shaped by three significant cognitive transitions. Each of these transitions involved the development of a new way of representing information that facilitated the creation of the shared frames of reference that constitute the cultures we inhabit today. What is unique about this approach is the attention paid to the skills of stick-swinging, throwing, and endurance running, as they continue to feature prominently in sports today, impacted our cognitive development and the form we inhabit (Young, 2003; Fifer, 1987; Donald, 1999; Calvin, 1993; Oswath and Gärdenfors, 2005; Bramble and Lieberman, 2004; Thieme, 2005), and are frequently invoked as metaphors in philosophical discussions of hope (e.g. Bloch, 1986; Godfrey, 1984; Waterworth, 2004).

The changes Donald (1991) discusses mark a radical transformation in how we made sense of the world as each contributed a new 'cognitive tool', a particular way of understanding and relating to our environment. The first of these transitions was the development of a mimetic culture approximately 1.5 million years ago (mya) that was based upon the intentionality of our gestures, a cognitive tool or skill that is absent in other species. Through the use of this cognitive tool we became capable of reproducing mental models, rehearsing our actions and reflecting upon actions that are not perceptually present. It is the ability for 'kinaesthetic imagination' that allows us to mentally rehearse actions and refine the skills that produce the different forms of dance and wrestling that are present in our cultures. In the process this chapter traces how play, an activity we share with other animals, was transformed by our ability to game (a mimetic culture). The second of these transformations was the emergence of a mythic culture some 50,000 years ago as communities developed the ability to talk. Prior to developing our ability to talk, gestures (mimetic skill) would have formed the basis of our communication, but our oral skills and the deployment of language permitted a new way of ordering our relationship with the world. Central to this ability was the ability to create abstract stories to explain our place in the world. During this transition many of our games evolved into athletic contests (mythic-oral culture).

The third transition involves the remarkable explosion in the technology of symbols, something that truly begins as merchants begin to use symbols when accounting for trades in Mesopotamia c. 8,500 B.C. but does not begin in earnest until about 150 years ago with the appearance of the printing press and widespread literacy (Massey, 2002). In this period we become increasingly proficient at graphic invention, externalizing our memory via the creation of texts, and generating theory, objective explanations that challenge the causes found within our creation myths. It is during this period that sport (theoretic-text culture), an institution that invests heavily in technology and often uses science to enhance performance, emerges from athletic contests. This chapter concludes by looking at the influence of contemporary sport. In the last hundred years sport has been transformed from an activity pursued by the privileged to an organized phenomenon of immense significance where participation often bestows great privileges. The origins of sport may be found in England, but these activities, encouraged by the formalization of the 'laws of the game' and enhanced by the advent of film, a technology that captures, stores and replays moving images, have allowed sport to become a significant cultural form in most neighbourhoods of our global village. This transformation is especially evident in association football, where today², the four most important clubs in England and its National team have coaches who are not English, but Italian (National team), Brazilian (Chelsea), Spanish (Liverpool) and Scottish (Manchester United) ; sport, despite its strong link to national culture, has produced a strange form of cosmopolitanism. Increasingly, what often matters most is the extent that your ability to game is enabled, or, as they say, whether 'you got game'; our fascination with these activities appears entirely appropriate consistent our evolutionary heritage.

Chapter 2 addresses the emergence of what is the actual subject of the research project, the Coach. What we now know as coaching evolved from the word for coach, originally an object pulled by a team of horses. It emerged with the tendency of wealthy gentleman to occasionally pay coachmen to 'coach' them on coaching and the

² Given clubs change managers this list might change, but regardless of who the managers are, since 1998 the big four have not been managed by an Englishman, and England has not played in a major tournament for an Englishman since the 2000 European Cup where they failed to advance out of the group stage.

occasional offers received by coachmen to play, often for money, in the games of the upper class. In taking this historical perspective we trace the emergence of coaching, which involves four phases. The first is its appearance as a technical object. This begins in the 16th century and involves a radical transformation in transportation, as people are increasingly able to travel further, faster and for far less money than ever before. The second, in which the coach confers a form of status, begins with widespread use of mail coaches in the 17th century, a lifestyle that Dickens documents so eloquently in the monthly serial *Bleak House* (1852-53). In the third phase the character of the Coach becomes a universal feature within the wide world of sport. This occurs late in the 19th century as travelling by coach is increasingly replaced by rail, just as the increasing number of participants in sport require coaching, and continues with the diffusion of sport in all its diversity during the 20th century. The fourth phase begins with the recent transformation of coaching from an activity primarily associated with sport to a wide-ranging solution for issues in numerous organizational forms; books on coaching can now be found in a wide range of disciplines.

Essentially, this chapter looks at how a technology invented in Hungary during the 15th century became human and was transformed into the macro-social phenomenon that coaching is today. From this historical perspective our current fascination with this concept might be explained by how it has always involved taking action at the limits of our ability, its emphasis on keeping many things together and functioning as one, and the fact that it is post-technological: coaching exists within the world we have constructed; it occurs after technology. The skill displayed by coaches has always impressed people, though it has also consistently been associated with lower forms of knowledge and people of a lesser class. That coaching appeared, as a popular concept, at the onset of the knowledge economy may not be a coincidence, but a simple reflection of our unique history, one in which the fundamental characteristics associated with coaching are increasingly faced by more individuals, especially those attempting to create value during a period when results are increasingly uncertain.

The second section of the thesis contains four chapters, one of which describes the methodology and three that are dedicated to summarizing the field data. In an ideal world, methodology does not require much discussion, as traditionally we have assumed that by following the scientific method we produce appropriate answers. However, in recent years those assumptions have been challenged, as it appears the world may be far messier than previously thought. Within OMT this troubling realization, combined with the recent performance of organizations, has contributed to the ongoing debate about the efficacy of management theory (Bennis and O'Toole, 2005; Ghoshal, 2005) and the role of management schools (Mintzberg, 2004). Given this context, Chapter 3 highlights some of these issues and outlines some of the proposals for enhancing management research. Specifically, it outlines the attention given to pragmatism as it pertains to Patton's (2002) promotion of program evaluation, Flyvberg's (2002) phronesis, and what Bruno Latour, Michel Callon and John Law call Actor Network Theory (ANT), an approach that emerged from the sociology of science (Law, 1992; Latour, 2005). In brief, Patton encourages research to engage the field on its own terms to better understand how the organization is constructed, Flyvberg stresses the role of practical wisdom, Aristotle's phronesis, within a context that seeks to understand how power both enables and constrains the paths taken by organizations, while ANT expresses a deep interest in how phenomena grow and become macrosocial (Law, 1992; Latour, 2005).

After contrasting these approaches, and wrestling with some of the methodological concerns as they relate to a non-traditional arena for management research, Chapter 3 outlines why ANT served as a guide for this research project. Ultimately ANT was deemed most appropriate for its core belief, that everything starts with interaction, involves a desire to understand why some small interactions acquire scope, size and power and how they become 'macrosocial'. Essentially, ANT is interested in how black boxes appear. Finally, the chapter discusses the data that was collected and some of the issues that arose in the absorbing of what was, at times, a very intense experience. This experience is summarized in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, which portray a season in which a Coach and a team struggle to attain their goals, attempting to transform themselves from

good to great. Obviously, providing a detailed account of a season that involved a six-month period is challenging. A season of hockey can include almost 50 games and over a 150 practices and involve up to 15 road trips requiring more than 100 hours on a coach that travels over 5000 kilometres. Therefore, what is presented is a summary of the results that incorporates key situations, a more detailed presentation of a significant event and a synopsis of the Coach's thoughts on a portion of the season. These chapters seek to capture the highs and lows during different portions of the season and describes the Coach's thinking about various situations.

Specifically, Chapter 4 describes the habits and habitat of the coach. This chapter attempts to capture the day to day routine of coaches as they go about the ups and downs of a season. It portrays a habitat where Coaching involves making sense of soft data as coaches take hard decisions concerning who plays, who does not, and what must be done by each individual if goals are to be attained. In doing so, Chapter 4 traces how coaches begin the season by being very much at the centre of things, as early practices quite literally revolve around them, but conclude it with practices that ideally do not require their presence. It recounts what practices are like as the team learns its system, its style of play and prepares for a game. With this in mind it outlines how Coaches may be viewed as being comprised of three selves or personas, what one athlete described as a 'split personality', where each persona represents a specific mode of thought, a skill at creating order and meaning. This notion of a mode of thought, or cognitive tool, is grounded in Vygotsky's (1978) theory of human development, where tools help us mediate our relations with the world as we make our way within it. In this sense, the process of Coaching is best understood as requiring the effective deployment of three distinct personas: the Romantic, the Hedgehog and the Fox, each of whom, as will be discussed in Chapter 8, has a specific role in mediating the impacts of performance.

Following the description of the recurring rhythm of hockey in Chapter 4, Chapter 5 summarizes the events and the results that comprise a substantial portion of the regular season. It begins during the exhibition season and follows the team up until the approach of the end of the regular season. Chapter 6 begins as games become

increasingly important, what is referred to as the guts portion of the season, and continues until the end of the season. Having presented the results of the season it outlines some of the factors that contributed to the difficulty of this season as a way to contextualize the discussion of the fieldwork. Following this discussion it concludes with a discussion of how hope constituted a dynamic element of the season. At times it would rise, at times it would fall; sometimes when one thought it would disappear, it would show up again. In effect, in an atmosphere where some hoping was inevitable, a Coach is essentially managing hope under conditions where too much hope is dangerous and its absence is disastrous. In this respect a central function of the Coach is to reduce hope while continuing to ensure its presence.

The long answers to the questions posed about Coaching are presented in the three chapters that comprise Section 3. Chapter 7 examines our relationship with hope and places it within the context of coaching. It does so by tracing the different ways hope has been conceived in myth, within religion (or modern myth if one is a hard-nosed atheist), from a secular scientific or philosophical perspective, and as an expression of our unique physiology. In the process it outlines the longstanding tension between hope as a pivotal and central component of being human and the potential for hope to mislead us. From our earliest Western myths, such as Pandora's box, to a seminal movie trilogy like *The Matrix*, hope plays a significant role³, providing both strength and illusion. In addition, discussions of hope involve a distinction between objective hopes (what might be considered hard, probable or ultimate hopes) and subjective hopes (what might be considered soft, possible or fundamental hopes); these distinctions provide some guidance in understanding how Coaches manage performance.

Looking at hope from these multiple perspectives highlights its complexity, and also highlights how a large number of metaphors of hope incorporate and emphasize the body, for they draw upon the body in motion as it strives to achieve something extreme. The importance of the body within a discussion of hope is also evidenced by the

³ The Architect, a god like figure, tells Neo, humanity's hero in *Matrix Reloaded* 'Hope, it is like quintessential human delusion, simultaneously the source of your greatest strength and your greatest weakness' (Wachowski and Wachowski, 2003)

attention hope is given in the professions involving physiology and grounded in the human sciences. Nurses and physicians routinely deal with the hope of patients and their significant others as they navigate turbulent waters involving the tensions between probable and possible hopes, seeking to ensure they do not promote false hopes while also trying to respect the autonomy of the patient (Ruddick, 1999; Elliott, 2005). What these practices share with coaching is they attempt to hold many distinct entities together so they can operate as a whole. Unlike in the case of these professions--where the efficacy of treatments is not dependant on the hopes of the practitioner and the hope that is most important is not their own, for hope often represents a type of emotional labour that health care professionals must manage--what makes the hope associated with Coaching somewhat unique is that it is simultaneously individual and collective, multiple and shared. Coaches are far more implicated in the actual process of hoping, as changing one's coach is perceived to play a far greater role in the outcome of a performance. Following this exploration of how the action metaphors expressed in discussions of hope are consistent with the notion that hope is an unavoidable aspect of coaching, Chapter 8 examines the how of managing hopes, and relates it to navigating the performance cycles experienced by the team. It describes the results of this study, which involved spending a season of hockey with the coaching staff as they attempted to transform a good team into a great team and win a national championship. By focusing on the season of hockey, this chapter demonstrates the relationship of hope to coaching by presenting the challenges of making sense of within a dynamic environment as the season spirals through periods of ups and downs; a season that was ultimately described by some as disappointing and by others as a necessary learning experience. Pragmatically speaking, coaching revolves around the navigation of numerous contradictions; first among these is that to attain what they hope for, they have to reduce hope's contribution. Based on the observations of a coach, this chapter presents a conceptual framework highlighting the different faces of hope and the delicate balancing act that exists within this habitat; coaches try to ensure motivation is maintained by skilfully displaying the appropriate persona.

With this in mind, Chapter 8 presents the framework of Coaching in action and how the performance of a persona, the displaying of the appropriate face, is encouraged based upon performance results. The Hedgehog, frequently observed giving public displays of determination and enforcing the rules designed to achieve goals, is concerned with confronting the reality of our hopes. The Romantic, typically visible during preparation and practices, is often found recounting stories that generate hope towards a possible reality. The Fox, an elusive animal that tends to be seen in the privacy of the office, is often found wondering what happened to reality and seeking hope that tomorrow's reality might be better. Specifically, this chapter connects the personas of the coach with a way of making sense and managing performance cycles. The sensemaking of coaches is represented as pluralistic (there is more than one way to create order and meaning), sentimental (as hopes are central and prominent) and pragmatic, as this study generates a guide for navigating the complexity of performance cycles.

The final chapter of the thesis, Chapter 9, discusses the implications for management as individuals from professors to managers are increasingly called coaches. It begins this discussion by revisiting the historical and continuing relevance of hope within competitions and sport. In doing so it reviews why, after an intense and in-depth period of participation observation, hope is seen as essential to Coaching, and Coaching is seen as representing a significant management approach in which hoping to play well is a fundamental aspect of the practice. When coaching, coaches' own hopes are important, and these hopes have to be aligned with the hopes of the team and the individual participants, to say nothing of parents, at the most amateur level, and entire communities, if not nations, at the most elite level. In many respects, underlying the transformation of sport from an activity for the elite to an elite activity is the unavoidable presence of hope within this organized activities. Attempts to distribute hope equally were as important in the early tournaments of sport as they are now in professional leagues; sport is a hope-based business. Of significance is what hoping has meant within a scientific culture, a culture that has traditionally neglected the body and looked down on its feelings, emotions and actions, of which the expression of hope may be its most authentic and our ability to play games its most absorbing.

With this in mind, Chapter 9 delves into the issue of playing well @ management and tackles the implications for management education as coaching becomes increasingly prevalent in organizations. It discusses what being called coach, where hoping to play well is fundamental, means to playing well at organizations and management. In the process it examines the overlap between play and hope and discusses the consequences of neglecting domains where these phenomena feature prominently. As part of this discussion it highlights how playing well has been linked to some of our influential modern ideas, but how the organizing of play, and the many industries that are devoted to and reliant upon this capacity, have generally been avoided within management (Simon, 2002; Stec, 2011). Contrasting some of the fundamental aspects of coaching with traditional notions management demonstrates significant differences concerning our ideas of leadership, decisions and learning, and expertise. Each of these approaches has its merits, though the comparison does highlight the challenges that exist within a field where a domain that provides so much of our language, and many of our popular metaphors, remains an industry and institution that receives little scholarly attention.

Summary

This thesis outlines why the idea of coaching has become so significant, how coaches influence performance cycles, and what this concept is contributing to contemporary management. Our understanding of these ideas is enhanced by comprehending hope and hoping. It is surprising that we have given so little attention to this domain, as regardless of our beliefs on the value of sport, what we know and don't know, its sheer magnitude poses a dilemma to scholars interested in organizing, as both enthusiasts and detractors of sport would agree it is organized; for many in fact, it is too organized. Within this context Sommer's (2006) suggestion that the treatment of sport by academics may have more to do with ideology than science has important implications. For this reason, at the heart of this thesis is the desire to have participants, practitioners and theorists look at sport as organization, not simply because of its popularity, but because without looking closely at sport, it is unlikely OMT can provide a full understanding of the concepts shaping our approaches to organizing.

Pragmatically, this thesis seeks to accurately represent the experience of the coaches and the players, and to broaden their understanding of organizational life in a manner that makes a positive contribution to all those who are involved in teams and who experience the performance cycles that are inherent within them. Ideally, it will manage to do both and close the gap between this popular organizational form and the theories of management and organization. In establishing a connection between the emergence of coaching as an increasingly relevant aspect of organizational life that is related to the unique history of the coach, their longstanding involvement with sport and their unavoidable relationship with hoping, this thesis highlights how the popularity of coaching is not accidental. Further to this, the connection between coaching and sport, despite all of sport's shortcomings (and there are many), represents positive development in how we approach collaborative projects as participating in these domains involves many of the features we associate with contemporary organizations, teams (interdependence), goals and an awareness of uncertainty. Arguably coaching represents a quintessential approach within these uncertain times. Hopefully in describing these links the thesis explains why coaching has become popular, provides a tool for those who accept the premises of the study and does so in a fashion that is consistent with evolution, while also being respectful of those who maintain different beliefs about the world we inhabit.

Section 1: Un terrain qui n'est pas pareil

Sport as a popular art form is not just self-expression, but is deeply and necessarily a means of interplay within an entire culture. Rocket Richard, the Canadian hockey player, used to comment on the poor acoustics in some arenas. He felt the puck off his stick rode on the roar of the crowd'

Marshall McLuhan

Chapter 1

A Short History of Sport: How We Found Our Game and Began Organizing Play

Abstract

Sport represents one of the most popular and significant organizational forms of our world; it is deeply connected to metaphors we live by, economically important, culturally relevant and linked to central management concepts like, goals, teams and coaches. However, it is also underrepresented and poorly understood; therefore, this chapter takes a historical perspective on the evolution of this fascinating arena. In doing so it clarifies some of the confusion surrounding the related concepts of play and games, and explains why this form of organizing, whose roots extend deep into our past, is so fascinating⁴.

'Behind every kick of the ball there is a thought'

Dennis Bergkamp, former Dutch International and Arsenal striker

⁴ I would like to acknowledge the helpful contributions of the members of the Administrative Sciences Association of Canada's Tourism and Sport Division, the three anonymous reviewers within the Academy's History division for their helpful comments, and Dr. Doug Hobson, Co-Director Movement Disorder Program & Movement Disorder Neurologist, and Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Manitoba, for answering my many questions about movement, neurology and the mind.

A Short History of Sport:

How We Found Our Game and Began Organizing Play

'What is with those lines? They are completely arbitrary? They make no sense!'

Anonymous hockey player commenting on lines that were added behind the goal to control where goaltenders could play the puck; he could have easily been talking the lines in any sport, at any time.

Sportish activities might be considered among the oldest of professions: 'Hunting and fishing, the most important employments of mankind... ..became in its advanced state their most agreeable amusements, and they pursue for pleasure what they once followed from necessity... ..Fisherman have been so since the time of Theocritus' (Smith, 1776; p 203). As with much that Adam Smith wrote, this remains surprisingly accurate while not being entirely correct. Professional bass fishermen now make in excess of \$100,000 a year (even participants in fantasy fishing leagues can win prizes worth up to \$10,000) (Shoalts, 2007); a growing variety of sports can now be pursued for both leisure and profit, and their results are reported daily, minute by minute or in real time depending on the medium you choose to consume. Sports' influence within the many neighbourhoods of our global village is evident in the immense popularity of the World Cup, Olympics, European Cup, Super Bowl and March Madness, all of which are substantial economic entities (Fort, 2003). When discussing management this influence is apparent, as sport is a ubiquitous metaphor within OMT and, be it how coaches fascinate managers, discussions of goals, or how 'when we think of the word *teams*, a variety of popular athletic teams comes to mind' (Schermerhorn, Hunt, Osborn, 1998; p. 129), the influence of these metaphors upon our thinking is enormous.

However, despite the attention sport receives, accurately measuring sport is difficult (Clawson, 1959; Bourg and Gouget, 2001; Andreff and Nys, 2001), and proposed definitions of it are inconsistent (Boom, Grant and Watt, 2005). Generally, sport and its related concepts, play and games, are viewed as an unscholarly pursuit (Giddens, 1964; Giddens and Pierson, 1998; Blanchard and Cheska, 1985; Donnelly, 2000) and they, in addition to being difficult to define, (Giddens, 1964; Blanchard, 1986; Burghardt, 2005;

Pellegrini, Dupuis and Smith, 2007), collectively retain an uncomfortable place within the field of academia. Broadly speaking, they are all underrepresented given their economic and cultural influence (Sands, 1999; Simon, 2002; Defillipi, Grabler, Jones, 2007). Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to outline the history of sport and place its emergence, and that of related concepts, within an evolutionary framework that demonstrates its importance to the history of organizing. Sport does not displace play, games, and athletics, but is constructed by incorporating them, for without the ongoing capacity to play games there is no sport.

The chapter begins by reviewing some of the common perspectives on defining sport and its related concepts, and then places sport within a historical context. In doing so it is guided by Merlin Donald's (1991, 2001) influential theory on the origins of the modern mind, a theory that has facilitated discussion on the challenges faced by the social sciences (e.g. Massey, 2002) and is relevant to understanding our fascination with sport (Bridgeman and Azmiti, 1993). The emergence of sport is placed within an evolutionary context that maps our progression towards the increasingly serious business of organizing play. Donald's impressive *Origins of the Modern Mind* (1991) investigates the evolution of human cognition and argues that what makes humans distinct is their existence within cultures, distributed systems of thought and memory. He proposes that the emergence of our human cultural systems is the result of three distinct, but interrelated, cognitive capacities: mimetic, mythic, and theoretic. Each of these modes of thinking has a different way of representing knowledge that contributes a unique dimension to our cultures. In combination they have continually extended our ability to perceive and make sense of the world beyond the episodic and more moment-to-moment existence of our primate ancestors.

The culture associated with our mimetic ability, our unique ability for intentional imitation and reproduction of goal-oriented movements, emerged 2 million years ago and is exemplified by our capacity for rhythm. This culture required an ability to game and represents a potential for a distinct method of playing, one that remains integral to our mimetic ability, an ability which contributed to the success of hunting and

scavenging efforts of our ancestors living in the Paleolithic era some 1.5 million years ago (Donald, 1991). In this way, play remains a trait we share with many animals (Panksepp, 1998) and our earliest hominoid ancestors who lived primarily by foraging and scavenging 6 million years ago (mya). Our mythic cultures emerged 50,000 years ago and were based upon our ability for oral narratives that develop a symbolic account of the world we inhabit. Games, clearly apparent in the mythic cultures of hunting and gathering societies (Loy and Hesketh, 1995), represent our ability to structure activities based upon a desired goal. As our ways of living together become more urban, games are transformed into athletic competitions as we create the surplus associated with the increasingly communal living found in the permanent settlements that are sustained by the agriculture that began emerging 10,000 years ago (Blanchard and Cheska, 1985).

Lastly, our current theoretic culture is supported by the presence of our increased capacity for the external storage of abstract semantic symbols. Ultimately, sport emerges during the Industrial revolution (Birley, 1993; Elias, 1971), when theoretic culture and external memory systems are widely distributed (Massey, 2002). This process is most evident in 19th century Britain, and is a result of the widespread formalization of various folk games that are made possible by authoritative texts governing what the Football Association calls the laws of the game. Approaching sport from this perspective puts each related concept in its historical context and presents the emergence of sport via the integration of earlier concepts into increasingly complex coordinated behaviours. Since emerging just over a century ago, these unique capacities have become formalized, and the practice of sport has spread globally along expanding transportation and communication networks. The result is the popular events we observe today, within which coaching is a central, influential and somewhat mysterious practice. Looking at sport in this manner reveals why it is so influential and why we are so fascinated by the results of these very organized activities.

The Evolution of Sport

Given its popularity, sport should not be a difficult topic, but it is. For many it is a subject that is not worth studying, as there exists some suspicion towards any academic subject that involves non-serious topics involving the organizing of play (Giddens, 1964; Giddens and Pierson, 1998; Donnelly, 2000; Burghardt, 2005). For others sport represents the worst of Marx's notion of capitalism as free play, for it is 'a pre-civil rights world where white men, as owners, coaches and umpires still rule. Within a sports arena, a man can express racist, sexist and homophobic attitudes not tolerated in many other parts of society' (Nelson, 1994; p. 7, cited in Wolfe et al., 2005). Sport is both a 'symptom and contributing factor to the disaster of dystopic modernity,' an organizational form that induces the alienation that is a product of capitalism (Inglis, 2004; p.84), where metaphors of sport encourage a hyper- individualist environment that produces brands such as Beckham (Clegg, 2005).

This attitude is apparent even in scholars who study play; they often define play so that sport is not considered play, as professional sport has 'made us realize that in humans, games are simply no longer what evolution meant them to be' (Panksepp, 1998; p.286). This same tendency appears in Burghardt's (2005) fascinating *The Genesis of Animal Play*, as sport, just as in Beckhoff and Byers' (1998) *Animal Play*, Pellegrini and Smith's (2004) *The Nature of Play*, and Sutton-Smith and Pellegrini's (1995) *The Future of Play Theory*, is given scant attention. In the two thousand pages of scholarly work these four books represent, discussions of sport are limited to less than ten pages. In fact, with remarkable consistency the definitions of play tend to exclude sport, as play is considered a non- instrumental, spontaneous activity, and sport is often, if not always, an instrumental activity (Simon, 2002; Giddens, 1964). Sport, as Huizinga states in his classic *homo ludens: a study of the play element in culture*, is 'a thing sui generis: neither play nor earnest' (1955; p. 197).

While scholars of play may exclude sport, play does share with sport many of the difficulties of definition. For as play increasingly becomes work, such as in the video game industry (Simon, 2002), the traditional dichotomy of play versus work, or other

activities with utility, is difficult to maintain (Blanchard and Cheska, 1985; Giddens, 1964; Loy, 1968). Play may be so ubiquitous that even when language ‘possesses no general concept to express it... it cannot be denied’ (Huizinga, p. 3), yet it has remained ‘a mystery to many who devote much of their scholarly energies to its study’ (Blanchard, 1983, p. 266). What attempts to define these concepts share is a tendency to emphasize pure definitions stressing the uniqueness of each concept and ideal types not readily found in reality (Dunning, 1981), as words used to define play are often the words that use play in their definition (Henriot, 1989). The difficulty in defining these concepts is demonstrated famously in Wittgenstein’s *Philosophical Investigations*, where he discusses the concept of a game, and how it is quite difficult to discover a common trait between board games, card games, ball games and Olympic games; Wittgenstein posits that these activities are best understood by approaching the game as constituting a family of resemblances with overlapping features (McGinn, 2008).

But even following Wittgenstein’s lead causes some issues, as we are in the family mammalia, and many of our attempts at classification span characteristics that do not span historical periods (Henriot, 1989) and are shared by all mammals. Sansone (1988) has defined all sport as a ‘fait total social’ involving ‘the ritual sacrifice of physical energy’ (p. 37), apparently eliminating distinctions between the experience of primitive hunters, participants in a Formula One race and, quite possibly, a spontaneous running race between children (Guttman, 1978). It is also common to grant animals the ability to play, but our definitions frequently invoke the ‘ubiquitous presence of rhythm’ (Giddens, 1964, p. 77), and rhythm is typically not attributed to other species (Donald, 1991; Gazzaniga, 2008). In a similar manner, Caillois (1961), in his important contribution to discussing play and games, insists ‘that it matters little that some games are athletic and others intellectual. The player’s attitude is the same’ (p.18). On one hand this suggests studying sport is as valuable as studying checkers, but his classification scheme places the behaviour of insects and birds alongside children imitating their parents and re-enacting stories when playing dress up, something that not only requires a different form of cognitive function, but is often not considered play as it has future utility.

These debates would have been somewhat puzzling to Greco-Roman societies, as it is unclear if our ideas of playing games could be easily translated to their cultures. The Greeks would have discussed *paida*, which referred specifically to the gamish activities of children, while adult activities were given specific names, such as *kubeia*, or *petteia*. *Kubeia* was something of a dice (bones) game, (records indicate the most common results had a higher payoff than less likely results) and *petteia* was a strategic activity resembling a board game. These adult games could be classified under *agones*, which referred broadly to contests especially those that were enacted during popular festivals. None were held under a single class of activities; in contrast, for the Romans many of these activities would have been described as *ludic*, as the term covered a whole range of actions including drama, theatre, education, and poetry reading (an event where a medal was actually awarded at the Olympics in 1904). For Cicero, the Roman statesman-philosopher (106-43 BC), *ludi publici* consisted of *ludi scenici*, singing, lyre-playing and flute playing, which took place in the *cavea* (theatre), and *ludi circenses* (Circus), involving footraces, boxing, wrestling and chariot racing (Wiedeman, 1995). Although the practices in naming these activities were different, there is a sense that the qualities of being in a game were important. This is implied by the influential pre-Socratic philosopher Heraclitus of Ephesus, now associated with process philosophy, who wrote in the 6th century B.C. that ‘Life is a child playing, playing at tric-trac, a child’s is the kingdom’ (Furley, 2000). In this statement there is a unique ability to engage in a game against oneself by playing both sides, something that requires an understanding of and an ability to create structures for an activity involving the potential for play, a tension that continues to make this domain fascinating⁵.

⁵ Ludic is from the Latin *ludus*, associated with *ludere*; words sharing this root, *alludo*, *colludo* and *illudo*, indicate a relationship with the unreal and illusory, while *ludi* was associated with the schools and games that were integral to Roman life. When Huizinga uses ludic it represents spontaneous freedom, whereas in *Les Jeux et les Hommes*, Callois (1961) uses *ludus* to refer not to the open unstructured play of Huizinga, but to rule based games. Such a tension was captured by Jacob, a clothing company, who in the Spring of 2009 advertised their clothes as ‘*charmant et sexy, interpret et ludique*’, where ludique is translated not as the most commonly used English word that is connected to this root, ludicrous, but as ‘sporty chic’. Similarly when Callois’s original work is translated into English as *Man, Play and Games*, this is not a problem when discussing sport, but game and play are denoted by *jeux* and *jouer*, which are related in a way the English words are not. The issue is especially clear in Winnicott’s influential *Playing and Reality* which becomes *Le Jeu et Réalité*. In English the title emphasises the action, the verb, whereas the French title emphasises the structure, what surrounds the act of playing.

This domain and its history are relevant to OMT scholars not simply because little systematic attention has been given to this arena (Wolfe et al., 2005), but because the ideas integral to these domains feature so prominently in discussions of organizing. What is particularly interesting is how the absence of sports reflects a tradition that organizing play is childish and not serious, yet some of the motivation for researching sport occurs because of the idea that a fully developed scientific society will have immense leisure, of which sport will be a major aspect (Giddens, 1964), where ideally work may become the organizing of free play (Axelos, 1961, cited by Henriot, 1989). Similarly, one of the benefits of and motivations for studying sport involves its relationship to fun, passion and play. Therefore, in lieu of focusing on the differences between definitions, this historical review begins by looking at the agreements that exist. A great many individuals play sport, but not all play involves sport, for 'play is not athletics' (Gardiner, 1930, p. i) and 'no one, regardless of his definition of sport, considers play and sport to be identical' (Sansone, 1988, p.17), though sports often involve games, and 'games are a primary play form, although games are not always play' (Giddens, 1964, p. 82). The most contemporary understanding of these relationships is alluded to in William James' *Varieties of Religious Experience*:

'An athlete... sometimes awakens suddenly to an understanding of the fine points of the game and to a real enjoyment of it, just as the convert awakens to an appreciation of religion. If he keeps engaging in the sport, there may come a day, when all at once the game begins to play itself through him when he loses himself in some great contest' (1902; p. 192)

Within these discussions there is a tendency for playing to be distinguished from what is played, the game, and the suggestion that playing a game requires a different ability than just playing, and that athletics and sport are related, but somewhat distinct from usual games and play. What makes James' assessment unique, aside from the vast influence of his work (e.g. for Panksepp, 1998; Ledoux 1996; Damasio, 1994; Latour, 2005; Donald, 1991, 2001; Weick, 2001), is his belief that all our experiences are neurally conditioned. Donald's work is particularly relevant to this history as he observed that the actions taken while playing sport are immensely difficult to explain (Donald, 2001; p.55), and even with the recent turn to discussing embodied cognition,

little attention has been given to motor learning, the scientific discipline concerned with goal- directed movement (Beilock, 2008; Beilock, 2009). Using Donald's influential *Origins of the Modern Mind*, on the evolution of human cognition and our modes of thinking, provides a way to distinguish the concepts associated with sport. Doing so reveals a history of sport that begins some 6 million years ago with our earliest hominoid ancestor, *Australopithecus afarensis*; how we got from there to here is summarized in Table I.1

Kingdom: Play and Episodic Culture

The primacy of hominoid culture based on our episodic capacity spans a 4.5 million year period that includes our ancestors *Australopithecus afarensis*, and the later *afarenis*, *homo habilis*, in what is typically characterised as Pre Habiline, so called as these ancestors lacked permanent tools (Massey, 2002). The society of these hominoids is thought to have resembled that of chimpanzees we can observe in the wild (Donald, 1991). They would use perishable materials as tools (such as sticks to fish termites or leaves to soak up water), and would have wielded unworked stones for various purposes (de Waal, 1998; Dunbar, 1988; Goodall, 1986). Broadly speaking, this way of living would have been predominant during these ancestors long existence, a period that represents half of the time hominoids have lived on this planet (Dunbar, 1996). Sustenance involved foraging in collectives that were unlikely to exceed 65 individuals, and the human population is unlikely to have exceeded 50,000. At some point during this period approximately 2.5 million years ago, the later *afarenis*, *homo habilis* is thought to have begun to use crude stone tools and permanent butchering sites, and is thus described as Oldawan, for the location of a gorge in East Africa where stones first leave signs they were used intentionally as tools (Massey, 2002). Though this is seen as allowing the hominoid population to double, and reach approximately a 100,000, community sizes did not increase greatly; thus, the number of reciprocal and interdependent relationships was not augmented dramatically (Dunbar, 2001). Though we would hardly recognise them as such, the appearance of 'tools' suggest changes were beginning to occur; cognitively speaking, *afarenis*, *homo habilis* were not yet dramatically different from their closest ancestors (Massey, 2002).

Table I.I⁶ Eras in the Evolution of Human Society and their Relationship to Sport

Concept	Play	Play	Game	Games	Athletics	Sport
Beginning date	6 million B.P.	2.5 million B.P	1.5 million B.P	50,000 B.P.	10,000 B.P.	200 B.P.
Variable/Characteristic	Pre Habiline	Oldawan	Paleolithic	Neolithic	Agrarian	Industrial
Duration (in years)	3.5 million	1 million	1.5 million	40,000	10,000	180
Generations	175,000	50,000	75,000	2,000	500	9
Inhabitants	A. Africanus	H. Habilus	H. Erectus	H. Sapiens	H. Sapiens	H. Sapiens
Cranial Capacity	450 cc	550 cc	1,100-1,400cc	1,450 cc	1,450 cc	1,450 cc
Sustenance	Foraging	Scavenging, hunter gatherer	Hunter gatherer	Hunter Gatherer	Farming	Manufacturing
Tools	Perishable	Crude Stone	Refined Stone	Flint and Bronze	Bronze and Iron	Steel Alloys
Settlement type	Mobile Camp	Butchering site	Base camp	Camp/village	City	Metropolis
Community size	65	75	145	155	1 million	20 million
Human Population	<50,000	<100,000	<1,000,000	6 million	970 million	6 billion
Sportish Concept	Play	Play	Game enabled	Games	Athletics	Sport
Predominant Cultural Lens	Episodic	Episodic	Mimetic	Mythic	Mythic	Theoretic
Features	Present moment, stimulus driven		Mental models, intentional representation	Abstract symbols, semantic representation		Text, external memory systems
Contribution to sport	Mediates fear response	Throwing and clubbing Endurance Running		Representation of goals	Prizes, Record keeping	Authoritative texts, distributed calculation ⁷ , permanent teams

⁶ Adapted with permission from Massey (2002).

⁷ Charles Dodgson, better known as Lewis Carroll, describes this type of calculation as ensuring 'reasonable hope' in his 1883 publication *Lawn Tennis Tournaments. The true method of assigning prizes, with a proof of the fallacy of the present method.*

For Donald (1991) the episodic cognitive capacity associated with the great ape, and our closest living genetic ancestors the chimpanzees, provides remarkable insight into how these early hominoids would have lived and what features differentiate us from them. Like apes, our ancestors the hominoids *Australopithecus afarensis*, and the later *afarensis*, *homo habilis* appear to have existed within a collective dependant on their episodic capacity. This capacity permits one to ‘mentally ‘travel back’ in time’ (Tulving, 1985, p.387) as individuals are capable of developing memories of concrete past episodes, recall prior experiences and associated feelings. This ability, provided there is a stimulus, would allow the recall of past events and the subjective experience of them in a fashion that would facilitate the navigation of dynamics within their kin relationships? and the learning of essential skills. As a way of living this would also involve constantly living in the present, as these hominoids would lack semantic memory, meaning they would not have the ability to represent ‘states of the world that are not perceptually present’ (Tulving, 1985, p.387). Living only in the present would inhibit reasoning as it would prevent the development of concepts and their meanings. This inability to interact with a world that is not present is most evident in our attempts to teach sign language to great apes. Encultured apes have successfully been taught many signs, but they have great difficulty in using these signs voluntarily without stimulus being provided. Their understanding is largely in the present, perceptual and situation specific: ‘the best they can manage is a virtual flashback of previous performances’ (Donald, 1991; p153). What is common among our ancestors, ourselves, and a great many other species is the presence of play in these communities.

Play.

From a neurological perspective Huizinga (1955, p. 3) may have been accurate in noting play exists even when language is lacking, as Panksepp (1998) in his studies on the play of rats has observed what he describes as a PLAY circuit that interacts with other circuits in the mammalian brain. Accepting this observation as fact means play, as

a phenomenon, has a history in excess of 85 million years, as primates and other species that play have been on the earth for at least that long. This perspective is in conflict with the many definitions of play emphasising its lack of purpose and how benefits cannot accrue from it, as in evolutionary terms an activity that persists for millions of years is unlikely to have little value. Given the extensive history of play, and humans' capacity for an impressive and remarkably diverse range of play activities, many find our general lack of understanding of this phenomenon to indicate how little scientific attention has been given to play (Brown, 2006).

Play has consistently been reported in a wide variety of species and is an accepted characteristic in mammals. It is thought to promote learning, increase ability in novel situations, increase social competence, and increase the threshold for deployment of the flight- or- fight response. It is also seen as being all- encompassing, a feature that caused Csikzentmihalyi (1975) to define play as the flow experience *par excellence*. Of course, this might also explain why Harcourt (1991; cited by Burghardt, 2005) observed that one of the negative consequences of this activity is to neglect important changes in the environment, a tendency that caused the young fur seals who were most fond of play to be more likely to become the prey of sea lions.

Although the exact nature of the relationship is unclear, discussing play frequently involves describing its relationship to learning, and Panksepp's (1998) observation of rats engaged in rough- and- tumble play provides some explanation of the significance of this relationship. During these studies Panksepp observed how fear and rage can interrupt play, and that play-experienced animals are less fearful in novel and difficult situations. He concludes that the development of this neurocircuitry enhances overall ability and believes it is possible for humans to play, as they may do in many sports, without activating this circuit, 'but the quality of the performance is probably increased when such circuits are enhanced' (p.286). In similar research Pellis and Pellis (2009) found that rats who are not given the opportunity for rough and tumble play tend to have more trouble fitting into their society. Likewise, Suomi (2003) in his research on the upbringing of monkeys studied how inadequate development, of which one of the

factors is reduced opportunities for play, has been linked to anxious and fearful monkeys (Suomi, 2003). Consistently, play is decreased when conditions create stress (Burghardt, 2005), and play is interrupted when animals are fearful (Panksepp, 1998):

‘on fine, calm days when they are feeling no hunger or any cause for anxiety, certain ants entertain themselves with sham fights... but these games come to an end directly when they are scared’ (Forel, 1929, vol.1:469; cited in Burghardt, 2005; p. 363)

As William James observed in his classic the *Principles of Psychology* (1890), nothing has marked our evolution as a species like the reduction of the conditions invoking fear. Support for this relationship with fear is available in LeDoux’s (1996, 2001) research focusing on emotions, the brain, and the role of amygdala in processing emotion, in which fear is given extended treatment. LeDoux (1996) does not explicitly deal with play, but is concerned with how our inability to deal with fear can create anxiety and other mental issues. Therefore he stresses the significance of mechanisms that mediate the flight- or- fight response in our physiology, as these inhibit our ability to deal with novel situations.

With great consistency play excludes emotions associated with anxiety and fear; we instead associate feelings of pleasure with this activity, meaning that, when playing, being bored or anxious is difficult. For this reason, play is thought of as an activity associated with learning, heightened arousal and controlled action. While broad, this perspective maintains elements of the agreed components of play: it is considered not unpleasurable, it involves spontaneity, and the action is controlled, although one may choose to remain still, and learning, regardless of the value, occurs. It also addresses the concerns that definitions such as the one proposed by Huizinga (1955), that play is something containing the root of creativity, is too broad, meaning all activities are potentially defined as play (Giddens, 1964). In addition, this tendency to link play with creativity frequently suggests that all play is creative, something that is unlikely, though it remains possible that one cannot be creative without play. As Burghardt (2005) remarks in his discussion on the origin of play, having a surplus contributes to play, for animals that are nourished, relaxed, and in a non-threatening environments are, across

species, found to play more than their counterparts. This approach avoids the problems of pure definitions that exclude professional athletes who play for a living simply because they earn a salary. Put another way, play is an activity that helps animals overcome fear impulses and mediate their relations with the environment. This perspective occupies a space that is consistent with research suggesting that a lack of play increases anxiety and that it is important in developing an ability for novel responses (Pellegrini, Dupuis and Smith, 2007). Basically, play has a purpose, but no objective, though in humans it most certainly may have goals.

Phylum: Mimetic Culture and our Ability to Game

The Paleolithic society inhabited by *Homo Erectus* was characterized by an increased ability for hunting game, as these ancestors developed base camps, used fire, and manufactured more effective tools consisting of knives, cleavers, and symmetrically shaped hand axes (Donald, 1991). Included in this expanded use of tools was the beginning of handedness, corresponding with increased specialization of the brain, and an elaborate capacity for communication using gestures that would permit some accumulation of knowledge and the transfer of that knowledge between members and generations, all of which required a substantially larger mature brain and a more complex emotional system. In addition to basic emotions, such as sadness, happiness, surprise, disgust, anger, and fear (Eckman, 1992, in Ledoux, 1996), which are present across many species (Darwin and Eckman, 1998), blended emotions like wonder, hope, and awe are thought to have been present (Turner, 2000; p. 77-78). During the 1.5 million years that *Homo Erectus* survived, these ancestors were the first to leave Africa and migrate to Europe and Asia, a feat involving a great deal of adaptation and the navigation of extremely difficult terrains, a remarkable accomplishment for 'a nearly naked and relatively small creature' (Donald, 1991). This way of living represents the first unique hominoid cultures, in that though *Homo Erectus* was pre- linguistic, the behaviour of these ancestors possesses unique characteristics shared by *Homo Sapiens*, but not by earlier hominoids, and these behaviours are thought to be linked with an increased cranial capacity.

One of the most remarkable consequences of the increased cranial capacity was a unique adaptation involving reproduction and the subsequent caring of offspring. Unlike other mammals who are born with essentially fully developed brains, we are born with a brain which still requires a great deal of development. Our chimpanzee cousins, much like our own offspring, are born with brains of around 350 c.c.; however, a chimpanzee brain grows approximately another 100 c.c., whereas those of *Homo Erectus* would grow to between 1,110-1400 c.c., with the majority of the growth occurring before age 4. This fortunate evolutionary adaptation eased the already cumbersome birthing process, but it also made the infant remarkably helpless and, when compared to other mammals, comparatively slow at maturing. The adaptations associated with this development involved an increasing amount of cognitive development occurring not in the protected environment of the womb, but via interaction with a far more complex environment (Ellison, 2001). Having to care for helpless creatures who matured slowly radically changed the structure of hominoid collectives that attained sizes of 145 individuals and encouraged greater specialization of male and female activities. For Donald (1991), it is our ability to generate culture, a distributed thought system, that allows individuals to pick up the cultural tools their collectives have generated. Our aptitude for culture is expressed in infancy as, unlike chimpanzees who do not engage in spontaneous pointing (Massey, 2001), our very young do so before their first birthday and track objects from birth in a way other species do not (Bruner, 1986).

At the heart of this culture is a human awareness allowing ‘the invention of intentional representation’ (Donald, 1991, p. 169), a uniquely human cognitive capacity that produced a mimetic culture. In this type of culture the body is at the centre of the action; evidence of this capacity is found in humans’ unique ability to game, an aptitude for creating non- verbal games that are universally present in human societies (Donald, 1991; p. 120-121, p.174). To participate in a game, individuals must be cognizant of themselves and accept the rules if they are to be involved in a goal- oriented form of play (Csikzentmihalyi, 1975), or prior to playing in a game they must have an ability to game. Games may involve an escape from reality, but to do so individuals must accept

the game as reality, and creating a game presupposes the ability for imagination. As Vygotsky observes, the ‘old adage that children’s play is imagination in action can be reversed: we can say that imagination in adolescents and schoolchildren is play without action’ (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 93). This requires a cognitive capacity allowing the creation of an ongoing mental model that involves imagining and representing a something that can be treated as real, even though it is not perceptually present. How humans developed this cognitive capacity, which Donald (1991), in a way that is similar to Vygotsky (1978, p. 57), argues is the first cognitive revolution of our species, but also an ability that remains central in many practices today, remains open to debate.

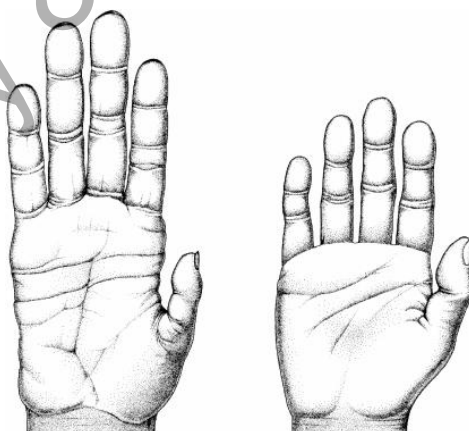
In evolutionary terms, actions and behaviours are thought to precede form, suggesting humans developed unique actions that prompted the potential Donald discusses, a notion that is consistent with how our motor cortex is far more developed than that of other species (Gazzaniga, 2008). From Darwin to the present day (Fifer, 1987; Gazzaniga, 2008), conventional wisdom has stated that having ‘descended from the trees to spend their days walking upright on the ground’ (Massey, 2002; p.2) humans could increasingly use their hands to brandish tools. For the most part little attention was given to the types of tools that facilitated this evolutionary step (Young, 2003) and how their use impacted our development. Recent years have seen increased attention given to the proposal that it was throwing that promoted our bipedal nature (Fifer, 1987; Preuchoft, 2004; Calvin, 2006), that rocks for throwing and sticks for swinging were the tools (Young, 2003), and that it was endurance running (ER), not walking that explains much of the form of the body we inhabit (Bramble & Lieberman, 2004). These are three skills humans perform exceptionally well, and the evolution of throwing, clubbing and running has perplexed researchers for some time.

Rock Throwing and Stick Swinging.

That our ancestors descended from trees to live on the ground among highly evolved carnivores specialized in preying upon weak and slow-moving animals implies a significant series of adaptations. What is largely lacking is the archaeological evidence prior to 2.5 million years ago (mya), as it is not until approximately 1.5 mya that

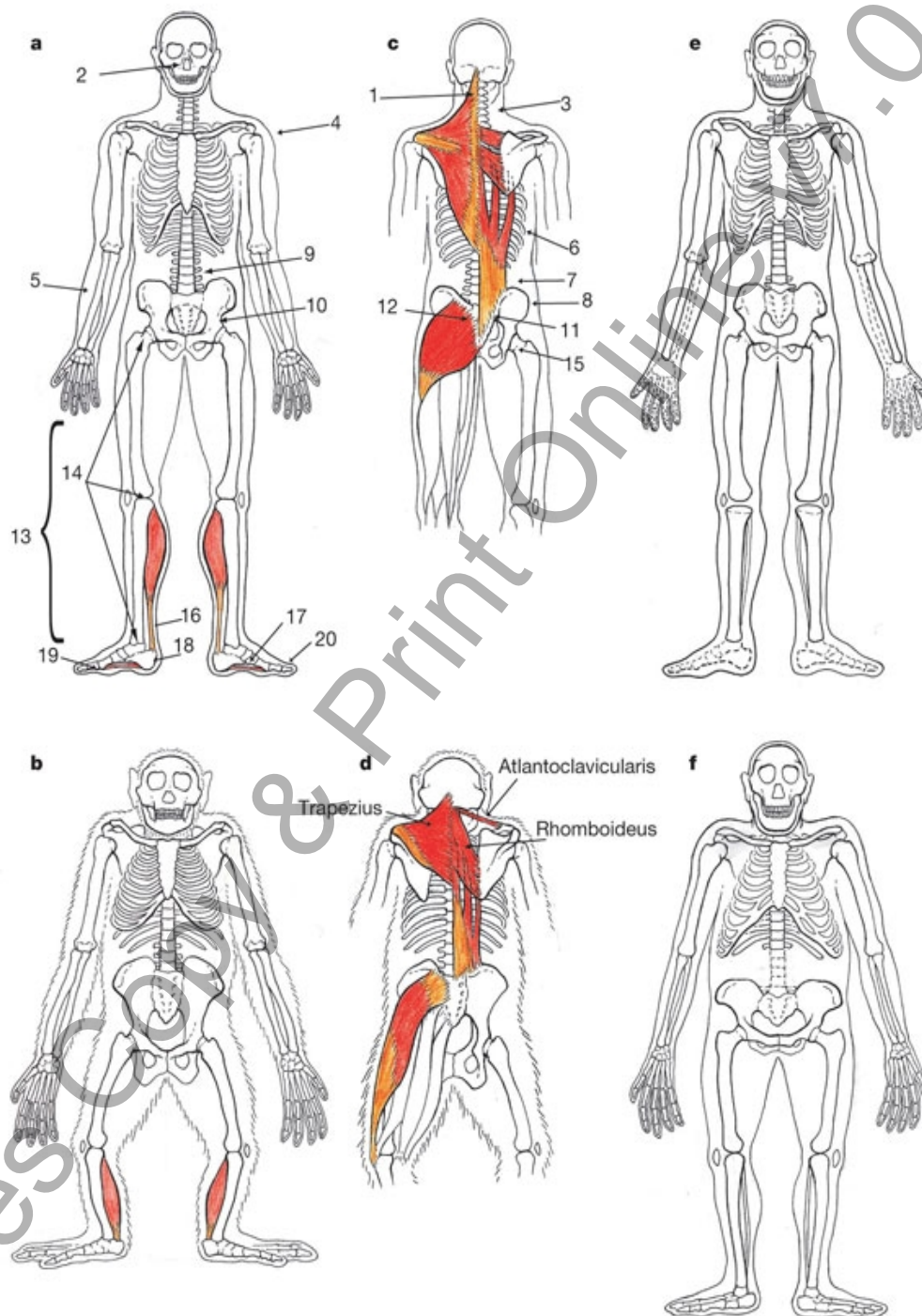
artefacts are plentiful and dated accurately (Diamond, 1999). Reviewing the anatomical evidence indicates the structure of the hand of *Afranensis* had been modified by an increasing tendency to grasp rocks and sticks (Young, 2003). The changes these actions caused on the structure of the hand include a large thumb, a smaller palm and shorter fingers that no longer have curvatures, but finger tips with fibrofatty pads that accommodate the gripping of uneven surfaces, thereby allowing pressure to be distributed during forceful grips. Permitting these grips is the development of three new muscles to add strength and control to the movement of the thumb. There is the flexor pollicis longus muscle, the most powerful thumb muscle in humans, that flexes the distal phalanx of the thumb and maintains the orientation of its pad toward the fingers against pressure. Also new are the deep head of the flexor pollicis brevis and the first volar interosseous muscle (Susman, 1994), both of which contribute to the thumb's opposability and the strength of our unique grips. It is thought that these anatomical changes would have been fully present in *homo erectus*, and these changes are present in Figure 1.1 and 1.2.

Figure 1.1⁸ Anatomical Comparison of Chimpanzee and Human Hand



⁸ Reprinted by permission from Wiley: Journal of Anatomy, 202:165-174, copyright (2003)

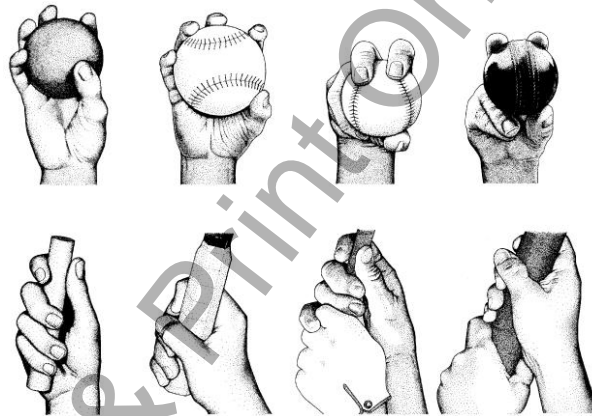
Figure 1.2⁹ Anatomical Comparison of Humans and Chimpanzee



⁹ Reprinted by permission from Macmillan Publishers Ltd: Nature, 432: 345-352, copyright (2004)

Ultimately these structural changes dramatically modified the biomechanics of throwing, allowing humans to develop this motor ability to an unprecedented level that drastically extended our range of influence. The significance of these skills is clear given that, despite the diversity of behaviours associated with our hands, they are all based on two prehensile actions, both of which involve a distinct physiology and anatomy; these are the power and precision grips that serve as the basis for all prehensile activities. More popularly they are referred to as clubbing and throwing grips (Young, 2003) and, as Figure 1.3 indicates, they remain central in great many sports today¹⁰.

Figure 1.3¹¹ Ongoing Relevance of the Prehensile Precision and Power Grips



These actions, clearly beneficial for the development of hunting skills, would have also been used to establish hierarchy and status within populations. Males who could throw and hit better would be more likely to acquire food in a fashion securing survival. With more developed motor skills they would be better able to defend themselves and others, qualities which would then facilitate mating with females. Likewise, females with more developed motor skills would also be better able to defend themselves from predators

¹⁰ During this field study the cumulative hours watching individuals perform and practice the power grip with a hockey stick was in excess of 5000 hours. Participants often speak as if the equipment is an extension of themselves. 'trouble with new skates', 'yeah', 'when I changed mine I used to feel as if something were wrong when I skated', or 'change the length of your stick gradually, not dramatically or it will impact your performance'.

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(and probably the advances from less desirable males). Importantly, these adaptations for improved throwing and clubbing would have pre-adapted the hand for constructing tools. Just as importantly, these adaptations also impacted a whole series of changes in anatomical structure. Throwing and clubbing are actions that involve the whole body, and the actions influence the structure of the arm, shoulder and the weight transference associated with gait, all of which suggest throwing made a key contribution to our bipedal motion (Young, 2003; Calvin, 2006; Preuchoft, 2004), if it was not in fact a main contributor to this significant development (Fifer, 1987).

In addition to the obvious benefits and structural changes that throwing involved, it also involved an increasingly complex cognitive process. The more we extended the distance thrown and the speed at which we launched projectiles, the more we needed our brain to do. As a comparison, chimpanzees possess the ability to throw, but they do not do so regularly and they are only accurate within a range of 5 m, whereas we, unlike any other creature,

‘are able to accelerate part of its body (the hand that is) from 0 to 160 Km. p.h. (New York Times, 1974) within a span of 1.5 m and to launch thereby a missile weighing 145-230 g, at that same speed, and with fair accuracy at a moving target up to 100 m distant. Because it is so familiar to us, this unique ability normally goes unremarked but it can only be achieved through the efficient utilization of a mechanism that has been designed specifically for the purpose.’ (Fifer, 1987; p. 139)

In assessing the cognitive demands of throwing, Calvin (1993) calculates that when the throwing distance is doubled from 4 to 8 metres, the launch window decreases from 11msec to 1.4 msec and requires 64 times more neurons. Tripling the distance to 12 metres, 6 metres short of a pitcher’s release point, involves 729 times more neurons¹². Further to this, Calvin suggests that the underlying neurological architecture produced by the demands of throwing accurately is the same architecture governing language. In

¹² When throwing there is only one point of release that ensures absolute accuracy, and this involves submillisecond controls, as each millisecond is the equivalent of 2.2 degrees in the trajectory of the projectile, meaning a pitcher has window of release of less than .5ms (Young, 2003). In addition many pitchers tend not to be looking at the target at this point of release.

combination, contemporary evidence on throwing and clubbing implies it may have been the development of this capacity that encouraged our permanent adoption of bipedal motion, not the other way around. Throwing accurately necessitates the use of the whole body, and the transference of weight from one limb to another encouraged the development of balance necessary for walking upright. Put another way, throwing is a unique human behaviour whose execution requires an awareness of the entire body in motion.

Endurance Running.

If throwing and clubbing contributed to our capacity to stand upright on two feet, why we run is something of a mystery that has perplexed researchers. Bipedalism is seen as an important motor behaviour, but running has not been seen as providing an advantage contributing to the survival of the species, 'because humans, like apes are poor sprinters compared to most quadrepeds' (Bramble and Lieberman, 2004; p.1). The belief that running is simply a bi-product of this capacity is the traditional position in discussion of evolution; however, a review of archaeological, anatomical and physiological evidence highlights a significant number of changes to our species that cannot be explained by walking. They are explained by the fact that we can jog, and appear to have jogged for extended periods. As a species, we may be very poor sprinters, but we possess an exceptional capacity for endurance running that is unlike that of any other primate; running an extended distance is unknown among other primates, if not impossible, whereas in the human population approximately 10% of the people run 10 km regularly with relative ease.

To put this ability in perspective, some of the most impressive running abilities in the world include wolves and hyenas, who travel on average 14 km and 19 km per day respectively, while dogs and horses who were selected based upon our natural desire to extend this ability (why run if others can do it for you) can travel up to a 100 km a day. The enhanced running capacity of these animals is aligned with our running capacities, which include world records for men and women respectively in the marathon of 2:05 and 2:17, in endurance marathons of 100 km of 6:16 and 6:33, and distances of 290,221

m and 243,656 m in 24 hour races , while Terry Fox, running quite a different race, ran 5373 km, almost a marathon a day for a 143 days, in his *Marathon of Hope*. All of these accomplishments put humans along side the top endurance runners on the planet. The proposed benefits from this ability to run long distances include an advantage when scavenging that helped secure the additional protein that was so important to our development and more successful hunts. In addition, ER is thought to have permitted early Homo to chase animals in a form of persistence hunting (Bramble and Lieberman, 2004), where targets would essentially collapse when they became exhausted.

Though Bramble and Lieberman's theory as to why we ran has been contested, the physiological changes suggesting we are born to run imply this capacity provided unique advantages to our evolution. In developing this capacity changes occurred in a number of interrelated systems including energetic, skeletal strength, stabilization, and thermo regulation. Of these, the most interesting are the presence of the Achilles tendon, something that is not present in modern apes, which serves as a spring when running, thereby reducing the metabolic cost of running by 50%. The increased stress produced by running expanded the size of the joints in our lower body to dissipate the force, while the joints of our upper body have not been modified in the same manner. Running also modified how muscles performed; running, along with throwing, benefited from a decoupling of the shoulder from the neck and head, making it easier for the arms to counterbalance the momentum created by running, something which also required an enlarged gluteus maximus muscle. This distinct human feature is strongly recruited when running but is not necessary for walking on level surfaces. Finally, endurance running uses a great deal of energy and places a unique demand on thermoregulation. Some of these changes, such as the increase in sweat glands and the reduction of body hair, were also beneficial while walking in hot arid conditions, while the tendency to breathe through our mouths is required during running. Apes are typically nasal breathers, a trait we share; mouth breathing when running permits higher air flow rates, more efficiency, the expenditure of less muscular energy, and greater effectiveness in dissipating the excess heat produced by this activity. These differences are summarized in Table I.II.

Table I.II¹³ Influence of Running on Our Biology

Feature	Functional role	W/R*	Earliest Evidence
Enlarged Posterior and anterior semicircular canals	Head/body stabilization	R	<i>H. erectus</i>
Expanded venous circulation of neurocranium	Thermoregulation	R>W	<i>H. erectus</i>
More balanced head	Head stabilization	R	<i>H. habilis</i>
Nuchal ligament (1)	Head stabilization	R	<i>H. habilis</i>
Short snout (2)	Head stabilization	R>W	<i>H. habilis</i>
Tall, narrow body form	Thermoregulation	R>W	<i>H. erectus</i>
Decoupled head and pectoral girdle (3)	Counter-rotation of trunk versus head	R	<i>H. erectus?</i>
Low, wide shoulders (4)	Counter rotation of trunk versus hips	R	<i>H. erectus?</i>
Forearm shortening (5)	Counter rotation of trunk		<i>H. erectus</i>
Narrow thorax	Counter rotation of trunk versus hips	R	<i>H. erectus?</i>
Narrow and tall waist between iliac crest and ribcage (7)	Counter rotation of trunk versus hips	R	<i>H. erectus?</i>
Narrow pelvis (8)	Counter rotation of trunk versus hips Stress reduction	R R>W	<i>Homo?</i>
Expanded lumbar centre surface area (9)	Stress reduction	R>W	<i>H. erectus</i>
Enlarged iliac pillar (10)	Stress reduction	R>W	<i>H. erectus</i>
Stabilized sacroiliac joint	Trunk stabilization	R	<i>H. erectus</i>
Expanded surface area for m. erector spinae origin (11)	Trunk stabilization	R	<i>H. erectus</i>
Expanded surface area for m. gluteus maximus origin (12)	Trunk stabilization	R	<i>H. erectus</i>
Long legs (13)	Stride length	R,W	<i>H. erectus</i>
Expanded hindlimb joint surface area (14)	Stress reduction	R>W	<i>H. erectus</i>
Shorter femoral neck (15)	Stress reduction	R>W	<i>H. erectus</i>
Long Achilles tendon (16)	Energy storage Shock absorption	R R	<i>Homo?</i>
Plantar arch (passively stabilized) (17)	Energy storage Shock absorption Powered plantarflexion	R R>W R>W	<i>Homo?</i>
Enlarged tuber calcaneus (18)	Stress reduction	R>W	<i>Homo?</i>
Close-packed calcaneocuboid joint	Energy storage Stability during plantarflexion	R R>W	<i>H. habilis</i>
Permanently adducted hallux (19)	Stability during plantarflexion	R>W	<i>H. habilis</i>
Short toes (20)	Stability during plantarflexion Distal mass reduction	R>W R>W	<i>H. habilis</i>

*W,R indicates traits that enhance performance in endurance walking and endurance running, respectively; R>W indicates traits that benefit both walking and ER, but which have a greater effect on ER. Numbers in parentheses correspond to those in Figure 1.2

Obviously, running and throwing did not alone provide us with the unique characteristics within the mammal family of large bodies, small guts, big brains and small teeth, but the unique combination of these skills was a major contributing factor in the development/evolution of the body we inhabit and greatly extended the reach of early hominoid societies. Other contributing factors involved the use of tools to cut smaller pieces of meat, which reduced the musculature needed in the jaw, allowing

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more room for the expansion of the brain. All sorts of physiological capabilities emerged during this 2 million year period, but these major gross motor patterns were essential developments. These motor abilities have been linked with both our capacity for speech (Lieberman, 2007) and language (Calvin, 1993, Lieberman, 2007). As Pinker (1994; p. 164) observes, our phrases and sentences are tied to the time we take to inhale and exhale, and, as noted above, we breathe, unlike primates who are nasal breathers, through our mouths because we run (Lieberman and Bramble, 2004). In combination these motor abilities caused dramatic changes to our physiology and biomechanical structures, which in turn modified how our ability to play was radically, albeit very slowly, transformed from that of other animals. Over time we came to possess a unique cognitive capacity permitting the entire body to be used as part of an action metaphor; this involved an understanding of rhythm, what Donald (1991, 2001) describes as ‘a supremely integrative perceptual-motor game’ (1991, p.187). In combination, these skills participated in the evolution of our ‘whole body mapping capacity’ that mimesis requires, as our attention turns inward in the development of a kinematic imagination that serves as the ground zero of our culture.

While there is little debate that these skills along with endurance running, which if used during persistence hunting is a goal- directed action, facilitated our form, there is some concern (Pickering and Bunn, 2007) that early Homo lacked the cognitive complexity to perform the skills Lieberman and Bramble (2004) attribute to them. As with any review of evolutionary material, it is difficult to determine what actions produced what changes and how we came to be such complex creatures, especially when a great many discussions of cognition do not incorporate evolution (Damasio, 1999). For the most part discussions of action treat cognition implicitly, and the link is often neglected, as even though cognitions must be physically enacted (Jordan and Rosenbaum, 1991; p.727), there is preference for studying the outputs of cognitive acts, language and texts, over the actions required in their performance (MacNeilage, 1999). Even Donald (2001), who adores baseball and soccer, almost always prefers discussing mimetic skills and graphically representing them with examples of dance, gymnastics, rhythm and mime, which are seen as being linked with a higher part of our cultures than the skills

implicated in sports (e.g. Donald, 1991; Donald, 1999; Donald, 2001). It appears that a number of developments played an important role in the increasing complexity of organizing our search for game: throwing, beginning with an adaptation of the hand as early as *A. afarensis* (Young, 2003); the selection of appropriate rocks by *homo habilis*, rocks which may have been stockpiled and selected in advance of their use (Oswath and Gärdenfors, 2005); the development of tools from hand axes requiring a mental model (Lock, 1999) and the wooden spears that were used some 400,000 years ago (Thieme, 1997; Thieme, 2005). Suddendorf and Corballis (2007) also link this motor skill with our ability for foresight. What is not mentioned in the literature that discusses projectile technology (Calvin, 1993; Young, 2003; Fifer, 1987; Preuchoft, 2004; Calvin, 2006; Lock, 1999; Oswath and Gärdenfors, 2005; Thieme, 1997; Thieme, 2005; Suddendorf and Corballis, 2007) is what was required to become proficient at this skill.

In comparing our amazing skills with projectiles to the more limited skills of chimpanzees, Fifer (1987; p.137) concedes that 'undoubtedly, with practice, they would achieve greater proficiency in these activities'. Implicit in this is not only that evolution acted in rewarding throwing, but that at some point in our evolutionary history early Homos developed a culture that required practice. Throwing skilfully is not a guaranteed human skill; we all begin with immature throwing patterns, and many females fail to develop mature patterns (Payne and Isaacs, 1991), but with time and repeated practice we can become proficient at using the sub- millisecond control evolution provided. At some point between the selecting of stones (Oswath and Gärdenfors, 2005) and the production of spears with aerodynamic properties-- in a modern javelin the centre of gravity is situated to enhance flight (Thieme, 1997; Thieme, 2005)-- our ancestors would have had the foresight to intentionally and repetitively practice these skills outside of the context where performance was important. Doing so would have involved a target for practice that represented the object we desired in the future. The creation of an abstract target, even it were simply a tree or a rock that served as an idea of that something, marks a significant departure and a tremendous innovation in our pursuit of game. When and why this happened is likely to remain a mystery, but to paraphrase Gabriel Tarde (cited by Latour, 2005) it appears

to be a point where evolution will continue to act, but we begin to develop a capacity to guide it, as practice is intentionally replicated.

Class: Games and our Capacity to Hunt

The transformation of our mimetic game capable culture required another 500,000 years before abundant archaeological evidence demonstrates many of the qualities we take for granted in human cultures. These changes involved the development of a myth-based culture, and the oral capacity associated with it, as the prominent feature of the emergence of *Homo Sapiens* some 50,000 years ago. Diamond (1999, p. 191) has described this way of living as ‘the most successful and long-persistent lifestyle in the career of our species.’ Common to these collectives was the development of what Donald describes as a mythic culture involving the development of language as a means of expressing our relation to the world. Indicators of the new ability, where we ‘synthesize discrete, time-bound events and circumstances and . . . connect them into a single, coherent narrative to explain the world’, include the discovery of musical instruments, rhythmic devices, lunar calendars, and various other symbols in the millennia from 50,000 B.P. to 10,000 B.P. The first symbolic art appears in the form of sculptures and cave paintings, and given the remote location of most cave art deep in the interior of inaccessible caverns, it obviously served some symbolic, ceremonial purpose (Tattersall 1998), while burying the dead with important objects, utensils, food products, and jewellery, implies a belief in the afterlife (Donald 1991). Until propelled by a system of theoretic thinking, this way of relating to the world facilitated, at an initially slow but ever- quickening pace, the transformation of our collectives from small hunting and gathering communities to largely agricultural- based societies with permanent settlements that became larger with each generation.

The pinnacle of this type of society is arguably found close to the 100th meridian, as of all the organized efforts by societies whose sustenance was based on hunting, none were more effective than those buffalo hunts occurring where the great plains begin. At places like Head Smashed in Buffalo Jump, mass kills of bison were orchestrated that enabled the inhabitants to obtain more protein ‘in a single moment than any other

people in human history' (Brink, 2008; p. xiii). So efficient was the organization of this hunting strategy that some Europeans believed these prairie people's preference for it, in lieu of building pens, was evidence of them being exceptionally lazy. Behind these efforts was an incredible range of organizational tasks that allowed groups, typically living in roving communities of 50-80 individuals, to come together in numbers ranging from hundreds to a few thousand.

The tasks involved in taking part in the hunt and day-to-day survival could be learnt via observation and our ability to game, or by participating in games that developed the necessary skills. Unlike our current learning methods, which are applied in a separate institution that trains individuals for work, within these types of collectives there was no clear cut distinction between work and not- work (Giddens, 1964), and learning was integrated into their daily lives in a fashion that often incorporated play and games. In their study of the games in the aforementioned region, Loy and Hesketh (1995) describe a wide variety of games: archery, games of speed and accuracy, mock warfare involving gender- specific tasks and skirmishes with arrows fabricated from blades of grass, and a buffalo hunt game, among other various ball, hoop, dice, button and spear games. The skills necessary for each of the activities involved daily life, from camp preparation and defence to the physical acts of hunting (running, throwing, the use of weapons) and tracking (interpretation of signs) could be developed outside of the hunt by playing purposely designed games.

Order: Athletics and Coordinated Competitions

Despite the incredible capacity of hunting and gathering societies to acquire game to meet, and sometimes exceed, their sustenance needs, they did not possess the technology to accumulate surplus. If many of the games of the hunter-gatherers were often directly linked to necessary survival skills and status within the group, this ceased to be the case as our ways of living became more urban (Diamond, 1999). Games most certainly did not disappear, but they took on a different role within these societies, though a great many practices, including purification rituals involving celibacy before competition continued (Sansone, 1988), as they sometimes do today (Morris, 1981).

The development of similar competitive organized game- oriented festivals in agrarian societies is evidenced by festivals in China with a wide variety of foot races; such festivals also existed in the city states of the Middle east, and were extremely elaborate during the Inca Empire. The ball game was a significant festival involved in playing in stadiums in front of people from 3000 to 2000 BC, in Central America, where archaeologists have uncovered over a thousand sites used for this ritual game. The most universal feature of these gatherings is the presence of wrestling, something that appears as both universal and culturally specific. Dating wrestling is difficult as it predates records, but the oldest style of wrestling is thought to be Shuai Jiao, a wrestling style originating in China, arguably the most ancient of all Chinese martial arts, with an oral history of perhaps 4,000 years. Documented evidence is available in early texts, ranging from Sumerian literature, Sanskrit epics, Homer's Iliad and Odyssey, and the Old Testament Book of Genesis 32:22-32, where Jacob, after wrestling with an angel, is renamed Israel, which translates to "wrestles or strives with God" (Joint Committee, 1970).

In a contemporary sense, the most significant development occurs during Sumerian civilisation (Blanchard and Cheska, 1985) and becomes prominent with the rise of Athenian society and the popular Hellenic festivals including the Olympics, Isthmian, Pythian and Neaman competitions where Socrates and Plato are said to have wrestled. The most famous of these Hellenic festivals was the Olympics. This was held every four years from 776 BC until 393 AD to honour Zeus, who became ruler of the earth after wrestling his father. The ongoing influence of the Olympics and what this festival shares with other cultures can be found in the 2008 Arctic Winter Games, a competition modelled after the Olympics, where the athletes in the Yukon competed in Freestyle wrestling and Inuit style wrestling.

The significance of these festivals is not that they are the earliest known athletic events, but that they constructed a space for competition, the agon. What Greco-Roman culture provided, among its many gifts, is a legacy of tournaments, a notion of goals, and the idea of the athlete. Etymologically speaking, goals were the posts that were used to

mark the turns during chariot races. They were then, as they are now, arbitrary markers, constructed to provide direction and structure a collective activity. In Greek, the term athlete is associated with two meanings: *athletes*, associated with the contestant in the games, and *athleta*, the prize to be won. Whereas in Latin, the terms linked with athlete are *athlos*, a contest, *athlon*, a prize, and *athlein*, to contest for a prize. While competitions at festivals included theatre, there is a consistent tendency, within contemporary discussions, to distinguish the individuals who participated in physical endeavours by describing them as athletes. In a wide variety of literature these individuals are described as competing while not wearing clothes (e.g. Foucault 1990, Gardiner 1930, Sansone, 1980), and are referred to in everyday language as athletes. While the Greeks may not claim competitions as being theirs alone, the widespread acceptance of goals and athletes within a large number of languages, and the participation of countries, and the many more nations who do not have this status, provide a testament to the contribution of the Olympics to the evolution of sport.

In our popular language it is conventional to speak of sport as being an ancient practice (e.g. Guttman, 1978), but in contemporary media, most of what is discussed when reporting on sport did not exist during hunting and gathering or agrarian societies. We speak of sports of the Hellenic festival, but given the dramatic difference in the distances involved in stadiums-- 192 metres (Olympia), 181 metres (Epidauros), 177 metres (Delphi) and 210 metres (Pergamum)-- and the absence of weight classes in wrestling in boxing (few competitions had standards or took steps to ensure equal chances among competitors, two aspects featured prominently in Sport), it is more appropriate to discuss 'customs of conduct' than rules (Gardiner, 1930).

Competitions based upon 'customs of conduct' continued in this fashion until the 19th century. Medieval competitions/festivals were popular and ranged from mob fights to stylized battles (Hardy, 1974). Participation was important as Royalty would often take part enthusiastically; in one such tournament Henry II of France (1519-1559) was injured fatally, and despite the best efforts of his Royal Surgeon, Ambroise Paré, he passed away during an event being held in honour of a peace treaty. Likewise, ball

games were undifferentiated; the game could take days and had an unlimited number of participants (Dunning, 1971). During the 19th and 20th centuries, boxing matches are recorded that exceeded 200 rounds. The longest bout occurred in New Orleans on Apr. 6, 1893 between Andy Bowen and Jack Burke. This bout involved 110 rounds and lasted 7 hours and 19 minutes before being declared 'no contest'. As the saying goes, when in Rome do as the Romans do, and the rules for contests were agreed upon locally, often with the purpose of facilitating gambling (Birley, 1993).

Family: Theoretic Text Driven Culture and Sport

The success of the agrarian way of life created new issues for hunter gatherers, a situation that boded poorly for them once they came in to contact with a community supported by the surplus provided by this new technological ability (Diamond, 1999). As trade increased, merchants, faced with too much information running in their brain, required an externally based memory system, and an accounting system was developed to maintain a history of their transactions (Diamond, 1999). Ultimately, writing created the potential for a new theoretic culture— a rational and systematic way of thinking grounded in experience that was capable of knowing and making accurate predictions about events in our world (Donald 1991). At the onset of this radical change in how knowledge could be created and shared, this ability was reserved for the privileged few, such as priests and other elites. It took until the emergence of the Industrial age for the potential of this approach to be realized. Surplus was increasingly based upon the manufacturing of goods, and the size of cities swelled as the population grew. As with agrarian societies, games were present in great diversity, and many of the sports today can be easily linked to this period.

Determining the date when Sport begins to exist is difficult as sports, despite some mythical claims about baseball being created by something frequently portrayed as involving divine intervention, are linked to earlier folk games, traditional wrestling styles or other athletic competitions. These in turn are linked to the skills and abilities from which much of our humanness originates. However, to talk of sport as always existing (e.g. Sansone, 1988) is misleading; certainly there were sportish activities, but

during the 19th century discussions of sport, though they would certainly have included the game of cricket, would also have incorporated a whole wide range of meanings including any subject or action involving an attempt to ‘amuse, divert, recreate (oneself); to take one’s pleasure.’ The emphasis on this broad range of activities is made clear by the absence of any reference to popular sports today when Johnson, Todd and Chalmers’ (1824; p.691) in *A Dictionary of the English Language* define sport and its variants as:

SPORT. n. s. [*spott*, Icel.] Play; diversion; game; frolic and tumultuous merriment. *Sidney*. Mock; contemptuous mirth. *Tillotson*. That with which one plays. *Milton*. Play; idle jingle. *Broome*. Diversion of the field, as of fowling, hunting, fishing. *Shakespeare*
 To SPORT. v. n. To play; to frolick; to game; to wanton. *Milton*. To trifle. *Tillotson*.
 SPORTER. n.s. One who sports. *Sherwood*.
 SPORTFULNESS. n.s. Wantonness; play; merriment; frolick. *Sidney*.
 SPORTLINGLY. ad. Ill jest; in sport. *Hammond*.
 SPORTIVE. a. Gay; merry; frolick; wanton; playful; ludicrous. *Shakespeare*
 SPORTIVENESS. n.s. Gaiety; play; wantonness. *Walton*.
 SPORTLESS. a. Joyless; sad. *P. Fletcher*.
 (Johnson, Todd and Chalmers, 1824; p.691)

Absent from this definition is the mention of any of the 66 sports recognized by the IOC and the permanent teams/organizations that are a characteristic of Sport (Huizinga, 1955; Elias, 1971). This absence was not unique to the English language, which originally imported the word sport from the French word *desport*, meaning diversion or amusement. If you were in Athens in 1960, and you wished to see the results in boxing, one of the longest standing competitions in the Olympics, you would find that Cassius Clay won his Gold Medal fight at Rome’s Palazzo dello Sport in the section of the newspaper marked *Spor* (Sansone, 1980). In languages ranging from German to Ukrainian and Swahili to Serbian, sport was imported to describe this new organizational form. This was not always done without reservation, as in France some expressed concern about the importation of such words ‘which obviously corrupt our

language but we have no customs barriers in order to prohibit their importation at the frontier' (Elias, 1971 p.89). The transformation of sport from ludicrous merriment into the serious business of organizing play involved the creation and distribution of authoritative texts, what are often called the laws of the game. Three sports can claim to have made a unique contribution to organizing play in the manner we now associate with sport: polo, for its easy recognition across various cultures; cricket, for forming athletic clubs and putting rules on paper; and football, for sharing governance with member clubs and widely distributing the laws of the game in a manner other sports emulated.

Polo

Prior to conquering most of the known world, Aristotle's most famous student, Alexander the Great, is said to have commented on the symbolism of receiving equipment for 'Chaughan', what we call Polo, as a gift from the Persian emperor Darius III in 336BC, responding that he represented the stick and the ball was the earth, which he intended to conquer (MacPhee and Olsen, 2008). Aside from highlighting the long connection between politics and athletics, this anecdote also points to the long history of this game. The popularity of this activity during this period is evidenced by the number of regions with similar customs: 'Da-Kyu' in Japan, 'Khis Kouhou' on the Russian steppes, 'Djirid' in Turkey, and 'Pulu' in Tibet, the name of which was anglicized to Polo. The most obvious benefit of this activity, which is known as the game of kings, is the mobility and skill it provides cavalry, and there is little doubt that this activity contributed to skill of Mongolian horsemen and thus the success of Genghis Khan (1162-1227). Today the spiritual home of this game is thought to be in Manipur, an Indian state bordering Burma. Here, Sangol-Kangei, hockey on horses, has been played since Khan's time, and unlike in the rest of the world where polo is a game of kings, it is played by all members of society. In the most traditional fashion it is played on a terrain of no official size, where almost all actions are legal, as the goal of each team is to attempt to get the ball beyond the edge of the territory. Here the game is still played with a strong mythic connection to the past. The 7 players represent the days, the ball the sun, the mallets the union of male and female, the 7 colours used represent those of

the rainbow, each half represents a solstice, and the god Marjing is a polo player who is the creator of the horse and the mythic captain of the north east team. It was in India, some thousand years after the game began to be played in a recognizable format, that British soldiers took note of it, and they, along with tea farmers, in 1859 formed the first, and very exclusive, British Polo Club in Silchar, prior to creating a club in Calcutta in 1862 (Cinquini, 2006).

Cricket

Cricket has been played quite regularly and reasonably consistently since the 15th century. Hosting a cricket game has been quite popular and the game has been played in a reasonably formal manner since 1727 when the Duke of Richmond, Charles Lennox and Mr. Alan Brodrick agreed to terms facilitating gambling. These competitions often drew in excess of 4000 fans paying six pence for a gate of L200 to L250. These games, well documented throughout England, were played under the rules controlled by the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) from its inception in 1787 up until the late 20th century. This private and exclusive club was under the control of gentleman, and it had no female members until the 1990's. The club relinquished some control for managing the game to the Imperial Cricket Congress, which ultimately became the International Cricket Congress in 1965, before adopting its current name of the International Cricket Council (ICC) in 1989, even though it is the MCC that continues to holds the rights to the official laws. The existence of the MCC, helped provide a framework for the various clubs playing other sports. These included those focused on the different, although difficult to distinguish, types of football and baseball, whose roots, like those of cricket, are found in a wide range of stick and ball games played in various cultures; the old folk game rounders is thought to have been particularly influential in the development of baseball (Block, 2005; Szymanski and Zimbalist, 2005).

Association Football

Despite the continued popularity and cultural influence of cricket and baseball, the game most responsible for the diffusion and transformation of popular folk games into sport is football. Football, like cricket, has been played, and sometimes banned, since

the 15th century. Unlike cricket, played largely by gentleman, football was played by lower classes and was nothing like the sport we know today. These games, played under various circumstances in urban and rural areas in Britain and other regions of Europe, were

‘relatively undifferentiated in the following three respects: (1) elements of what later became highly specialized games such as rugby, soccer, hockey, boxing, wrestling, and polo were often contained in a single game; (2) there was little division of labor among the players; and (3) no attempt was made to draw a hard and fast distinction between play and spectating roles’ (Dunning, 1971; p.227)

The best known of these events is the version of ‘mob foot ball’ played on Shrove Tuesday and Ash Wednesday in Ashbourne, England, a game where goals are spread over many miles and the event may take 3 days to complete; this tradition dates from at least the 12th century (Morris, 1981). Early attempts to outline the laws of the game involved the Cambridge rules written at Trinity College (1858), Eton (1849) and Sheffield Football Club (1857), to say nothing of other localized attempts to document home rules. But, in a great many ways, Sport officially emerged when representatives from football clubs in the metropolitan London area gathered on the evening of October 26 1863, at the Freemason’s Tavern in Great Queen Street, to form what would eventually become The Football Association (FA). It is the emergence of The FA that represents the beginning of a period where we can truly talk about sport as we know it today. The development of rules for association football (soccer), by The FA in England served as the model for other emerging federations.

Subsequent to the creation of The FA, players of the majority of other competitive games formed sport associations, including Rugby Union (1871), International Olympic Committee (1894), Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) (1904), Ligue Internationale de Hockey sur Glace (1908) and the Imperial Cricket Conference (ICC, 1909)¹⁴. Today FIFA is the world’s largest single sport association; it consists of

¹⁴ Other sports could contest soccer’s original contribution; golf has a recorded history that predates the formation of The FA. Golf was played in the early 18th century, and the Royal and Ancient Golf club of

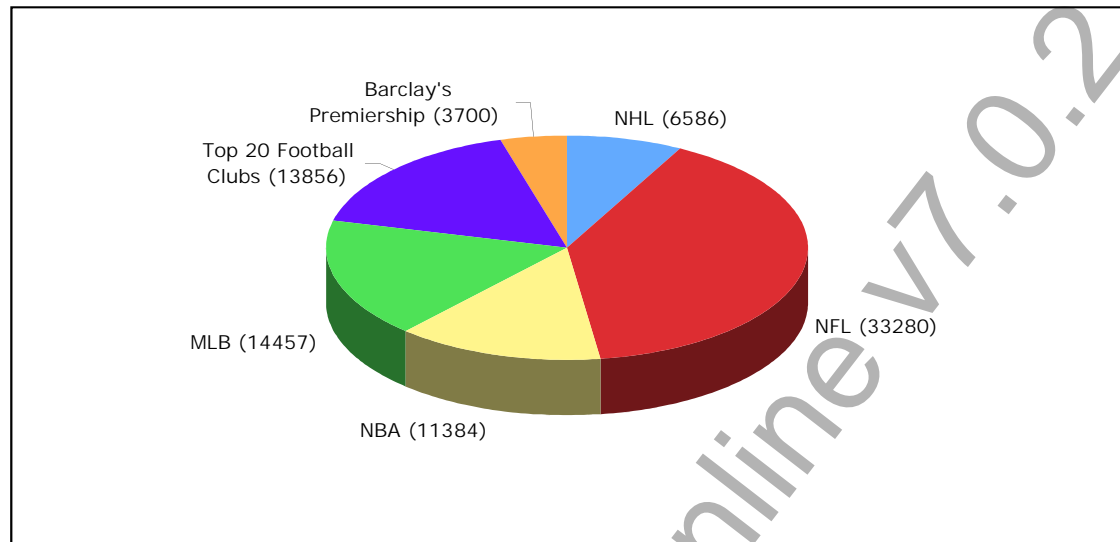
207 member nations (sixteen more than the United Nations) and involves the participation of over 290 million playing formally (to say nothing of the millions more doing so informally) around the world. With these developments came the emergence of leagues in soccer (England's Football League 1888), baseball (Major League Baseball, 1876), hockey (National Hockey League, 1917) and football (National Football League, 1920). Associated with these leagues and governance structures was an increase in the number of permanent teams, such as successful ones like Manchester United (1878), New York Yankees (1903), Montreal Canadiens (1909), Boston Celtics (1946), and the Dallas Cowboys (1960), as well as less successful ones like Durham City AFC (1918).

Assessing the value of the economic activity of FIFA or the associations that comprise the IOC is difficult, but Sport is thought to represent between 3 and 5 percent of the economy and is considered to be the 22nd largest industry in the world (Schaaf, 2004). Reports estimate sporting events generated 10% (3.5 billion US dollars) of the television advertising revenues of the American networks in 1995 (The Economist, July, 1996), while Andreff and Szymanski (2006) have calculated the fees paid for broadcasting rights increased approximately 993% between 1991 and 2001. The difference paid between the television rights for the 1960 Olympics, \$1.2 million, and the 2000 Olympics, \$1332 million, represents an annual increase of 19%. Likewise, Fort (2003), calculating the annual growth rate of the New York Yankees, found that this organization's value had increased by an annual rate of 33.4 %, or ten times that of the United States annual inflation adjusted growth rate of 3%¹⁵. Today, the value of the franchises or clubs in what are considered the most prestigious professional leagues-- , the NFL, MLB, NBA, Barclay's Premiership, and NHL-- and the 20 most valuable clubs not in these leagues exceeds 70 billion. The value of these entities is represented in Figure 1.4.

St. Andrews was established in 1754, but the rules were not codified until 1897, and this club shares the responsibility with the United States Golf Association (1894) for interpreting the overall rules of the game.

¹⁵ The Yankees were purchased in 1915 for \$6.9 million (in 1998 dollars); the club's value exceeded \$650 million in 1998. Considering the United States has an inflation adjusted growth rate of approximately 3% annually, the Yankees 33.4% annual rate of growth is remarkable, yet has drawn comparatively little attention (Fort, 2003)

Figure 1.4¹⁶ Value of Professional Leagues in Millions of Dollars (US)



Broadly speaking, Sport appeared during a period of formalization that occurred over 60 years, between approximately 1860-1920, as clubs, leagues, associations and competitions became organized and institutionalized during a period where sport can truly be discussed (Huizinga, 1955, p.196; Elias, 1971). The increased density of populations and the new possibilities for travel, as rail displaced coaches, increased the potential for competitions and encouraged the codifying of rules (Bragg, 2006) to ensure fairness and reduce disputes among competitors and gamblers. . Whether it was the improved roads and transportation technology within Europe, the movement of troops during the American civil war (Cain and Haddock, 2005; Szymanski and Zimbalist, 2005), the chasing of gold into the Wild West (Cain and Haddock, 2005), the desire for colleges to compete (Stern, 1979; Stern, 1981), or the expansion of the rail network into Western Canada (McKinley, 2006), all helped transform various games and athletic competitions into the Sports we know today. As with Boyle's interpretation of the air pump, so too with Sport: the community expands at the rate at which the equipment, methodological texts, or rules, and infrastructure are transported to different places (Latour, 1993).

¹⁶ These values used are from Forbes in their annual estimates of the value of sport franchises and clubs and are in American dollars.

For this reason, Melvyn Bragg (2006), a British novelist and cultural commentator, has argued that the *Book of Rules of Association Football* (1863) deserves to be alongside Isaac Newton's *Principia Mathematica* (1687), Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859), Adam Smith's *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776) and *The King James Bible* (1611) as one of the most influential books ever published. Since the rules have been published and distributed sport has been completely transformed from a practice for elites to an elite practice; premiere sporting events have never been more popular, and success never more difficult. The popularity of sport, and of soccer in particular, encouraged Foer (2004) to examine the relationship between soccer and globalization in his book '*How Soccer Explains the World*'. As Foer acknowledges, it is an unlikely theory of globalization, but it certainly offers a medium to understand an issue. Clearly, in our world of organizations, long before calls for worldly thinking (Mintzberg and Moore, 2006) and no logos (Klein, 2000), athletes such as Pelé and Muhammad Ali were recognized worldwide because of their respective abilities within multiple World Cups and in boxing as the 'greatest' World Heavy Weight champion. As Ali says of himself and Pelé, 'We are the greatest'.

None of this makes defining sport any easier; sport is a cultural practice that is resistant to creating a definition that allows one to declare with certainty that this is sport and this is not sport. This is complicated by how determining what constitutes sport impacts the type of funding provided by the government; in a similar way, defining what is sport revenue is the subject of debate in labour negotiations between owners and players. Looking at sport in this manner suggests that sports that involve a high degree of mimetic skill will be more respected than those that do not. In addition, sports that privilege skills that contributed to the form we embody are likely to be more readily accepted as sport and easily appreciated. It is impressive that 'hitting a baseball is considered is the single most difficult thing to do in sport' (Claimed by Williams and Underwood, 1968, in Hay, 1985), while the golf swing is one of the most studied of skills (Hay, 1985), and that what is involved when we perform these actions made a remarkable contribution to our bodies. Likewise, football is a sport where endurance running is important; however, unlike in the case of marathons, which are typically run

at a constant pace, there is in football the constant modification of pace, a running ability that facilitated our ability to hunt. Given all of this, our fascination with watching people running around after a ball attempting to score a goal, or hitting a ball with a stick, seems strangely appropriate. Having evolved as a rock throwing, stick swinging, bipedal motion capable, long distance running oriented animal with the capacity for rhythm, it cannot be considered surprising that we are fascinated by events that celebrate these skills.

Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to examine the history of sport, a significant organizational form that is intimately linked with the form we embody and the cultures we produce. Essentially, sport, as we conceive of it today, emerged from an elite group of English individuals; they were, of course, white, male, loyal to the Queen, and not particularly friendly to the idea of playing with others who were not of the same class, religion, ethnicity or gender. Fortunately sport, while occasionally revealing this heritage, has largely overcome these issues and is now one of most popular organized activities on the planet. Weiss (1969), as is common within works on philosophy of sport, argues sports represents an ideal that is similar to that of philosophers, artists, scholars and practitioners of religion. Why scholars have paid so little attention to this arena is something of a mystery. Our peculiar avoidance of this subject, a subject that is both fascinating and intimately connected to our earliest attempts at organizing, is interesting, and tackling the issue of sport from an evolutionary perspective makes three contributions towards our understanding of sport within our world of organizations.

First, looking at the emergence of sport in a historical fashion provides some conceptual clarity to the terms that are often used interchangeably. A great many of our discussions will use these concepts quite loosely and interchangeably. Theorists committed to understanding these concepts will often discuss the games of animals, but exclude sport, because play will 'differ from . . . 'serious' performance' (Burghardt, 2005; p.74) and needs to be free from stress or 'intense competing systems' (Burghardt, 2005; p.78). Similarly, when Guttman (1978) defines sports as 'organized playful competition' and

discusses the sports of Greco Roman time, he neglects the role the 'laws of the game' played in the creation of Sport. Placing these concepts within Merlin Donald's framework regarding the evolving nature of our cultures distinguishes this perspective from those of other authors discussing play games and sport. By tracing how sport evolved from play, a property we share with other animals, and how the actions distinguishing human play from other animals were transformed to an immense network of patterned behaviour within a space we mark off and agree upon as a community of participants, this chapter outlines an important component of our history at organizing.

Secondly, by highlighting the significance of our body, a body that management theory often neglects (Heaphy and Dutton, 2008), the chapter draws attention to how it has contributed to our understanding of the world. This tendency to neglect the body is shared not only with sociology (Massey, 2002), but also with cognitive science (Damasio, 1999), where the body is often treated as if it impeded, as opposed to produced, cognitive functions. Studying sport as an organizational form offers no such luxury. The significance of our body is most apparent when exploring the primary differences in the play of those animals that wear clothes from those animals that do not. In biomechanical terms, the actions associated with popular sports played a significant role in the evolution of our current biological structure (Bramble and Lieberman, 2004; Young, 2003). Taken together, these differences contributed to the incredible range of play activities that have featured and continue to feature prominently in the shaping of society (Blanchard and Cheska, 1985; Sands, 1999). How this occurred and how we perform these actions represents one of the mysteries of neuroscience and one of science's ongoing challenges, but the relationship between our biology and our cultures makes sport a fascinating arena that has largely been unexplored by organizational scholars.

Third, advocates of discourse-based theories attend to the processes whereby one discourse becomes dominant (Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy, 2004) or 'sticky'. Given the origins of sport, its influence upon our cultures, and the number of sport-related concepts that are integral to management, our attraction to this language seems

reasonable. Particularly relevant to this perspective on organizations is that sport, for all its physical aspects, is a function and a creation of the texts containing the laws of the game, yet our participation in these games is based upon our ability for mimesis. This skill, grounded in our ability for intentional representation, continues to provide 'the background social 'theatre' that supports and structures group behaviour in modern humans' (Donald, 1991). As such there appears to be a substantial divide between the theories of organization and effective theories governing the process of enacting that constitute managing within these organizations. There is a world of difference between knowing the rules and being able to play a game well. Effectively, the influence of sport on our discourse appears to simultaneously highlight both its significance-- there is no sport without text-- and its limitation, as success within sport is based upon non-linguaged actions that remain central to skill and outside of the theoretical perspectives taken on management and organizations.

In combination it is surprising that given the centrality of play and games within the practice of management and its literature (Simon, 2002), that sport receives such little focused attention. The influence of this network is evident not only in the advertisements for the clothes we wear, but also in how we communicate ideas about organizing. Broadly speaking, the tendency within OMT to look down upon play and neglect how it is best organized has left many significant industries under-represented within our field. Without this knowledge and expertise, our discipline can hardly be considered complete. That in contemporary organizations we find the setting of goals, an increased emphasis upon working in teams (Cohen and Bailey, 1997; Katz, 2001) and coaching, but little direct research within this arena suggests sport has become something akin to a silent partner, an organizational form producing important concepts while remaining an outsider to broader OMT. The next chapter, in examining the invention of the coach and the emergence of coaching, addresses some of the historical tendencies to look down upon, while also admiring, sportish activities.

Chapter 2

Passion's first Profession: The Personification of an Object and Emergence of Coaching

Abstract

This chapter traces the transformation of the coach from a technological object to a universal character in sport and, most recently, as a management concept. In doing so it outlines the fundamental characteristics of coaching and distinguishes it from our traditional notions of management. Specifically coaching involves a post technological nature, performances, often in extreme conditions, is grounded in the reciprocal interdependence of bodies (teams), uncertainty, and it involves impurity, as coaches have usually been paid for their services by individuals with a higher standing in society who typically participated as amateurs purely for the love of the game¹⁷.

There's somethin' happening here, What it is ain't exactly clear.

For What Its Worth, (1966) Buffalo Springfield (Neil Young, Stephen Stills, Richie Furay and Jim Messina and Stephen Stills). Apparently written as a response to the closing of club called Pandora's Box

¹⁷ I would like to acknowledge the helpful contributions of the members of the Administrative Sciences Association of Canada's Tourism and Sport Division, Bruce Pirnie of Athletics Canada, Mark de Rond, Michael Read and the three anonymous reviewers from the Academy of Management history division who provided helpful comments. In addition I would also like to express my gratitude to the employees of the Hockey Hall of Fame for providing information.

Passion's First Profession: The Personification of an Object and the Emergence of Coaching

'It's tiring creating energy. Coaching is easier when directing energy' Said by a coach, sitting at the front of coach, where he has travelled thousands of kilometres during his career, as he gestures with his hands as if he was holding on to reins.

In a *Fortune* article, Harvard professor Linda Hill discusses being inundated with requests to coach (Morris, 2000). On the internet, Jack Welch is quoted as saying about the future, "People who are coaches will be the norm. Other people won't get promoted." However, despite its popularity, coaching is something of a black box (Feldman and Lankau, 2005), a rather fascinating known unknown that is poorly understood and ill defined (Clegg et al, 2005; Sherman and Freas, 2004; Feldman and Lankau, 2005; Richarde, 2006). Discussing this phenomenon Warren Bennis states "Coaching is becoming something of a heavy industry. It's amazing" (Quoted in Morris, 2000). Whereas the previous chapter looked at the history of sport, this chapter is interested in why 'amazing' happened and traces the history of this concept so as to make sense of its popularity and the challenges it faces in achieving professional legitimacy. Why has the coach, so important in sport (Weick and Westley, 1996), become a concept that is so influential in contemporary organizations? Essentially, how did a carriage drawn by a team of horses become translated into a management concept? What are the fundamental characteristics that enabled this transformation to happen?

Complicating matters is how coaches are seen as universal in the wide world of sport (Weick and Westley, 1996), something that implies coaching cannot simply be a fashionable concept within organizations. Further muddying these waters is how this inescapable association with sport is routinely downplayed and questionable historical claims link the origins of coaching with the development of Western thought over two thousand years ago (e.g. Renton, 2009; DeHaan, 2008; Hughes, 2003 in Garvey, Stokes and Megginson, 2008). Especially interesting is how describing coaching in negative terms is not new, as Garvey, Stokes and Megginson (2008) state 'It is not clear why the term was regarded as 'irreverent' (p.18) in the 19th century, nor why their use, albeit for different reasons, caused concern in the 17th century (New York Times, 1878). All of this

is made more interesting given the lack of historical attention given to the phenomena of coaching. McKenna (2010) may state coaching has a history, but none of the refereed articles cited in this chapter make reference to it.

To address this gap in our understanding the first part of this chapter builds upon the previous chapter and places the notion of coaching within its appropriate historical context. This is far more complicated than it appears, as our attitudes towards coaching are shaped by historical factors that are often neglected. These include the longstanding issue of professionals and professionalism, and how discussions of management concepts often involve dubious claims about history (Cummings and Bridgman, 2011), encourage universalism and emphasize a present that is disconnected from the past (Booth and Rowlinson, 2006). The problem of professionals is evident by the fact that in most institutional domains the professional has a positive connotation, except in athletic competitions where it is often derogatory. In our contemporary times Lombard's (2010) criticism of the Professional Model of Sport Coaching, and how the "professional foul" in soccer is considered the most cynical and unsporting of infractions suggests this idea remains a fixture within discussions of sport. The neglect of this historical dimension, while simultaneously suggesting that coaching is a new trend in management (e.g. Peterson and Krueger, 2004; Sherman and Freas, 2004) that has somehow also always existed (e.g. Renton, 2009; DeHaan, 2008; Hughes, 2003 in Garvey, Stokes and Megginson, 2009), demonstrates how little attention has been given to the context that produced and encouraged the popularity of coaching.

Having highlighted the issues that arise when the origins of coaching are placed prior to the invention of the technology it is associated with, the second part of the chapter traces how this concept evolved from the word "coach", originally a medium of transportation that was pulled by a team of horses. This historical perspective places coaching into four distinct but overlapping phases; as a technology used for transport (15th century to present day), as an object capable of conferring status (18th century), as a character in sport (19th century to present day), and finally as a concept whose influence spans academic disciplines, organizational forms and institutional fields. It draws attention to how

coaching took its contemporary meaning when wealthy gentlemen began to seek “coaching” from the coachmen and the tendency for much of the writing on coaching to involve authors who directly experienced coaching. Early authors provided a romantic idea of coaching and the first books on coaching in sport were authored by participants (Woodgate, 1874; Camp, 1886). In much the same way these participants also contributed to the science involved in coaching (e.g. New York Times, 1878; Woodgate, 1888; Farrell, 1899).

Following this discussion, the third part of this chapter builds upon earlier observations that across historical periods ideas about coaching have been linked with individuals who experience, participate in, and contribute to a science of coaching, and that within these conversations there has been some tension about the appropriate place for the coach. Using a wide array of historical documents, the fundamental characteristics that are associated with the history of the coach are traced through almost 500 years of coaching history. During this period the coach was transformed from a technology into a significant management approach and travelling through time reveals characteristics from the past that remain present today. These characteristics can be considered fundamental to coaching. In effect, coaching is very much post-technological, the coach was an object whose movement was enacted by humans. It involves performing, and these performances frequently occur under extreme conditions that involve navigating interactions between reciprocal bodies. Finally, coaching has traditionally involved notions of impurity. While amateurs participated purely for the love of the game, coaches, on the other hand, had multiple motives as these individuals, frequently drawn from the lower classes, were paid for participation, and were thus tainted by professionalism (Farrell, 1899). As the situations involving these characteristics have become increasingly relevant across organizational forms, coaching has become increasingly popular.

In combination these characteristics help make sense of coaching’s growing influence in a fashion that is different from traditional representations of this concept. Frequently, discussions of coaching promote a link with the origins of Western thought (Renton,

2009; Haan, 2008; Hughes, 2003 in Garvey, Stokes and Megginson, 2008), a passing reference to the travelling metaphor (e.g. Garvey, Stokes, and Megginson, 2009), and display a complicated relationship with sport (e.g. Garvey, Stokes and Megginson, 2009; Arnaud, 2003). In contrast, this chapter describes how the history of coaching is connected to characteristics that managers increasingly face in contemporary organizations. In retrospect, considering managements' traditional emphasis on nouns and static models (Wolfe et al, 2005), the absence of bodies (Heaphy and Dutton, 2008) and Dutton's (2003) concern that organizational studies lacked life, our attraction to coaching, where passion (Wolfe et al, 2010), verbs (Wolfe et al, 2005), bodies (Weick and Westley, 1996), and dynamic situations (Wolfe et al, 2010) feature prominently makes sense.

Historical and Cultural Context

Before tracing how we arrived at our current notions of coaching, it is important to highlight issues that complicate discussions of this topic. In brief these involve the issue of payment and professionalism and the ahistorical nature of the many references to coaching. As a result, research involving this institutional field often neglects the historical, cultural and linguistic implications of organizing in this arena. That coaching is often portrayed positively while Garvey, Stokes and Megginson (2009) remain unsure "why the term was regarded as "irreverent" (p.18) in the 19th century highlights both how a transformation has occurred and how little attention has been given to this topic. What is not discussed is how the lack of respect given to the coach involved the issue of payment, and it was payment that was the criteria for being a professional. Across historical periods the individuals who received payment for participating in athletic competitions and sport (the professionals) were frequently looked down upon. In Gardiner's (1930) *Athletics of the Ancient World* these professionals are described as pothunters as they seek to compete more for prizes than the honour, though some of the disdain for these individuals certainly had as much to do with the purity of the game, as with the occasional distaste of participating with individuals of a lower standing, especially if they were victorious. This issue is captured in the observation of Isocrates:

‘Although in natural gifts and in strength of body he... disdained the gymnastic contest, for he knew that some of the athletes were of low birth, inhabitants of petty states and of mean education... and turned to the breeding of race horses... possible only for the most blest by Fortune and not.. pursued by one of low estate’ (La Rue, 1961; p. 194-195, In Weiss, 1969; p. 7)

As Mark Golden (2008) observes in his *Greek Sport and Social Status* the status given to these events blurred and challenged distinctions that were of primary importance elsewhere. This same issue features in an article in *The Times* from 1788 that lamented how ‘a certain young gentleman near Brighton’ is ‘descending to the office of a coachman’ and ‘making his own lamp lighter a partner in cricket’, as the habit of socializing with coachmen was looked down upon¹⁸. That these distinctions between gentleman and player persisted in the ultra exclusive Marylebone Cricket Club of England until 1963 (Guttman, 2007) highlights their importance. Nevertheless, navigating the tensions surrounding having professionals, such as Thomas Waymark and Richard Newland, play cricket with gentleman is thought to have had a profound impact on British society (Bateman, 2009). In many ways the contests in these domains often represented more than a game.

One of the consequences of dismissing the issue of class is the tendency to imply that coaching and coaches have always existed (e.g. Hughes, 2003; DeHaan, 2008; Garvey, Stokes, Megginson, 2009) and that the roots of coaching are to be found in the pedagogic principles that Plato links with Socrates. What is problematic about these types of assertions is that they avoid the historical context of the period in question. The connection between our past and the present in this arena remains evident in our language

¹⁸ It is worthwhile to note that although it is traditional to assume that the issue of professionalism was more prevalent in Europe than America because baseball “is a democratic game... knowing no arbitrary class distinctions” (Spalding, 2010, p. 134). What is neglected by assuming a cultural explanation is the impact geography had on the acceptance of professionals. In North America the distance between cities made travel difficult, in England compensating for ‘lost time’ involved an average trip of 95km, whereas for baseball this would involve 958km. As a result baseball teams became more professional and leagues became far more closed than in Europe (Cain and Haddock, 2005) as having full time players and staff became a necessity during the season because of the travel required. In fact issues of professionalism still remain, as the idea of the amateur remains a feature of the college system in the United States of America. In college athletics, athletes must retain amateur status if they wish to compete in these competitions. This remains true, even as these programs have become a lucrative source of revenue for universities that simultaneously reduces the industry’s cost of developing talent.

today. Our notion of the Academy has its origins in the public gymnasium where Plato lectured (Annas, 2000), our word for goals is derived from the Greek word *goal* (the post used to mark turns during chariot races), and athlete is linked to *athleta* (the prize to be won in a competition), but there was no specific word for sport or coach. Golden (2008) may use coaching and training¹⁹ interchangeably when he discusses *epitates* (“overseer”), *paidotribes* (“boy rubber, masseur”), *aleiptes* (“anointer oiler”) and *gymnast* (“athletic trainer”), but he is explicit in stating that although the ability to hire these individuals was an indication of status, the trainers themselves did not have a high standing. There was no specific “coaching” approach per se.

During this era, training and education were discussed in a general sense, as management, be it of the body, the state or the home were viewed as similar (Foucault, 1990). There were general principles that were widely applied, and equally useful to both rhetoric and wrestling, each of which were discussed by Plato using an analogy about the pursuit of game when fishing and hunting (Hawhee, 2004). Essentially systems of order were seen as extensions of self, and our notions of self, as shaped by the human sciences, have always influenced the discourses that shaped the order of things (Foucault, 1994). Continuing Foucault’s work, Richard Sennett’s *Flesh and Stone* (1994) outlines how our perceptions of ourselves impacted the design of cities and their governance (Sennett, 1994); our notions of the body politic, with a head of state, were not merely metaphor but constituted a literal analogy. As these ideas changed, so too did our notion of order.

The relevance of coaching to a historically situated notion of self is evidenced by how our understanding of biology was transformed when the coach became a popular means of transportation. Prior to William Harvey articulating how the circulatory system managed to transport blood in 1633, Galen’s view that the heart was a furnace

¹⁹ Although coaching and training share a similar etymology, in that they both have connections to horses and coaches that were trained together, coaching necessitates a far more comprehensive approach than training. This distinction is evident both in the practice of coaches and the education they receive, especially when these coaches have graduated from faculties of kinesiology or physical education, as examples of the courses taken include psychology, sociology, physiology, biomechanics and motor learning (Hamel and Gilbert, 2010). The difference between the two terms is most explicit in exercise physiology, as training principles are applicable to the development of muscle. Whereas coaching principles inevitably deal with mental issues in a way training typically does not; coaching involves “the power of mind over brute force” (Outing, 1886 p. 62).

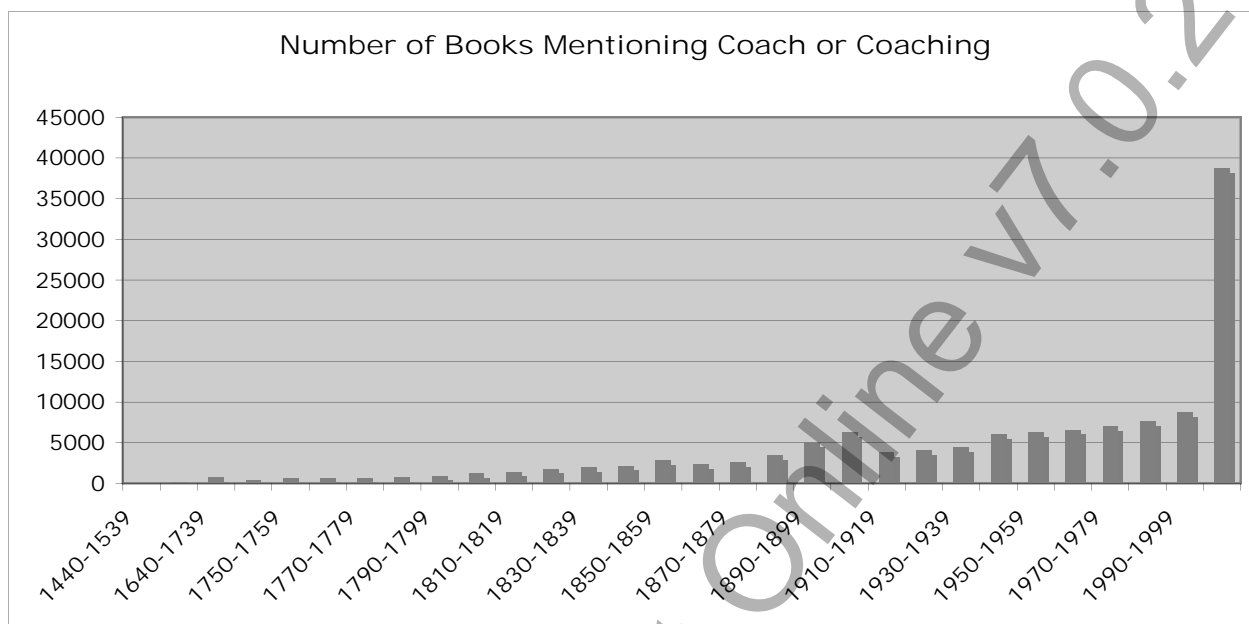
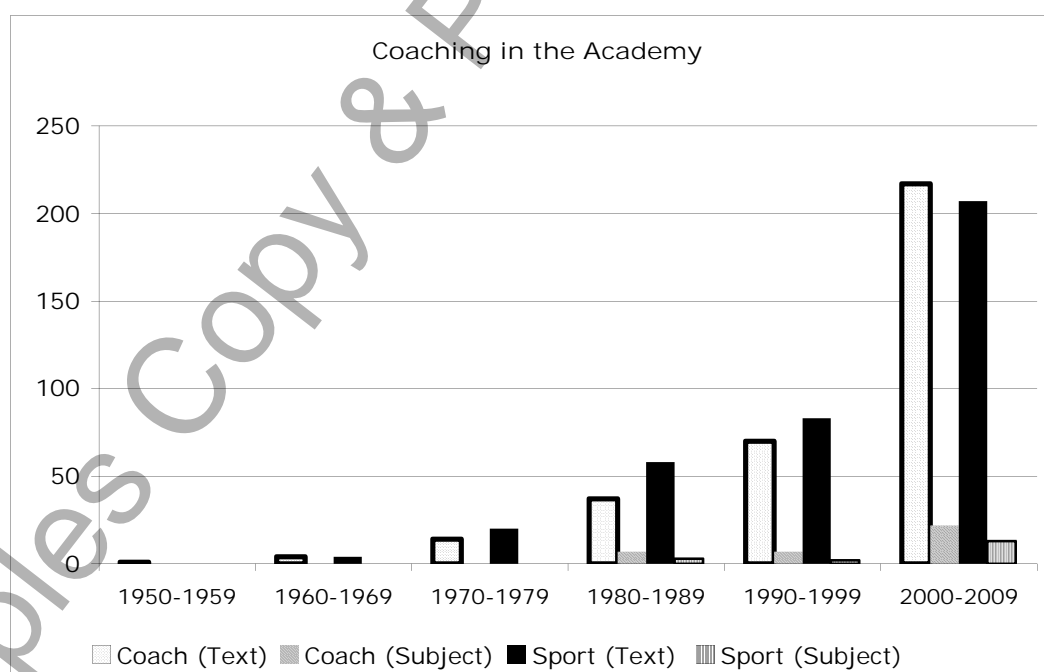
responsible for producing the vital spirit (pneuma) and heating the blood was widely accepted (Katz, 1997; Derbu, 2000; Del Maestro, 1998). This description of the heart involved the Greek idea of health as an appropriate balance in body heat and fluids (Katz 1997; Katz, 1998; Pelligrin, 2000), whereas Harvey's description of the heart's function as a pump transformed this understanding. Health came to be defined by motion and circulation, and circulation became something of a virtue (Sennett, 1994). What made the issue of circulation visible to urban planners was the carriage. This technology, of which the coach was the most prestigious (Bohlen, 2009), moved freely about the streets and encouraged designers to make "motion an end in itself" as the journey took precedence over the destination (Sennett, 1994; p. 264).

The Arrival and Transformation of the Coach

Ultimately our ability to discuss and differentiate coaching from other management concepts is linked to the invention of the coach just over 500 years ago. Since the creation of this object, the coach has been transformed from a technology to a prominent management concept. This evolution involves four stages; from an object, to a concept involving status, to a character in sport, and finally to a management concept. Figures 2.1 and 2.2 outline the growing popularity of coaching within books and academic publications.

The Object: Mid 15th century to present day

The coach is significant as it marks a departure in the movement of goods and people. As a technology the coach created an entirely different experience of movement and marks the beginning of a period where "the world runs on wheels with many whose parents were glad to go on foot" (Youatt, 1831; Kingsford, 1908 cited by Mumby 2008). The story of how the coach became popular is relatively simple, although there has been little academic attention to how horse drawn carriages became widely known as coaches in the 16th century (Mumby, 2008). The most popular claim involves how the coach provided a superior and more comfortable ride because of the suspension system, but the suspension systems on coaches predates the term (Mumby, 2008). The use of the coach

Figure 2.1 Books by Subject**Figure 2.2 Coaching and Sport in the Academy**

can be traced to Kocs, a small posting town in Hungary on the road between Budapest and Vienna. The appearance of coaches (*kocsi* of Kocs/ *kotchi wagen*) in the court of King Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490) secured the reputation of these fast and light vehicles around his empire. Early in the 16th century the queen's nephew, Hippolito D'Este, took a coach and Hungarian driver to Italy, where their use and popularity was gradually expanded. Around 1550 these vehicles became popular in all the capitals of Europe (Mumby, 2008) and the *kotchi* was translated into various languages; *koč* in Czech, *kutsche* in German, *koets* in Dutch, *coche* in Spanish, French and Portuguese, and coach in English (OED)²⁰.

That the idea of speed contributed to this popularity is supported by how in 1574 early entrepreneurs promoted the performance of the "Flying Coach" at 5 miles per hour (New York Times, 1878). That the coach made an impression is evident in the various letters, plays, and essays (Mumby, 2008; Behlen, 2009) that draw attention to the experience this form of transportation involved. Michel de Montaigne wrote in his *Les Essais*, (1580) of '*le privilège d'aller en ville par coche*', while Shakespeare (1598) had the King, in *Love's Labour Lost* recite the line 'No drop, but as a Coach, doth carrie thee' in a sonnet he was reading to a Princess. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603) coaches appeared in England and though riding them "up and down the countries" (Youatt, 1831; p. 35) produced great admiration, it was a laborious way of travelling and arduous way of travelling (New York Times, 1878). Dickens (1859) recounts the adventures of a woman travelling by coach in 1720 from London to Exeter as requiring 4 days of travel at a speed of 4.5 miles per hour. This journey began at 3:00 am, would involve stopping at 10:00 am to dine and then at 3:00 pm for dinner at an inn. A trip from London to Epsom covering 16 miles would require a whole day, while travelling from London to Edinburgh, a monthly occurrence, required 16-18 days (Youatt, 1831). Regardless of one's social class, there was little that was easy or glamorous about this means of

²⁰ In addition to the established connection to being transported via land during the 17th century coach also referred to an apartment in a ship, usually near the stern of a man of war, most often occupied by the captain. Its importance as a location is evidenced by the examples within the OED stating 'The commanders all came on board and the council sat in the coach' or 'the King supped alone in the coach'.

transportation, as passengers, if they were not robbed, would often find themselves walking because of the conditions of the road (New York Times, 1878).

The development of MacAdam roads (hard surfaced tops) in the early 19th century enhanced the quality of the road network, and the improved speeds decreased travel times. Travelling from Brighton to London took only 5 hours and the 52 coaches a day, at a cost of 6 shillings, helped make Brighton a popular locale (Dale, 1987). Coaching was considered to be very wild work, and stories, like those of ‘Old Quick Silver’ that performed the journey to Exeter in 17-18 hours with “horses never off the trot” (Dickens, 1859), became popular. A return trip to London from Edinburgh, with a couple of days in London, was now possible within a week. At the height of their popularity, over 3000 licenses were granted and 1500 coaches left London on a daily basis. In combination they carried over 2 million passengers in 1837 (Ballantyne, 1871). In the process streets were freed of obstruction and “*les portes cochères*” became a necessity for the grand houses and coaching inns of the countryside as architecture adapted to this mode of transportation.

During this era that the notion of the coach was linked primarily to this object is evident in Johnson, Chalmers and Todd’s *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1824). At this time teams consisted of horses pulling a coach; a leader was the strongest or most important horse on the team. Sport, when it was not referencing hunting (Walsh, 1867) or the fagging of school boys (Elias and Dunning, 1971), was defined in the dictionary as involving wantonness and ludicrous merriment, while coach, and its variants were defined as follows:

COACH. n. s. [cache, Fr.] A carriage of pleasure or state, distinguished from a chariot by having seats fronting each other. Sidney.

To COACH, v. a. To carry in a coach. B. Jons. To draw together, as horses harnessed to a coach. Every woman in her honour.

COACHBOX. n. s. The seat on which the driver of the coach sits. Arbuthnot.

COACHFUL. n. s. A coach filled with persons. Addison.

COACH-HIRE, n. s. n. Money paid for the use of a coach. Dryden.

COACH-HORSE. n. s. A horse designed for drawing a coach. B. Jonson,

COACH-HOUSE. n. s. The house in which the coach is kept. Swift.

COACHMAKER. n. s. He whose trade it is to make coaches. Shakespeare.

COACHMAN. n. s. . The driver of a coach. Prior.

COACHMANSHIP. n. s. . The skill of a coach-man. Jenyns

(p.122-123)

Obviously, the use of this type of technology is minimal today, although its persistence is evidenced by the existence of museums (Carriage²¹ Museum of America), magazines (Carriage Driving Magazine), associations (The Carriage Association of America), driving clubs (Gold Coast Horse & Carriage Club Inc.), and competitions such as the World Four in Hand Championships.

Acquiring Prestige: 18th century to present day

As an object used to transport a king, the coach was imbued with a certain amount of prestige. This early prestige was largely associated with the passenger rather than the coach, but as coach speeds increased and performance improved, so to did the appeal of the coach. A contributing factor was the introduction of the Royal Mail Coach by the Post Office in 1784 (British Postal Museum, 2005). These coaches, pulled by five horses, required an armed guard and could travel from Bath to London at seven miles per hour. As roads improved this speed increased to ten miles per hour (Birley, 1993; British Postal Museum, 2005) and these performance capacities were highlighted by establishments, something that is evident in the old sign built into the wall of the Star Hotel. The picture in Figure 2.3 is from a building originally built as a coaching inn.

²¹ Technically the museum lists 4 categories of carriages, two wheeled vehicles, four wheeled single seat, four wheeled multiple seats, and four wheeled coachmen driven. Of the coachmen driven they list over 10 styles, one of the most popular and prestigious being the Private Road Coach, it was a replica of the early English Mail Coach and a favourite of the New York Coaching Club.

<http://www.carriagemuseumlibrary.org/four-wheelednbspdashnbspmultiple-seats>

Figure 2.3 Coach to London²²



As a result of these performances the mail coach drivers and liveried coachmen of the nobility were admired, and they frequently served as models for youth who hoped to catch a ride and perhaps even drive (Birley, 1993; New York Times, 1878). Gentlemen or amateurs who wished to drive a coach would typically ensure they had an appropriate outfit, and, after a while, would inquire about the possibility about taking the reins (Walker, 1835). In effect, gentlemen and admiring youth sought to be ‘coached’ by coachmen as they tried to emulate the four-hand method that was the style for managing a team effectively. The Earle of Albermarle’s memoirs, written after being accepted at Westminster in 1808, describes the influence of these characters:

“It soon became the height of fashion to acquire not only the skill of coachmen, but to ape their dress, their manners, and their slang. We Westminster boys, of course, followed the fashion as far as we could. We drove hackney coaches whenever we could get the chance.” (Cited in Outing, 1886; p.66).

Thackeray’s *Pendennis* (1849), a book the *OED* lists as the first documented use of the word coaching, similarly describes how coachmen influenced youth of the time. A principal character in this book returns from college, dressed in the flamboyant style of the coachmen. The book involves discussions of the coach that refer not only to

²² Photo by David Fisher. Reprinted with the permission associated with the creative commons. <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/2.0/deed.en>

transportation and tutoring, but also to gambling and practicing to play a role in the theatre, activities that were often looked down upon. The popularity of coaching, especially for the best of them, made it a profitable profession with a substantial income (Birley, 1993). This income could be supplemented if a coachmen was retained by a patron to compete in horse races, official coach races, a steeplechase, or in cricket as large sums were frequently gambled (Birley, 1993; Symanski and Zimbalist, 2005).

For a brief period, before trains allowed an increasingly rapid movement through space, the coach reigned (Ballantyne, 1871; Dale, 1987), and ‘the arrival of a train cannot for a moment compare with the dash, the animal spirit, the enthusiasm, the romance’ (Ballantyne, 1871;p.54) involved with coaching. This lifestyle and form of travel is documented eloquently in Dickens’ (1884) monthly serial *Bleak House* (1852-53), whereas Henry James captures this sentiment in *Two Excursions* (1877:1993), as he takes the best way to travel to the country:

“I mounted upon a four-horse coach, a charming coach with a yellow body and handsome, clean-flanked leaders; placing myself beside the coachmen, as I had been told this was the point of vantage. The coach was one of the vehicles of the new fashion – the fashion of public conveyances driven, for entertainment of themselves and of the public, by gentleman of leisure” (1993; p.149)

The fashion of which James refers reached its pinnacle during the life of King George IV (1762-1830), who, in his reign from 1820-1830, was an enthusiastic supporter of cultural activities. As the Prince of Wales he often hosted extravagant gatherings near his residences at Brighton and at Lewes which were described as “the gayest scene of the year in England”. The Pavilion would be crowded full of guests of all ranks and fashions from London, while the race course held the “handsomest equipages”, and the “Prince himself would make his appearance... ..in a green jacket, a white hat, tight nankeen pantaloons, and shoes (!)” (Outing, 1886; p.67). The promenades taken by leading coachmen were dramatic, theatrical, and often over the top in their styles:

“There was a perfection in the minutest detail... a well-appointed four-in-hand appear like a choice work of art. The symmetry of the horses, the

arrangement of the harness, the plain but well-appointed carriage, the good taste of the liveries, the healthy, sturdy appearance of the coachmen and grooms, formed altogether one of those remarkable spectacles... a lasting impression upon the memory.” (Gronow, 1865; p. 137)

This connection remains apparent in the number of prestigious fashion brands whose history is associated with coaching. These include La Maison Goyard (est. 1853), Louis Vuitton (est. 1853), and Hermes (est. 1837), whose branding features a refined coachman and his carriage, relationships that are evident in the photos of Figures 2.4 and 2.5.

Figure 2.4 Coach Carrying LOUIS VUITTON Products²³



Figure 2.5 Hermès Logo



²³ Exposition, Château de Compiègne, October-November 1990 : Coach with old products on the roof 01/01/1990 . Reprinted with permission © ARCHIVES LOUIS VUITTON.

This relationship was not exclusive to Europe, as in 1960, the clothing company COACH (est. 1941) chose a logo for its fashionable leather products that also linked this manner of travelling with style. Lipovetsky (1994) also alludes to the connection between sport and fashion²⁴ by highlighting how what women wore as they participated in sports impacted street fashion in the latter part of the 19th and early in the 20th century.

Participation in Sport: Mid 19th century to present day

As early as the middle of the 17th century, it was possible to watch coach racing in Hyde Park (Birley, 1993). The character of the coach had not yet evolved in sport, but coaching was frequently a competition (Watson, 1886; New York Times, 1878). Hull is ‘the centre of more furious competition in the present year; nor should we have notice the favourite modern English sport of coach racing and breaking necks’ (Walsh, Little and Smith, 1836; p. 352). Determining when the term “coach” was first employed to refer to a person²⁵ is complicated because the term originally appeared as slang (OED) something that appears to be supported by the fact that early references often referred to the “coach” (e.g. Bateman, 1852; p. 48; The Country, 1874; p. 217, 394; Park, 1896; 149; McComb, 1888; p. 575). Consequently outlining an early history of coaches is difficult as history rewards authors, and as it was members of the working class who were first described as coaches, it is unlikely that this history and their approaches would have been adequately documented or acknowledged (Philips, 2000).

The concept of coaching becomes firmly linked to athletic competitions via its association with rowing. In rowing, coaches were often watermen who made their living on the Thames (Bateman, 1852; p.48). During an 1837 race between Leander (an

²⁴ From this perspective, Chuck Daly, the famous coach of the USA Dream Team and Detroit Pistons, with his penchant for fine suits, and Don Cherry, the famous coach of the Boston Bruin and star of Hockey Night in Canada’s Coaches Corner, who insists on looking good are entirely consistent with the roots of coaching.

²⁵ Those who might claim to be the first coaches of notoriety include the waterman Jack Broughton (1703-1784), James ‘Jem’ Parish and William ‘Paddy’ Noulton. Broughton was a famous waterman who won the Doggett’s Coat and Badge (est. 1715) boat race on the Thames in 1730, but is more famous for being a prizefighter who codified early rules for boxing. Upon retirement he opened an academy to teach boxing in a fashion that was more acceptable to the upper class (Wigglesworth, 1996). Though Broughton is a member of the boxing hall of fame and his tombstone now reads “Champion of England” it is unlikely he was ever called coach, as to this day in boxing the individuals who are coaching, though they may be educated as coaches, are still commonly referred to as trainers.

exclusive club on the Thames) and Cambridge, it is possible that Jem and Paddy (winner of the 1822 Coat and Badge), were called coaches. These men were hired because of their ability and experience on the water and it was not long before references to the role of the “coach” began appearing in texts. Tottenham (1868) writes of ‘An old oar was going to cox and coach them down, and when every one was settled, the boat was quietly pushed off from the bank, and they took off their mufflers’ (p.59). More formally, an author in *Country* (1874) observes in a commentary on the Boat Race, “and should Cambridge succeed in obtaining a good coach she ought to produce a good crew”. There was increasing agreement that it was not enough to have professionals, but that a ‘coach’ was also required (Wilmot and Streatfield, 1895; p. 113; Hawthorne, 1887).

With coaching contributing to performance in rowing, the notion of the coach is diffused as the codes of conduct that are a feature of athletic competitions are transformed into the laws of the game (Gardiner, 1930; Elias, 1971). This puts the appearance of our contemporary notion of sport as a by-product of both the Industrial Revolution (Birley, 1993) and the burgeoning (Massey, 2001) theoretic text based culture that was highly dependant on external memory systems such as texts (Donald, 1991, Donald, 1997, Donald, 2000, Donald, 2001)²⁶. The most significant development in creating the permanent teams that Huizinga (1955) believes represent sport is arguably The Football Association (The FA). Founded in 1863, their Book of Rules of Association Football is considered one of the most influential books ever published (Bragg, 2006). Subsequent to this publication the number of leagues, competitions, clubs and franchises worldwide increased dramatically as various games were transformed into sports and attention is given to structuring competitions to facilitate what Dodgson (1883) described as reasonable hope. Some prominent examples are listed in Table II.I.

²⁶ In publicizing the 25th anniversary of manager Sir Alex Ferguson being at the helm of Manchester United, his phenomenal coaching record was described. Likewise, with the exception of professional leagues becoming a manager/coach typically involves being certified by a Coaching Program. As Dean Windass, one of Hull City’s favourite sons, observes in his autobiography, that if he wants to become a gaffer and get into coaching and management he will have to get his license (Windass, 2007). As the terms coach and manager are often used interchangeably, it is probably more accurate to say coaching, as opposed to the coach is universal in sport.

Table II.I²⁷ Competition, Federations, Leagues and Clubs

<i>Athletic Competitions (local rules)</i>	<i>Sport Federations (laws of the game)</i>	<i>Leagues and Championships</i>	<i>Clubs and Franchises</i>	
Cotswold Olimpick Games (17 th century)	The Football Association (1863)	F.A. Cup (1871)	Sheffield F.C. (1857)	Manchester United F.C.
Doggett's Coat and Badge (1715)	International Rugby Board (1886)	Football League (1888)	Green Bay Packers (1919)	Barcelona F.C. (1899)
The Boat Race (1829)	International Olympic Committee (1894)	Stanley Cup (1893)	Boston Celtics (1946)	Olympique Lyonnais (1899)
Henley Regatta (1839)	Fédération Internationale de Football Association (1904)	Major League Baseball (1869)	New York Yankees (1913)	Juventus F.C. (1897)
America's Cup (1857)	Imperial Cricket Conference (1909)	World Series (1903)	Chicago Cubs (1870)	Hamburg SV (1887)
Royal St. John's Regatta (1816) [rowing]	International Ice Hockey Federation (1908)	National Football League (1920)	Dallas Cowboys (1960)	Sport Club Corinthians Paulista (1910)
Cowes Week Regatta [sailing] (1826)	Fédération Internationale des Sociétés d'Avion [Rowing](1892)	Super Bowl (1967)	Melbourne Football Club (1859)	Club Atlético Boca Juniors (1905)

Also contributing to the expansion of this practice was an increased emphasis on education. England's Education Act of 1870, effectively increased the attendance in public schools from 1.25 to 5 million (Birley, 1993). This consequently increased youth access to sport, and as more special instructors were required, coaches of sport became increasingly present within the school system. For example, the services of professional cricket players were often retained upon retirement as 'coaches' at clubs and schools across England. A similar pattern occurred in American colleges with the formation of the Intercollegiate Athletic Association of the United States (IAAUS) in 1905 (a forerunner to National Colleges Athletic Association). As the number of members

²⁷ It remains possible to argue that cricket was the first sport to codify the laws of the game, as the game has been played reasonably consistently since the 15th century, quite formally in the 18th century, and the rules for cricket have been controlled by the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) since its inception in 1787. However as this club and who had a say upon the rules was quite exclusive, The FA, being an association of clubs is seen as more significant. The other books Bragg lists as being influential include Isaac Newton's *Principia Mathematica* (1687), Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859), Adam Smith's *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776) and *The King James Bible* (1611). In addition the clubs and franchises selected for this table were selected in an attempt to convey the tremendous scope and diversity of teams that began appearing around the world late in 19th century. If your team is absent, and a rival team is present, rest assured no disrespect is intended.

increased, so too did the number of programs employing full-time coaches (Stern, 1979) and by 1905 Harvard was paying approximately \$7000 a year to their football coach, approximately 30% more than their top professor as they strived to fill Harvard stadium and defeat Yale (Guttman, 2007).

As discussed in the first section of the paper accepting the presence of coaches was not without some resistance. Just as English parliament debated whether the lower classes should have access to coaches (New York Times, 1878), John Lillywhite's phrase in 1867, "not cricket" meant unfair play, and implied that gentlemen played fairly and did not, unlike the professionals from lower classes, need rules or referees (Birley, 1993). In rowing, the idea of fouling was referred to as being a waterman's practice. The discomfort brought about by the presence of these 'coaches' is apparent in the protestations of Oxford University following Cambridge University's hiring of Noulton, a professional waterman. Oxford did not believe it was appropriate to use professionals as it tainted the competition, and as a result of this disagreement The Boat Race was cancelled. This debate was not limited to these schools; it also influenced the rules of the prestigious Henley Regatta (est. 1839), which passed the following definition to establish who could participate:

"No person shall be considered an amateur oarsman or sculler, or coxswain:

1. Who has ever competed in any open competition for a stake, money, or entrance fee. (Not to apply to foreign crews.)
2. Who has ever competed with or against a professional for any prize.
3. Who has ever taught, pursued or assisted in the practice of athletic exercises of any kind as a means of gaining a livelihood.
4. Who has been employed in or about boats for money or wages.
5. Who is or has been by trade or employment for wages a mechanic, artisan or labourer." (Woodgate, 1888; p. 48)

Effectively, rule number 3 banned 'coaches', while the others made participation by those lacking independent wealth somewhat difficult. Likewise in 1867, England's Amateur

Athletic Club defined an amateur as an individual who had never competed for money, had never taught or assisted in athletic pursuits as a means of earning a living, and was not ‘a mechanic, artisan or labourer’. This last phrase highlights the status associated with playing sport, and though this phrase was removed, it was replaced with a definition ‘An amateur is a gentleman, who...’ (Birley, 1993). Sport may have promoted and spread civilised values but upper class individuals were not particularly interested in competing against anyone, and often the important thing ‘to the men who made the rules was the de facto removal of the labouring class from eligibility’ (Harper and Hammond, 1977, p. 124).

Ultimately, despite the issues of class and language the popularity of coaching became evident in publishing. Many of these books are listed in Table II.II. Early efforts included Walter Bradford Woodgate’s *Oars and Sculls* (1874) and *Boating* (1888), and Walter Camp’s (1886) *Foot Ball: How to Coach a Team*. Woodgate includes chapters on scientific oaranship and coaching, and discusses the reciprocal education involved in coaching, something Farrell (1899) might describe as the “science of mutual help” (p. 66). The influence of these characters and the romantic notions we have of these individuals is exemplified by Ralph Paine’s novel (1910), *The Head Coach*, which the New York Times (1910) described as capable of warming the hearts of critics of college sports; meaning the author “has kicked a goal” as he documents the role of the Coach in developing players and people.

Today, our exposure to coaching, and the influence of coaches is impressive. In America, college coaches have remained some of the highest paid and powerful employees of the school (Zimbalist, 2010). Many of these coaches, and their counterparts coaching in the professional leagues, have produced best-selling books (e.g. Jackson and Delehanty, 1996; Krzyzewski and Phillips, 2001; Pitino and Reynolds, 1998; Riley, 1994; Torre and Dreher, 2000) that share the lessons they have gleaned from their experience. That these individuals fascinate executives seems appropriate as the term manager and coach are used interchangeable in soccer and baseball, and effective coaches possess significant organizational and management skills (F.G., 1880; p.285; Vallee and Bloom, 2005;

Gallimore and Tharp, 2004; Schemp, McCullik and Mason, 2006). Assessing the overall impact of individuals whom we will call coach is difficult, but Table II.III provides an estimate and outlines some of the most prominent organizations involved in the design and delivery of coach certification, licensing and education programs.

Table II.II Books involving Coaching

<i>Author</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Sport</i>	<i>Title</i>
Woodgate, W. B.	1874	Rowing	Oars and sculls
Camp, W.	1886	Football	Foot Ball: How to Coach a Team
Shearman, M.	1887	Athletics and Soccer	Athletics and football
Woodgate, W. B.	1888	Rowing	Boating
Camp, W.	1893	General	Walter Camp's Book of College Sports
Farrell, A.	1899	Hockey	Hockey: Canada's Royal Winter Game
Murnane, T.H.	1905	Baseball	How to umpire; How to captain a team; how to manage a team; how to coach; how to organize a league. New York: American Sports Pub.
Angell, E. D.	1910	General	Play: Comprising games for the kindergarten, playground, schoolroom and college : how to coach and play girl's basket-ball, etc
Gray, E.T.	1912	General	The varsity coach.
Angell, E. D.	1918	Basketball	Basket ball for coach, player and spectator.
Fisher, T.K.	1926	Ice Hockey	Ice hockey: A manual for players and coach
Manley, E.J.	1927	Swimming	Fundamentals of swimming and aquatic sports for coach, instructor, pupil and water fan
Robertson, L.	1933	Athletics	College athletics: a handbook of instruction in the events of the collegiate track and field programme
Marylebone Cricket Club	1952	Cricket	The M.C.C. cricket coaching book

The increased attention given by researchers to coaching has created notions of transpersonal coaching (Nieuwerburgh, 2010), holistic coaching (Cassidy, 2010) humanistic coaching (Lombardo, 2010), person/player/athlete centred coaching (Nelson, Potrac, and Marshall, 2010; Kidman, 2010; Hamel and Gilbert, 2010), coaching from the perspective of positive psychology (Petitpas, 2010), autonomy supportive coaching (Petitpas, 2010) and coaching as a community of practice (Gilbert and Trudel, 2006). Nevertheless, despite the plethora of coaching approaches and the increased attention given to coaching, coaching lacks a conceptual framework that deals adequately with the complex and messy (Jones, 2006; Gailipeau and Trudel, 2006; Gilbert and Trudel, 2006)

reality coaches' face as they deal with issues that are ill-defined (Jones, 2006; Coté and Gilbert, 2009). Research on effective coaches, defined as a process involving the knowledge of the coach, the outcomes achieved by athletes and the context where the coaching occurs (Coté and Gilbert, 2009), has found that these individuals are not overly concerned with labels (Hamel and Gilbert, 2010). Despite the gap that exists between coaches and researchers, and the fear that rationalistic models have harmed practice and hindered research (Jones and Wallace, 2006), coaching can be viewed as an interdisciplinary practice. Many of the aforementioned researchers clearly use many theoretical frames and different disciplines when they participate in sport, both as researchers and as individuals who have experienced coaching as athletes and as coaches.

Table II.III Coaching in Sport²⁸

<i>Organization (established)</i>	<i>Annual Participants in Seminars</i>	<i>Cumulative Participants in Seminars</i>	<i>Estimated individuals coaching</i>
American Sport Education Program (1974) (ASEP) www.asep.com	25,000	1 million	2.5 million 750,000 (interscholastically)
Coaching Association of Canada (1970) http://www.coach.ca	50,000	900,000	1.4 million
SportscoachUK (1983) http://www.sportscoachuk.org/	<30,000	Unavailable	1.2 million
Australian Sports Commission (ASC) (1979) http://www.ausport.gov.au/ais	Unavailable	300,000	Unavailable
Alliance of European Football Coaches (1980) www.aefca.eu	Unavailable	Unavailable	<153,000 (active licenses)

A Universal Solution: Late 20th century to present day

Coaching may be described as new to the field of management, but *The Civil Service Coach*, authored by Stanley Savill in 1881, was written to help individuals from the middle class become successful in government organizations. Coaching is presented as a distinct but complementary way of developing and learning, as “the plan pursued here is

²⁸ The numbers in this table are compiled from the websites of each of these organizations and the annual reports that are associated with them. The only exception is the number of people in coaching in Canada, which is from a Sports Canada report, and the numbers for coaching in the USA that are from the Institute for sport coaching (<http://www.instituteforsportcoaching.org>). While there are surely differences in who is counted as coaching across countries, in contrast to other coaching agencies, those focusing on sports are government-sponsored initiatives, so the numbers for attending courses should be accurate.

neither that of a blue book nor of a text book; it is that of a ‘coach’”(p. iv). This approach provides a way for individuals to practice the necessary skills to succeed in competitions, and proceed from the lower to the higher levels of the organization. In a more traditional sense, early references include Hadler and Lindeman (1933) and Seckler-Hudson (1948) comparing an industrial manager to a football coach. This is a comparison reflecting not only its popularity within American culture, but also how football is consistently associated with industrial organizations (Keidel, 1987; Mintzberg, 1989). Davis (1957) discussed how salesmen required training and coaching, and Mintzberg (1973) equated coaching an ice hockey team to being a team leader. As with the reference by Lorsch (1987) about a football coach benefiting from organizational behavior, what is noteworthy is that the discipline of management makes reference to the coach or coaching as being within the domain of management science, equating it to managing, but it does not outline what coaching is.

While management literature alluded to coaches, numerous others authors’ perspectives on management also appeared to foreshadow the popularity of coaching that Sherman and Freas (2004) associate with the overt emphasis on rationality and the failure of management science. Notable among these are Mary Parker Follett, Douglas McGregor and Edgar Schein who each discussed issues that are now frequently linked to coaching, but which were at the time critical of modern management techniques. Follett (2003) suggests a manager’s “job is not how to get people to obey orders, but how to devise methods by which we can best discover the order integral to a particular situation” (p.59). Companies that ascribe to this point of view describe this process as sportsmanship (p. 165). For Follett, the need to find a solution was not as important as systematically discovering what works and what does not. She concludes her chapter on authority by emphasising have the importance of having a system by citing Harvard’s rowing coach, “It is better to have a method, and stick to it even if it’s not the best possible method” (p.70).

McGregor’s Theory Y was also influential to our expanding notions of coaching as it focused on two-way communication, employee participation in decision-making and

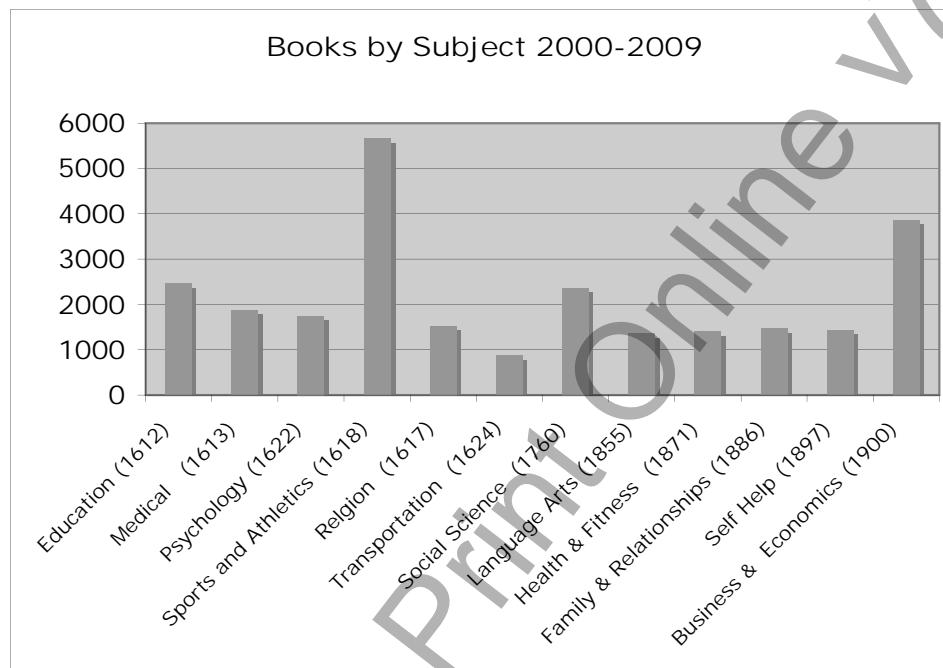
respectful supervision. Described as a “process primarily of creating opportunities, releasing potential, removing obstacles, encouraging growth, providing guidance” (McGregor, 1957, p. 183), Theory Y has been linked to the development of participative management, management by objectives, and performance appraisals (Locke and Latham, 1990). By definition, Theory Y encapsulates the aspirations and ideals of the many groups that promote coaching. In *process consultation* Schein (1969) describes this connection explicitly by stating how “counselling (or coaching)” (p.117) is particularly relevant to certain types of interventions.

Less academically, early promoters of concepts associated with coaching involve Ernest Holmes’ *The Science of Mind* (1926) and Dr. Norman Vincent Peale’s *The Power of Positive Thinking* (1952). Contrasted with the academic work, which linked a certain way of organizing individuals with happier and more productive employees, these authors can be seen as contributors to the creation of the self-help industry. Despite distinguishing positive psychology from positive thinking (Seligman, 2002), the work of these individuals contributed to popular notions of coaching as well as an increased emphasis, even if exaggerated, on positivity as opposed to positivism. Notwithstanding these references, it is consistent with conventional wisdom to state that coaching became a proper management concept to traditional organizations over the last thirty years. Figure 2.6 captures the broad popularity of the concept and its relevance to a diverse range of fields during the last decade.

At first, coaching was focused on correcting deficiencies, but it has become increasingly associated with achieving peak performance (Feldman and Lankau, 2005; Hackman and Wageman, 2005). Where popular writing and academic prose intersect is on the works of the ‘founders’ of this movement, W. Timothy Gallwey and Thomas Leonard. In 1974, Gallwey first published *The Inner Game of Tennis: The Classic Guide to the Mental Side of Peak Performance*, a book which began the process of translating an idea within sport into a concept with broad implications for organizational life. In effect Gallwey, unlike other references to coaching, took a concept and his knowledge of coaching performance

in sport, especially the psychology of performance, and highlighted its significance to managing ourselves and others.

Figure 2.6²⁹ Books on Coaching by Subject 2000-2009



In contrast, Thomas Leonard began his professional life as a financial planner but found his clients increasingly sought guidance in non-financial matters. In a sense, he found himself becoming a coach, ultimately quitting his financial planning in the mid 80s to found Coach University in 1992. In 1994, he founded the International Coaching Federation (ICF), a regulatory body that certifies programs offered by universities such as Columbia University in the USA and Queen's University in Canada. Most recently, the Institute of Coaching, as part of McLean Hospital, a Harvard Medical School affiliate, has become the latest of the many organizations focusing on a coaching industry that is valued at over \$1 billion (Sherman and Freas, 2004). A partial list of these organizations is provided in Table II.VI Each of these organizations appears to share some affinity with the ICF definition of coaching as 'partnering with clients in a thought provoking and

²⁹ The number in brackets in Table 2 refers to the year where an early book on these subjects, as classified by Google Books, first appeared.

creative process that inspires them to maximize their personal and professional potential' (ICF, 2007; p.9). Coaching now stands alongside counselling and mentoring as a helping profession (Feldman and Lankau, 2005; Hackman and Wageman, 2005).

It is also a concept that stands along side consultants, counsellors, and academics during the discussion of options in *Harvard Business Review* cases (e.g. McNulty, 2002; Kirby, 2004; Beer, 2006). Coaches have been studied by educators (Tharp and Gallimore, 1976), have influenced education (Gallimore and Tharp, 2004), have been described as team leaders (Mintzberg, 1973), viewed as a way of leading (Tichy and Charam, 1995; Waldrop and Butler, 1996; Goleman, 1998) and sought out for management advice (Webber, 1987; Rapaport, 1993; Girardi, 2010). In addition a wide array of management scholars, including Warren Bennis (1995) and Henry Mintzberg (www.coachingourselves.com), have promoted coaching. What these scholars share (Mintzberg, 2004; Bennis and O'Toole, 2005) is a concern with the relevance of management theory for practicing managers.

As coaching originated as an exciting technology the path it has taken has been quite unique. It appears to have been both well received, as across historical periods those who have experienced coaching have promoted it, but it has also provoked some angst. As early as the 17th century there was concern about the negative impact of coaching (New York Times, 1878), just as the idea of transforming managers from "cops to coaches" (Mueller, Proctor, and Buchanan, 2000) may be viewed positively, except where sport is concerned. The style of coaching seen in sport often invokes negative descriptions. Berglas (2002) views their influence as dangerous, Adler and Adler (1988) stress how they are dominating, and Arnaud (2003) highlights how they contribute to a form of narcissism, as the coaching in sport is "diametrically opposed" to the style of coaching best suited to organizations (Arnaud, 2003; p. 1132). Those in the sport sciences may contest Arnaud's view, however they also have some difficulty with what Lombard (2010) describes as the Professional Model of Sport Coaching, and Coté and Gilbert (2009), portray these coaches as managers of talent, managers that are "tainted" by professionalism (Farrell, 1899; p. 42). With this ongoing issue yet to be resolved it cannot

be considered surprising that, despite increased attention, coaching has yet to achieve formal and consistent professional recognition, both in sport (Anderson et al, 1989) and in other organizational forms (Charam, 2009).

Table II.IV Coaching and Organizations³⁰

<i>Organization (acronym)</i>	<i>Established</i>	<i>Members</i>	<i>Countries</i>	<i>Certified Coaches</i>
International Coaches Federation, (ICF) www.coachfederation.org	1995	<16000	<90	<6000
International Coaching Council (ICC) www.international-coaching-council.com	1995	???	<50	<1500
Worldwide Association of Business Coaches (WABC) http://www.wabccoaches.com	1997	Does not provide this information		
International Association of Coaching (IAC) http://www.certifiedcoach.org/index.html	2003	<12000	<80	53
The International Consortium For Coaching in Organizations (ICCO) http://www.coachingconsortium.org/	2004	100	~10	Not officially tracked
Society for Coaching Psychology (SCP) http://www.societyforcoachingpsychology.net	2008	<2000	<10	Education required
International Coaching Confederation (ICC) www.coachingcon.org	???	<45000	???	???

Despite this ambiguity coaching has become a service, a subject of interest to researchers, an area of expertise, a source of revenue for colleges, professors and universities, and a billion dollar industry requiring regulatory bodies (Sherman and Freas, 2004), but the term and the reasons for its popularity remain unclear. Professors are implicated in this simply because being ‘inundated with requests to coach’ (Morris, 2000), appears to imply coaching fulfils a need that being a scholar, academic or scientist does not. Bennis (quoted in Berglas, 2002) may state most coaching is simply therapy, but this discounts

³⁰ There are a tremendous number of organizations that associate themselves with coaching, a list of 58 organizations can be found at <http://www.mentors.ca/coachorgs.html#profs>, 22 of these are professional associations, 9 are oriented towards serving the profession, 9 are classified as supporting the profession, 17 are considered consortiums, and 1 is listed as franchise type organization. The list in the table simply wishes to highlight how they continue to appear, and while there is no denying the popularity of coaching within traditional organizations nor the value of the industry, the number of individuals coaching is still small as compared to the influence of coaching in the organized world of sport. In addition an organization like the ICCO has organizations as members, so this number under represents the number of actual coaches associated with the organization.

the tremendous influence coaches of sport have on managers (Wolfe et al, 2005). It also frustrates advocates of coaching who wish to distinguish their approach from sport and other helping practices (Morris, 2000; Garvey, Stokes, and Megginson, 2009; Arnaud, 2003) but struggle to do so effectively as coaching lacks a conceptual home. As there appears to be a desire to distinguish coaching from related concepts, addressing how a carriage drawn by a team of horses became a management concept offers a unique perspective. From this vantage point it becomes possible to ask, what are the fundamental characteristics that enabled this transformation to happen?

Today this continues to be true, as authors in the sport sciences (Cassidy, Jones, Potrac, 2004; Coté and Gilbert, 2009; Carter and Bloom, 2009; Denison, 2007; Voight and Carrol, 2006) not only research coaching, but frequently participate in it as well. Even management research on coaching (e.g. Hackman and Wageman, 2005; Couto and Kauffman, 2004; Gordon, 2007; Hooijberg and Lane, 2009) involves assessing which actions make for more effective coaching. Examining these historical perspectives demonstrates how many of the current discussions on coaching have their roots in our past. Fortunately, despite the longstanding problem with professionals, there exists some commonality between advocates for coaching across institutional fields, as they each tend to research within the domain they practice. As advocates for coaching seek increased legitimacy, maintaining and strengthening this link is likely to be important. For the many management researchers who express some concern about their relationship with practitioners (Suddaby, Hardy, Nuy, 2011; Bennis and Toole, 2005; Ghosal, 2005; Mintzberg, 2004; Bartunek and Rynes, 2010) this history may be helpful in developing a new point of departure for the many conversations on this issue.

Fundamental Characteristics of Coaching

In a chapter entitled '*From Carriage to Coach: What Happened?*', Mumby (2008) discusses how little attention has been given to the history of the coach. Mumby is not discussing how an increasing number of organizations have attempted to capitalize on its perceived benefits (Feldman and Lankau, 2005; Rosinski, 2003), but rather how in a fifty-year period between 1500 and 1550 coaching suddenly appeared in all the capitals of

Europe. A similar transformation occurred in the later part of the 19th century as coaching become universal in sport. The most recent transformation occurred near the end of the 20th century as coaching became prevalent in a wide array of organizations. To put this popularity in context, a search of Google books reveals that in 2008 over 1800 books discussed coaching, of which approximately a third involved management. Whereas in 1966, there were 1,177 books that included the word coach, but only 13 of these were on management. Of these management books only one referenced an employee context, all of the others were talking of carriages or buses.

Taking a historical perspective on the emergence of coaching offers the possibility of making retrospective sense of the coaching phenomena by highlighting its origins. By looking at a wide array of documents it becomes possible to determine characteristics that have been associated with coaching across different historical periods. These characteristics may be viewed as fundamental to coaching and facilitate an explanation on why coaching has become so popular. In brief, coaching is interesting because of five historical relationships, its relationship with technology, its association with the reciprocal performances of bodies (often teams), its connection to extremes, its relationship with aesthetics and its association with impurity. All of these distinguish coaching and help situate it within our world of organizations.

Post-technological

Unlike other helping practices and management concepts, which began as ideas, or the result of a scientific approach, the coach began as an object and then became human. As such, it belongs not in the world out there, but the world we have created and are active in. The emergence of coaching has been presented as occurring in 4 phases, first as a technology (16th century to present day), then as an object providing status (17th -19th century), especially as part of a lifestyle Dickens (1884) documents so eloquently in the monthly serial *Bleak House* (1852-53), then as a character in sport (19th century to present day), and most recently its enrolment as a concept that is popular across organizational forms (Author under review). In less than 500 years the coach, a type of carriage invented in the Hungarian town of Kocs, the *kocsi* of Kocs (Mumby, 2008), has

been transformed into a humane form of management associated with facilitating individuals ability to attain their potential (Feldman and Lankau, 2005). Coachmen became relevant after the technology, and this remains true of coaching today.

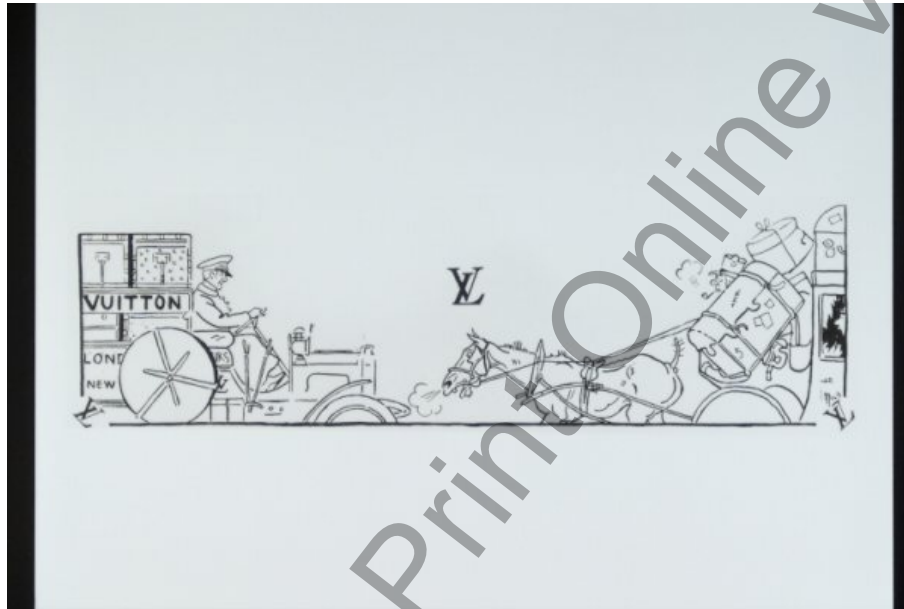
Regardless of the amount of technology used by athletes, coaching becomes a factor after technology, be it the shoes, the swimsuit, the training methods, nutritional supplements (Allemang, 2009), the flat hulled boat that revolutionized rowing years ago (Birley, 1993), the improved golf balls or protective equipment in cricket. Science and technology certainly contribute to the astounding performances of athletes, but coaching comes after technology. This is true even in the case of Oscar Pistorius, the double amputee, who is affectionately called the Blade runner by those athletes whose hindrances are not easily quantified, when he attempted to run the 400m Olympic qualifying time of 45.95 seconds³¹.

Tom Hughes, whose books exerted a strong influence on Pierre de Coubertin and the revival of the Olympic movement, captures the nature of this relationship with technology somewhat accidentally. In *Tom Brown's School Days* (1857), which describes his experiences at Rugby school early in the 19th century, and his less popular *Tom Brown at Oxford* (1861), which recounts his adventures at university, there is much discussion of the various athletic contests (games of cricket and rugby football). However, while coaches will rapidly become present in our wide world of sport, they play no part in Tom Brown's school days. There is a discussion of the coachmen, who consistent with the times, the students appeared to admire as they travel to and from the school, while an ambitious student would occasionally race the coach down the road. The relationship with technology is expressed as the novel begins with Tom arriving to school by coach and but has him departing at the end of his school days by train. Symbolically this departure captures the beginning of the tremendous changes that occurred with the burgeoning industrial revolution. Significantly, a major contributing factor to the emergence of this economy was the steam engine, and it was this engine that effectively

³¹ Regrettably, especially for his competitors at the ParaOlympics, Oscar did not achieve the standard, however, if time travel were possible Oscar's personal best would stand as an Olympic and World Record until 1932 when Bill Carr would break it with a time of 46.20 seconds during the finals of the Los Angeles Olympics.

decimated the coaching industry. The sketch in Figure 2.7 from Louis Vuitton in 1905 captures this change as they promote the benefits of travelling using a technology that was faster, more consistent and less prone to tipping over.

Figure 2.7 Drawing from LOUIS VUITTON Archives³²



In the process of the wide spread adoption of new technologies the service of coachmen was transformed, it increasingly became associated with the service provided by coaches who were rapidly becoming permanent fixtures on the sidelines of the many sports that emerged during this remarkable transition in our societies. It is the popularity of these coaches of sport who are essentially the inspiration for the coaching movement. For this reason one of the most interesting things about coaching and its relationship to technology is how it foreshadows some of the issues in our post-industrial economy. Daniel Bell's (1973) *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting*, is seen as a flashpoint for a new way of looking at how our economies were

³² This is a drawing by Mich in 1909. It is an ancient coach that is both unbalanced and being pulled by a tired horse, whereas the VUITTON delivery vehicle efficiently carries the luggage with no such problems. Reprinted with permission © ARCHIVES LOUIS VUITTON.

organized as they were transformed from being based in manufacturing to being based in services, what has alternatively been called a symbolic (Lawrence and Phillips, 2002), ideational (Heath, 2001) or weightless economy (English, 2005). To a certain extent this economy has always existed, and coachmen were a significant aspect of it, though it was significantly smaller than what it is now. In this sense, coaching has always been a component of the post-industrial economy. Given some of the inherent problems with this economy, issues of consistency, the problems of training, professionalism and the judging of quality, it is not surprising that these issues surround discussions of coaching today. As this 'weightless' economy has continued to expand it makes sense that coaching has become such a popular phenomena as managers increasingly face uncertainty and ambiguity.

Reciprocal Performance of Bodies

Linked with the post-technological nature of coaching is its connection to the reciprocal performance of bodies, where coaching involves reciprocal education (Woodgate, 1888). The coach emerged as an object pulled by a team of horses that were managed by combining an elaborate system of controls and signs; all of which necessitated a collective effort. Although there are benefits to individuals being coached, coaching has its roots in teams, which originally referred to horses, where reciprocity is important, and the relationship with the leader, what was typically the strongest horse, is central to success. In sport, coaching is embedded within a system whose structure – the laws of the game – influences the interaction between individuals. Some sports such as baseball, which has well defined roles and rules for decision-making, have less interaction than a sport like basketball, which has a far greater amount of reciprocal interdependence (Keidel, 1987), but each involve interdependence and even baseball is used as an example of a complex system (e.g. Maguire, 2002; Schultz, 2002). Importantly it is this collective effort by rowers as they attempt to find flow together that is given by Rond (2008) in *The Last Amateurs* as the reason for studying The Boat Race that Oxford and Cambridge hold each year on the Thames.

Notably it is the idea of the team, and thus the systematic presence of interdependence³³, that distinguishes the coach from individuals who assisted participants in earlier athletic contests. Today, when assessing teams, it is the presence of interdependence that is one of the defining characteristics, the more interdependence the more team-like the work situation (Wageman, Hackman, Lehman, 2005). Historically speaking, this is remarkably different than the emphasis that existed during the Hellenic festivals, as Gardiner (1930) in his *Athletics of the Ancient World* observes it was the spirit of individualism that was central to the competitions of the times and “We may doubt if team games could ever have acquired the same popularity among the Greeks as individual contests” (p.3). This distinction is apparent in Sir Derek Birley’s (1995) *Sport and the Making of Britain* as, up until the 19th century, he describes individuals associated with instructing and training as professionals. Birley makes no mention of coaching, unless it references transportation, until our contemporary notion of sport begins to take shape³⁴, and this required permanent teams (Huizinga, 1955).

Extremes

Coaching would appear to be most relevant when the performance involves strain at the boundaries of our competence and the leading edge of our capabilities. From the very beginning when gentlemen sought to be ‘coached’ in coaching, they were effectively

³³ Although the link between coaching and reciprocal education involving teams is emphasised, this does not imply individuals cannot be coached, simply that the idea of interdependence is primary. This interdependence is clear even in a basic motor skill such as running, which has contributed to the form we embody (Bramble and Lieberman, 2004), for success “depends on an athlete’s ability to combine the actions of the legs, arms, trunk and so on, into a smoothly coordinated whole” (Hay, 1985; p.407). This interdependence and how little we know about it was recently discussed in the context of how fast humans can run as Frans Bosch, a professor of biomechanics and motor learning at Fontys University in the Netherlands states “As long as nobody knows the limiting factor in sprinting, then a prediction in that area makes no sense... If you look at all the predictions that have been made so far, they’re all based on one small aspect of sprinting. When you only look at that you lose perspective.” <http://www.guardian.co.uk/sport/blog/2010/nov/21/athletics-world-records>

³⁴ A similar distinction is also found in discussions of Golf and Tennis, as even today in most clubs there is the resident Golf or Tennis Pro and Pro Shop. In ‘tennis’, a professional regularly accompanied Henry VIII (1491–1547) on his travels, and at Harrow a tennis professional was employed early in the 19th century (Birley, 1993). Whereas in golf, being a professional provided plenty of privileges including a salary, use of land, a shop, a very lucrative opportunity in the late 18th century. This tendency would appear to reflect how Golf and Tennis were activities favoured by the upper class, as in these individual pursuits it was not unusual to employ a professional and make it difficult for lower classes to access the playing field. In contrast the many versions of football are all derived from early games of mob football, ‘a country sport’ played ‘not with their hands but their feet’, a game ‘abominable enough and... more common, worthless and undignified than any other kind of game’ (Knox and Leslie, 1923; cited in Birley, 1993).

looking to be guided as they expanded their abilities in what Vygotsky (1978) would call the zone of proximal development. Gentlemen wished to perform at a level beyond what they would normally have been capable of without the assistance or support of a more skilled individual. The idea of exploring one's limit and performing above one's normal level is significant, as traditionally Western thinking has embraced moderation and avoided extremes (Foucault, 1990). Be it the process of being coached or the act of coaching, the relevance of extremes to the fundamental characteristics of coaching has been evident since the performance times of the Flying Coach were advertised in 1574 (New York Times, 1878). Writing in 1896, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, has the young narrator of *Rodney Stone* (2007) describe a race occurring at breakneck speed between his uncle and Sir John Lade³⁵. As they are flying at a pace that could neither be stopped nor controlled, the narrator observes:

“Never have I travelled at such a pace, and never have I felt such a sense of exhilaration from the rush of keen upland air upon our faces, and from the sight of those two glorious creatures stretched to their utmost, with the roar of their hoofs and the rattle of our wheels as the light curriole bounded and swayed behind them” (p.85).

Regardless of the context, the ability of the coach or coachmen becomes more important as the situation becomes more difficult. The skill required by coachman would have been impressive, difficult, and involved responsibility for self and others. Given the importance of the cargo or the amount that was being wagered, the ability to perform

³⁵ Rodney Stone makes reference to many real individuals. Tom Faulkner was a professional cricket player and prize-fighter. Sir John Lade (1759-1838) was a friend of the Prince who ultimately became the Prince's head coachmen in charge of managing the stables (Birley, 1993). He was a founding member of the 4-horse club, one of the many clubs whose members set much of the style and who often paid coachman for the privilege of driving. These members, Richard Barry, 7th Earl of Barrymore (1769-1793), Lord Sefton (1772-1838), Lord Worchester (1766-1835), Colonel Berkeley, the latter two being individuals who set out often in the most splendid of carriages (Dickens, 1859). In addition these characters frequently adored both racing and gambling; Lade, so much so, that he squandered a sizeable inheritance from the families brewing fortunes, while the very dapper Barrymore, in addition to being a cricketer, sponsoring, if not participating in, prizefights, and something of an all round sportsman, was also a great admirer of theatre who constructed a play house in Wargrave, Berkshire. It is unclear whether he ever saw its completion as while travelling by coach his loaded rifle discharged accidentally resulting in an unfortunate and fatal injury. Consequently when Lord Thurlow is reported to have responded to a request from the Prince of Wales for dinner in 1805 by stating "I have no objection, Sir, to Sir John Lade in his proper place, which I take to be your Royal Highness's coach-box, and not your table." (Boswell, Johnson, Hill, 1887 p. 412) it is, of course, difficult to know whether his problem with Lade was an issue of class or character, or some combination of the both.

responsibly definitely played a greater role in choosing your coach and coachman, than it did in the selection of Kings, Queens and a great many Lords, where purity of the blood line was typically the most relevant factor.

Aesthetics

Discussing aesthetics as a fundamental characteristic of coaching is apt to cause certain readers difficulty, as there is a tendency to separate sports and treat them differently. Yet what is aesthetically pleasing requires a kinaesthetic experience and Maslow (1968) provides evidence in his study on self-actualization on the problems of this separation. He assumed that the creativity inherent in self actualization would be consistently present in traditional artistic pursuits but discovered, after interviewing a football player, that there can be as much creativity and capacity for self-actualization in perfectly executing a tackle (p.136-137). Given the longstanding relationship with fashion, this connection between coaching and aesthetics is explicit, and though it is often neglected, thinking of sport as improvised theatre or a theatre of the imagination is a legitimate perspective (Morris, 1981). Evidence of this relationship is provided in the late 19th century, for the same companies who promoted baseball teams also promoted theatre companies, and players would become part of the troupes during the off season (Vincent, 1981 and cited in Szymanski and Zimbalist, 2005). Even the coach itself has a surprising link to this domain as John Palmer's inspiration for moving mail by coach was derived from the success of this method in moving equipment between theatres (British Postal Service, 2005; New York Times, 1878).

The significance of this connection is apparent in the changes to our economies that are analyzed in English's (2005) prize-winning book *The Prestige Economy*. English outlines the growth of cultural industries, where beginning in 1972 these types of organizations have constituted approximately 50% of the economy. The growth of these industries is linked to the increased tendency to give prizes ranging from the obvious, the Oscars and the Nobel Prizes, the Man Booker Prize, the Grammys down to the banal, the Razzies and the Adult Video Awards. English is explicit in stating that these economies can be viewed as replicating sport as he has a section entitled the *Game and Its Players* and a

chapter titled *The Arts as International Sport*. Importantly these sectors, where coaches and play are central, have largely existed outside the domain of traditional management research (Lawrence and Phillips, 2002; Defillipi, Grabher, and Jones, 2007; Townley, Beech, and McKinlay, 2007).

Despite the number of connections between these domains and their growing relevance to organizations, the most insightful aspect of this relationship between coaching and aesthetic is found in the texts of authors who were motivated to convey their sentiments about the experience (e.g. Dickens, 1859 De Quincey, 1851; James, 1877). Of Charles Dickens' (1812-1870) numerous descriptions of the coaching lifestyle, his lengthy portrayal of a trip to London in *Martin Chuzzlewit* is among the most eloquent:

“He didn't handle his gloves... but put them on... ...as if the four greys were... at the ends of the fingers... did things... which nothing but an unlimited knowledge of horses and the wildest freedom of the road, could ever have made him perfect in. Valuable little parcels were brought to him with particular instructions, and he pitched them into his hat... as if the laws of gravity did not admit... its being knocked off...

The coach... a swaggering, rakish, dissipated, London coach; up all night, and lying by all day, and leading a terrible life. It cared no more for Salisbury than if it had been a hamlet. It rattled noisily through the best streets, defied the cathedral, took the worst corners sharpest... blowing a lively defiance out of its key-bugle, as its last glad parting legacy.

The four greys skimmed along... the bugle was in as high spirits as the greys; the coachman... with his voice; the wheels hummed cheerfully.. the brass-work... was an orchestra of little bells.. from the buckles of the leaders' coupling-reins to the handle of the hind boot, was one great instrument of music.

Yoho, beside the village-green, where cricket players linger yet... Away with four fresh horses from the Bald-faced Stag, where toppers congregate about the door admiring; and the last team with traces banging loose, go roaming off... until observed and shouted after... while volunteering boys pursue them. ... down... through the open gate, and far away, away, into the world. Yoho!” (1995, pp. 539-543)

This passage captures the fundamental characteristics that have been discussed. It describes what is done with the technology (post technological), there are the 'four greys' (reciprocal interdependence and teams), there is the taking 'the worst corners sharpest' (extremes), and 'the leaders' coupling-reins to the handle of the hind boot, was one great instrument of music' (aesthetics). In addition, this passage highlights how another aspect of coaching involves trying to hold many things together to make them perform as one. As a coach said, echoing Farrell's (1899) "science of mutual help" (p. 66), one of the best things about coaching is watching a group of different guys work together for one thing". In this sense coaching attempts to create a unified plurality, or in more laymen terms, it strives to keep it all together, what in association football terms often involves the emphasis of keeping a team's shape, so there are few openings for the opponents and the team is ready to exploit any opportunities.

Impurity

In Golden's (2008) analysis of the Greek's athletic competitions, he observes that across historical periods spaces for competitions have involved the mixing of individuals of various classes and different social statuses. Traditionally, individuals with lower standing, the trainers and professionals, provided a service and worked with their bodies to earn money. Following the trend in the 19th century of gentleman to seek coaching from coachmen, the 'coach' became slang for instruction that frequently involved payment. It was often a derogatory term, as the trend of students to use "what was so properly called the 'coach' – a machine to carry them to a mercenary purpose, not an educator who had to train their faculties" (Ryalls, 1873; p 357-58), was viewed negatively. Adam Smith examines this issue eloquently in *The Wealth of Nations*, after discussing how what were once serious pursuits, like organizing to hunt game, have become recreational (1997; p. 203), he observes that:

There are some very agreeable and beautiful talents of which the possession commands a certain sort of admiration; but of which exercise for the sake of gain is considered, whether from reason or prejudice, as a sort of public prostitution. The pecuniary recompense, therefore, of those who exercise them in this manner must be sufficient, not only to pay for the time, labour and expense of acquiring the talents, but for the discredit

which attends the employment of them as the means of sustenance. The exorbitant rewards of players, opera singers, opera dancer, etc., are found upon these two principles; the rarity and beautify of the talents, and the discredit of employing them in this manner. It seems absurd at first sight that we should despise their person and yet reward their talents with the most profuse liberality. While we do the one, however, we must of necessity do the other. (1997; p. 209).

With an immense amount of consistency, the development of these ‘very agreeable and beautiful talents’ has been worthy of admiration however, whether speaking of ‘pothunters’ who competed only for the sake of gain during Greek festivals (Gardiner, 1930; p. 101) or “these over paid bums”, to take a generic comment from a web based discussion, the emotions towards paying for these services has remained remarkably consistent. Participating for money was thought of as lower than the pure ideals embodied by the gentleman, those amateurs who participated solely for the love of the game. The same tension was apparent when coaching was no longer slang but viewed as a component of sport, as there can be no doubt that the amateur coach is, “in a position of a guide, philosopher and friend”, and a professional coach, “tends to lower the social and moral tone” (Hawthorne, 1887; p.186).

In a context where impurity was linked with dirt and was the result of experience that was not clean (Sennett, 1996, p. 262), it was important to distinguish the motives of participants. Professionalism tainted sport at a time when it was common for the establishment of the day to hold the belief that professional sports were equivalent to prostitution (Harper quoted by Fisher, 2003). In the same manner it was not uncommon for pros to be identified by the colour of their uniform. During a Gentleman versus Players fixture in 1886, journalist for the Athletic News noted how the FA, ‘did their level best.. to make the pros look like pros. Dark blue jerseys savour more of the collier (the uniform of the coal miner) than anything else and the Gentleman were clad in spotless white’ (In Birley, 1993). Influenced by Great Britain’s promotion of amateurism,

France also attempted to purify competitions by restricting participation in the same manner (Terret, 1996; p. 245)³⁶.

This relationship with impurity is also evident in coaching origins as slang, a situational dialect which is frequently viewed as lowering, challenging, dealing with the inappropriate and/or messing with conventional speech (Dumas and Lighter, 1978), and because of its relationship with sport. Sport is an idea that shares with the related concepts of play and games, problems of conceptual definition (Giddens, 1964; McGinn, 2008). Traditionally, definitions stress the uniqueness of each concept, but it is difficult to discuss these ideas without referencing the related concepts (Henriot, 1989), the words that explain are also the words that define, and sport is resistant to having a pure definition that excludes other concepts (McGinn, 2008; Loy, 1968; Guttman, 1978). The notion of impurity is consistent with the history of coaching, which has not focused on

³⁶ This observation is only important as it is the coal miners from Durham, in the mines Trist and Bamforth (1951) made famous, who contributed to the notion of teams in the workplace (Mueller, F., Procter, S., and Buchanan, D. 2000). The idea of purification can also be found in language itself. Sport has been imported into languages ranging from German to Ukrainian and Swahili to Serbian with some ease (Sansone, 1988), whereas in France some expressed concern about the importation of such words “which obviously corrupt our language but we have no customs barriers in order to prohibit their importation at the frontier” (Elias, 1971; p.89). This issue remains apparent today as the ‘*Offices de la langue française*’, in both France and Quebec, promote *entraîneur* as the French word for “coach”. Officially, the English word “coach” does not contain any link or have any actual sense in French, but has simply been imported from English (<http://www.olf.gouv.qc.ca/>). Etymologically, *entraîneur* denotes a connection to *entraînement*, which prior to its connection to sport involved the notion of being led by, or giving into one’s passions (*céder à l’entraînement des passions*). Technically, *entraîneur* is officially translated as “coach”, but it may also be translated, and in a much more literal fashion, as “trainer”. In addition prior to translating coach as *entraîneur*, it was first translated as *instructeur*. The politics involved in translating this concept in the appropriate are evident in the program for game 1 of the Summit Series at the Montreal Forum played on September 2, 1972. The program for this nation defining event, which produced a goal where “we all squeezed the stick and we all pulled the trigger”, listed Harry Sinden and Vsevolod Bobrov as les instructeurs. Also in the Forum, you would find that the Canadiens’ listed their personnel during each season of operation. On the first panel, in 1909, a ‘coach’ was not listed, though players and directors were. During the 1925-26 season a coach appeared, but they were not permanent until the 1932-33 season, one season after Dick Irvin was officially listed as the Coach of the Toronto Maple Leafs on the Stanley Cup. At this time all the formal positions in the dressing room were listed in English (first) and French (second), except coach, which was listed in only one language. For the 1955-56 season coach was translated as instructeur and it took until the 1977-78 season for the French words to be listed first, one year before the head coach was translated as the entraîneur en chef, the head coach, while the trainer continued to be translated as entraîneur. Despite the official position taken by those specializing in language, coach is increasingly used when speaking about this concept and the characters who are held responsible for the performance of our teams. In La Presse, where the most popular stories are almost always of the Montreal Canadiens, “dans les sections sports” the coach is “le coach”, and in a broad range of academic publications you may find “le coaching” (Bernole, 1997, cited in Arnaud, 2003), “Coachez” (Noye, 2002, cited in Arnaud, 2003) and “coacher” (Albert and Emery, 1999, cited in Arnaud, 2003).

trying to isolate, but in the blending, mixing and integrating of many factors. Dicken's line about horses being somehow 'at the ends of the fingers' indicates how a fundamental characteristic of coaching involves making things work together.

Coaching and Management

Taking this historical perspective provides some explanation on the popularity of coaching and what this concept brings to our understanding of managing and organizing, as these fundamental characteristics of coaching represent subjects and domains that are usually avoided by management theorists. As Wolfe et al (2005) observed, management theory has something of a fascination with structure, equilibria, reification, static models, a preference for nouns over verbs, and rarely addresses extreme contexts. In contrast, these are integral to the experience of coaching, and, it would seem, they are all increasingly relevant to all types of organizations. In the process the issues of bodies confronting reciprocal interdependence, performance and aesthetics have featured prominently. These relationships are summarized in Table II.V.

Notably in Western cultures the contribution of the body has been downplayed (Gardner, 2004; p. 208) and it is often viewed as inhibiting, as opposed to producing the conditions for our cognitive abilities, while the social sciences have tended to pay little attention to our biology (Massey, 2002; Heaphy and Dutton, 2008). Similarly, Thompson (1967) observed that management research has been particularly effective in creating knowledge under conditions that facilitate calculation, but has had less impact in domains where uncertainty and systematic interdependence are continuous. In these situations the performance of teams, what Thompson (1967; p. 17-18) discusses in the context of intensive technologies, are important. In sport, at a league level, this uncertainty is designed and encouraged as it often enhances overall profitability (Fort, 2003) because participants are allowed a reasonable hope (Dodgson, 1883; Levin et al, 2000; Bettman quoted by Associated Press, 2009) of achieving goals.

Table II.V Coaching's Fundamental Characteristics

	<i>Technological Object</i> <i>15th century till present day</i>	<i>Status</i> <i>17th century till present day</i>	<i>Sport</i> <i>Mid 19th century till present day</i>	<i>Institutional Fields</i> <i>Late 20th century day</i>
<i>Post Technology</i>	Movement required humans	Better roads improved speed (Birley, 1993)	Contributions of coach are after technology	For problems the scientific approach has not solved (Sherman and Freas, 2004). Emphasis on rationality has hindered understanding of coaching (Jones and Wallace, 2006)
<i>Reciprocal</i>	A moving assemblage "The stage coach carries animation with it and puts the world in motion as it whirls along" (New York Times, 1878)	"the wheels hummed cheerfully in unison.. from the leaders coupling reins.. one great instrument of music" (Dickens p. 537)	"system of reciprocal education" (Woodgate, 1888; p. 179) "Science of mutual help" (Farrell, 1899; p. 66)	"increasing complexity of society" (Barnard, 1936; p. 322)
<i>Aesthetic</i>	A kinaesthetic experience. "The art of coachmanship" (New York Times, 1878)	"four-in-hand appear like a choice work of art" (Gronow, 1865; p. 137)	My life and the beautiful game (Pelé and Fish, 1977)	Cultural economy (English, 2005) The "all in" campaign www.addidas.com
<i>Extremes</i>	Popular because of its speed (Mumby, 2008). In 1574 "The Flying Coach" (New York Times, 1878)	Coach racing (Birley, 1993) "coach racing and breaking necks" (Walsh, Little and Smith, 1836; p. 352).	Achieving Personal Bests <i>Citius, Altius, Fortius</i>	"Manage a constantly changing business environment and refine leadership skills. ... accelerates movement towards goals" Queen's University Brochure for Executive Coaching
<i>Impurity</i>	Movement of the powerful depended on the less powerful (Mumby, 2008) Performances involved a mixing and often inverting of social status	British Parliament debates who should have access (New York Times, 1878)	Not always for the love of the game. "taint of professionalism" (Farrell, 1899; p. 42)	Associated with messy problems (Gilbert and Trudel, 2006)

The association of coaching with performance is also significant given the growing interest in performativity (e.g. Mol, 2005), as coaching has been linked to performance since ‘performance times’ were established for routes in 17th century (New York Times, 1878). With the increased turn towards linguistics and discourse in organizational theory (Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy, 2004), this connection is philosophically relevant. Within the linguistic tradition, from Saussure to Chomsky, language (la langue) has been elevated over speech (la parole); the motor skill (MacNeilage 1999). With some consistency scholars have preferred to study the outputs, language and texts, over the actions required in their performance (MacNeilage, 1999), even though for “cognitions to be communicated, they must be physically enacted” (Jordan and Rosenbaum (1991; p.727). This is an important point as in cognitive science, motor control, which involves how we take purposeful actions skilfully (Magill, 1993), actions ranging from writing, talking, walking to those that produce plays of the day, is understudied (Donald, 2001; Beilock, 2008; Beilock, 2009). For Weick and Westley (1996), it is the concern with motor skills, Gardner’s (2004) bodily-kinesthetic intelligence, which makes coaching different³⁷.

Highlighting the relevance of these characteristics across historical periods is not meant to imply that coaching has not changed; clearly the types of actions surrounding coaching have changed. The interactions of a contemporary coach today are certainly different than those of coaches who first stood on the sidelines, and of the coachmen who instructed amateurs, but they all have had experience with these fundamental characteristics. As the much-maligned Machiavelli noted, when the times they are a changing it is important to change with the times:

³⁷ The preference for calculation is apparent in Wolfe et al (2005) exploration on the synergy between sport and organizations. In the article they discuss baseball 29 times, football, 24, basketball 19, soccer twice and hockey once. This ratio is consistent with the literature that is cited, as there are 22 studies of baseball, 8 of basketball, 3 from football and none from soccer or hockey. In effect as the ease of calculation goes down so to do the studies on the sport, as soccer and hockey both involve far more systematic and reciprocal interdependence.

“I maintain that today one can observe a prince prospering one day and ruined the next without having seen him change his nature or character at all. I believe this arises primarily for the reason laid out at length above, namely, that the prince who relies wholly on fortune is ruined as fortune changes. I also believe that the one who adapts the way he acts according to the quality of the times succeeds, in much the same way as the person proceeding is out of step with the times is unsuccessful” (Machiavelli, 1998; p. 122)

This is of course true of all professions, disciplines, and sciences, as it is of coaching. This does not mean that coaching is the one best way or the most noble of the helping professions, but that these historical characteristics have contributed to our notion of coaching and have facilitated its acceptance as an idea. Much will change about this concept, but it is likely these fundamental aspects will remain. It may be tempting to think that the improvement of coaching can be attributed to their increased acceptance of positive and sport psychology. Yet positive psychology has an association with flow, where play is defined as the flow experience par excellence (Csikzentmihalyi, 1975) and intense physical activity, especially of the type we associate with sport, has a long association with this idea (Starbuck, in James, 2004; p. 154-155; Csikzentmihalyi, 2003). Likewise the sport psychologist has certainly contributed to developing more effective coaches, but this has to be tempered with the fact that during the 1958 World Cup, Brazil's sport psychologist, who Pelé is certain went on to enhance the performance of many athletes, did recommend to Brazil's coach that Pelé, at 17 was too young and immature to make an impact playing (Pelé and Fish, 1977).

This does not mean coaching can solve all problems, nor does it imply all coaches represent ideals worthy of emulation. Simply, coaching has a unique history and this history, intimately linked with the emergence of sport, helps explain its current popularity. Reviewing the diversity of specialties that support performance in sport and the relationship between coaches who practice and the scientific disciplines that inform them, there appears to be a far more productive relationship than the one that currently exists in organizational and management theory. In coaching related journals, *International Journal of Sports Science and Coaching*, *The Sports Psychologist*, and the *International Journal of Coaching Science*, the editors represent various faculties,

Health Sciences, Education, Medicine, Kinetics, Kinesiology, Physical Education and a wide array of disciplines, psychology, sociology, education, motor learning, physiology, and biomechanics. It may be fair to say that this relationship with science is more attune to that of the life sciences, of which medicine is the most prestigious practice where physiology is central, for two reasons. First, physicians may have influenced the development of philosophy (Annas, 2000; Pelligrin 2000b), however, physicians emphasised materiality and demonstration (Furley, 2000; Pelligrin, 2000a, Derbu, 2000), whereas philosophy strove for knowledge that was purer and more universal (Pelligrin, 2000a; Pelligrin 2000b). In contrast, the practices that focused on our being involved understanding the appropriate mix and balance of the various elements that were required to produce harmony (Foucault, 1990; p.115).

Secondly, many of these researchers, as with those of the life sciences, are also highly involved in the domains they study as participants, practitioners and scholars. This difference is evident in discussions of evidence based management, as Briner, Denyer and Rousseau (2009) distinguish between practitioners, who engage in evidence based management practices, and scholars who do not, whereas in the life sciences these distinctions are far more difficult to maintain, *The Lancet* and *The New England Journal of Medicine* are prestigious journals that are comprehensible to, if not written by practitioners. There is a sharp contrast between Orlick (2008), who reminds researchers in the sports sciences that coaches do sport psychology, and Corley and Gioia's (2011) concern that, for many researchers in management, the target audience for theory is not practitioners. Given the "uneasiness about why our knowledge has not found its way into practice" (Walsh, 2008) the coaching that occurs in sport may represent a useful field setting. Non-traditional settings have proved useful (Bramberger and Pratt, 2010), there are clear links with theory (Wolfe et al, 2005) and they have facilitated learning important issues in management (Shrivastava, 2010). They would also appear to be ideal environments to promote the practical implications that Bartunek and Rynes (2010) have found as lacking, for unlike other institutional fields, participants in sport appear to be quite eager, sometimes too eager, to use the products of science.

Summary

Coaching is now remarkably popular, as a *Globe and Mail* essay observes, and coaches exist ‘for almost every subject you think of’, including parenting, relationships, organizing, gardening, and even for looking after one’s pet (Sandrin, 2007, p. L6). As a result of this popularity, organizations are increasingly attempting to capitalize on coaching’s perceived benefits. Coaching has become a service, a growing subject of interest to researchers, an area of expertise, a source of revenue in academia and an industry requiring regulatory bodies. By placing the emergence of coaching in its appropriate historical context, this article has outlined the path coaching has taken as it was transformed into a management concept that is now linked with managing, leading, developing individuals, teams and peak performances. In the process it has identified two tendencies that continue to be relevant to discussions of coaching and listed a number of characteristics that may be considered fundamental.

The most longstanding of these involves the relationship with professionals, as our tendency to be suspicious of success in athletic domains and look down upon the professionals that became synonymous with coaches has a long history. In retrospect what is remarkable about coaching is not simply that we lack clarity, but the extent to which the present tensions are connected to themes that were present in classical thought (Gardiner, 1930; Spariosu, 1989; Golden, 2008). Somewhat disconcerting from a management perspective is how the value associated with these competitions has always been evident, for ‘There is no source more profitable to Plutus than holding contests in music and athletics’ (Aristophanes cited in Gardiner 1930). That we in OMT have neglected this field and lack knowledge of these participants, because they profited from their involvement in competitions and sport, seems somewhat ironic.

Secondly, and on a more positive note, this article has drawn attention to how ideas of coaching are linked with participating in an environment where coaching occurs. By comparison, in management proper there is a far greater concern regarding the relationship between theory and practitioners (e.g. Bennis and Toole, 2005; Ghosal, 2005; Mintzberg, 2004; Bartunek and Rynes, 2010; Rynes 2007a; Rynes 2007b), than is

routinely featured in discussions of coaching. Research on coaching often involves individuals who coach, in a way they themselves are often the object of the subject they study. The relevance of this relationship to management is evident in Corley and Gioia's (2011) comment concerning the challenges of being a professional school. Currently the selection criteria for doctoral students, tends not to view the experience of work as a desirable and necessary aspect in the design of effective research programs. Whereas, with graduate programs that study sport, the individuals are active participants in the institution, and this participation informs their research. None of this is to say that coaching has an ideal relationship with the science of coaching, simply that the approach to researching the subject reflects a history of involvement.

For advocates of coaching, this history may have a cautionary tale, as there is a desire for legitimacy within the scientific community, something OMT appears to have achieved but not without increasing concerns about relevancy. In this context the findings of Hooijberg and Lane (2009) are revealing, as they found that although coaching advocates frequently promote an approach involving little advice, individuals sought more active participation and intervention from coaches. This finding cannot be considered surprising, as this desire is consistent with the origins of coaching, but it does suggest coaching advocates may be neglecting what has made the idea of coaching so popular. In addition, given the role of these characters at management faculties (e.g. Mike Krzyzewski and the Coach K Center on Leadership and Ethics at Duke), and the influence of sport, a domain that is deeply intertwined with our cultures, it would appear unlikely advocates for coaching can fully define and successfully distinguish coaching from other approaches, if they do not incorporate the experiences, knowledge and abilities of the coaches in sport.

Third, the characteristics associated with coaching include its post-technological nature, its hybrid or impure nature, the importance of reciprocity, and how the performances of beautiful talents are most impressive when they occur at the extreme limits of one's ability. Most significantly, while management and social theory often exudes an aura that societies and organizations can exist without bodies (Heaphy and Dutton, 2008),

coaching is very much about working with bodies, especially bodies working with other bodies as they attempt to achieve goals that are extreme. As we increasingly face uncertainty and ambiguity within a world whose complexity is increasingly acknowledged, our fascination with these characters, who perform within an environment that has been described as a knowledge industry (e.g. Chacar and Hesterly, 2000; Berman, Down, Hill, 2002; Von Nordenflycht, 2010), makes some sense. Ultimately these very serious past-times offer a rich laboratory for how individuals manage and make sense in complex situations, and to date little attention has been given to the coach as existing within a complex system (Gilbert and Trudel, 2004).

Finally, what makes the transformation of the coach even more remarkable is that the evolution of this technology stands in stark contrast to the darkness that is promoted in Jaques Ellul's (1964), *The Technological Society* and the fears expressed by Erich Fromm (1968) in *The Revolution of Hope: Toward a Humanized Technology*. These authors express concern about how technology was taking control of our humanity in an alienating manner, whereas the coach appears to have gone in the opposite direction. Coaching is now a soft management practice encouraging self-development, growth and independence, it involves a process of going from cop to coach (Muller, Procter, Buchanan, 2000) and is deeply intertwined with an arena where play is central. In taking history seriously, this article has described characteristics that have consistently been associated with this journey. Hopefully, by offering the potential of developing a common framework for discussing coaching across all organizational forms and institutional fields, it has contributed to a smoother ride as coaching struggles to achieve formal and consistent professional recognition (Anderson et al, 1989). At a minimum, to continue to promote coaching without incorporating the history of the concept would appear to provide, at best, only a partial understanding of the coaching phenomena, and, at worst, attempts to avoid this history might hinder our ability to comprehend what coaching means to organizational life.

Section 2: Method and Empirical Data

'You can discover more about a person in an hour of play than in a year of conversation.'

A quote attributed to Plato by the National Institute for Play

Chapter 3

Method, Subject and Object in the Quest for Truthiness

Abstract

This chapter discusses some of the methodological issues involved in studying a phenomenon from a non-traditional field that is seen as resolving problems associated with solutions offered by traditional methods. It discusses more pragmatic approaches and outlines why Actor Network Theory was used to study coaching. Following this discussion it presents the field and the data that was collected.

'Three umpires are discussing their approach to the job over a beer at the end of game. The first umpire declares, 'I call strikes as I see them'. The second umpire declares, 'I call strikes as they are.' The third umpire declares, 'There ain't nothing until I call them'' Quoted in Patton, 2002

Chapter 3

Method, Subject and Object in the Quest for Truthiness

'Was that a penalty? I don't know, in the first period maybe, in our barn, probably not, their barn maybe, but the last minute of the third period in a close game. I don't know, but our guy went to the box so I guess that's the answer

Introduction

In an ideal world methodology does not require much discussion, as traditionally we have assumed that by following the scientific method we produce appropriate answers. However, in recent years those assumptions have been challenged as it appears the world may be far messier than previously thought. Within OMT the recent performance of organizations has contributed to the debate about management research (Bennis and O'Toole, 2005; Ghoshal, 2005; Mintzberg, 2004; Whittington et al., 2003; Cossette, 2004; Chanlat, 1994; Lapierre, 2005) and the role of management schools (Mintzberg, 2004). The importance of these concerns can be measured by how variants of these discussions have served as the central themes of recent Academy of Management meetings that have been seeking a new vision of management in the 21st century (2005) or questioning, as it also did in 2004, 'why our knowledge has not found its way into practice' (Walsh 2008, Academy of Management Program chair). A statement that may be formed into the question, how come coaching has been so successful at influencing practice?

Within this context increasing attention has been given to pragmatism, the importance of understanding phenomena within the domain where it emerged, and an encouragement to experience the phenomena being studied. Specifically it discusses the advantage of qualitative research that describes the field, in what often involves a narrative, thick description, or what is often described as a case (Patton, 2002). Examples of this include Patton's (2002) promotion of program evaluation, Flyvberg's

(2001) phronesis, and what Bruno Latour, Michel Callon and John Law call Actor Network Theory (ANT). In brief Patton encourages research to engage the field on its own terms to better understand how the organization is constructed. Flyvberg stresses the role of practical wisdom, Aristotle's phronesis, within a context that seeks to understand how power both enables and constrains the paths taken by organizations. Whereas ANT, which emerged from the early work of Bruno Latour, Michel Callon and John Law on the sociology of science (Law, 1992; Latour, 2005) has a deep interest in how phenomena grow. What each of these perspectives on research share is they are explicit in their attempts to reconcile the tensions raised by the apparent divide between the practice of management and the ever growing – each year the Academy adds an additional 7000 pages to its archives (Walsh 2008)- database of objective management knowledge, where every.

Following this discussion outlines how ANT, with its emphasis on technology, its understanding of the connections that exist between materials, its link with biology and its stressing of action, influenced and served as a guide for this research project. Ultimately, at its core, ANT believes everything starts with interaction and wants to understand why some small interactions acquire scope, size and power to become 'macrosocial'. How do black boxes, those ideas we accept without reservation, appear? In addition, ANT is also interested in guiding effective action, an interest in action that it shares with sensemaking. Thus while at a macro level the project is influenced by ANT, at a micro level it presents how coaches go about making sense of the challenges they face. Finally, the chapter discusses the data that was collected, why the themes of the body, time, space, and hope are particularly important, and some of the issues that arise when absorbing an intense experience that occurred over a six-month period. As it was during this period that a coach was followed as his team played almost 50 games, practiced more than 150 times, took more than 10 road trips involving a 100 hours travelling some 5000 kilometres on a bus, that is also sometimes called a coach. This experience is highlighted in three chapters that describe some of the details of playing hockey, the events and the thoughts of the coaches as the team struggles to attain their goals.

Methods and Approaching the Subject

Discussing the performance of scientific products is difficult, as it is connected to issues that are not discussed with everyone publicly and there is always some debate in deciding how performance is best measured. Resolving this tension is important for while our discussions highlight a number of challenges for the field and issues that should be considered by researchers, they neither provide a solution on studying a coach nor the difficulties that arise when they are studied within their 'territoire d'origine classico', the fascinating, albeit non-traditional (Wolfe et al., 2005) world of sport. Should one approach an emergent management phenomenon using the same scientific criteria, and implicit assumptions, that produced the perceived need for the phenomena of interest? Reflecting on this question is important as the approach taken to any problem provides a preview to the answer. Law (2003a) observed the selection of a methodology encourages answers informed by the criteria of the method as opposed to the phenomena of interest. In seeking reality we represent the subject of interest in ways that can prevent it from showing itself as it might really be; our method is often a hammer and the world has no shortage of nails.

In management three themes appear quite consistently in discussions involving the results of our research, something the design of this project would like to avoid. First, there is the tendency to transform things we wonder about into questions that accentuate binary thinking. As Egan (1998), among others, observes language represents the world as having opposites, something that constitutes a property of language where good-bad, male-female, black-white are effectively universal present within language. Citing Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900). Egan observes how reality is comprised of connected things with slight variations between them 'There are no opposites: only from those of logic do we derive the concept of oppositions – and falsely transfer it to things' (1968, p 298, cited in Egan, 1998, p. 38). This tendency to focus on what can be opposed has caused a tremendous amount of debate over the years on whether CEOs and leaders make a difference or not (Hackman and Wageman, 2005), the extent that planning is

beneficial or not, is team diversity good or not, do individuals make better decisions than groups or not.

Secondly, there appears to be a great importance placed on the developing rigorous theories based on homo economicus, man as a maker of rational choices, while an immense amount of empirical literature demonstrates the limitations of these assumptions. As we have yet to provide an alternative method for comprehending the issue, OMT has been left with an exceptional ability to seek out answers assuming rational choice within a causal world, all the while consistently demonstrating subjects do not conform to assumptions (Weick and Westley, 1996). The response to these issues have tended to encourage long, qualitative research programs emphasizing empathy (Weick and Westley, 1996), the understanding of structural and contextual conditions (Hackman and Wageman, 2005) and encouraging researchers to get close to the phenomena of interest. Generally this is viewed as developing what William James described as knowledge of acquaintance (James, 1890), something that is frequently linked with the presentation of a case. Being poorly understood, increasingly prominent within traditional organizations, central to sport, and an organizational form that is under represented within organizational research, coaching makes an ideal subject to approach with these issues in mind.

Third, and perhaps most importantly, is the need to be sensitive to the forces that originally promoted the idea, concept, or theory, as taking concepts from one domain and translating them for another opens a host of potential problems. In their study of the succession of coaches in the National Basketball Association, Pfeffer and Davis-Blake (1986) acknowledge that:

‘to extend an idea developed in the study of sports teams, sports teams seemed to be the most appropriate units on which to test our hypotheses. If a different type of organization were used and the extension of the original ideas was not confirmed, it would be difficult to determine whether our hypotheses or differences in the types of organizations in which they were tested were responsible.’ (p.76)

Further support for understanding individuals within this environment is found in the research of Gilovich, Vallone and Tversky (1985). In their investigation into the nature and origin of the hot hand hypothesis (players who hit their last shot are more likely to hit their next one) they discover players, fans and coaches have an erroneous belief concerning the nature of statistics and hold non-rational beliefs about the performances of players. They argue in a series of convincing experiments and interviews that this is true, but conclude:

‘It is evident from our interview that the Philadelphia 76ers- like our sample of basketball fans, and probably like most players, spectators, and students of the game – believe in the hot hand, although our statistics analyses provide no evidence to support his belief. Why do people share the belief that Toney, for example, is a streak shooter if his record does not support this claim? We conjecture that the player(s) who are perceived as ‘streak shooters’ are good shooters who often take long (and difficult) shots. Making a few such shots in a row is indeed a memorable event, the availability of which may bias one’s recollection of such players’ performance (Tversky and Kahneman, 1973). The finding that 77% of the players identified as ‘streak shooters in our survey play the guard position provides some support for our conjecture because long shots are usually taken by guards more frequently than by other players.’ (p. 303)

In other words, what individuals in basketball call streak shooting, may not be a purely statistical term, but something relative or contextualized³⁸. For example take the performance of LeBron, or ‘King’ James of the Cleveland Cavaliers. In Game 5 of the 2007 Eastern Conference Finals against the Detroit Pistons, he fully displayed his talents and shot 18 of 33 from the field (of this 2 for 3 from beyond the arc), and 10 of 14 from the line and finished with 48 points, 7 assists and 9 rebounds. This may not reflect ‘streak shooting’, or even a statistically significant performance, but just an

³⁸ The study really is fascinating but there are two points that are interesting and not discussed. First, they ask players, coaches and fans, about the streak shooting in general, but do not track the actual decisions in the game. For example when a game is on the line, do they actually make decisions based on streak shooting, or do they give the ball to the player they believe is most likely to take the shot; one would expect that Coaches would still give the ball to Michael Jordan regardless of the game he was having. Secondly, they ask fans if a player misses his first foul shot, will he hit the second, and if he hits his first will he hit his second. Most people answered no to the first and yes to the second question, yet one of the individuals whose data is used is Larry Bird, a 88.5% free throw shooter, who rarely missed both free throws. It is hard to imagine people answering this question in the same way if they knew the shooter.

excellent performance for a player of his calibre that falls within his, but way outside our, normal distribution of performance capabilities. However, because LeBron James scored his team's final 25 points, and 29 of his team's last 30, in a period that began with 6:05 remaining in the 4th quarter and included the two overtime periods, the performance was called one for the ages. Calling, LeBron James, a streak shooter, may not reflect a poor application of statistics, but a basketball term that does not involve surpassing the laws of probability but something else entirely. Finding out this 'something else entirely' may require getting in to the action and dropping some of our most cherished methodological tools.

Case Method

For this research project the data was collected with the intent of representing some of the events and issues of the season from the inside. Frequently this is referred to as the case study method, however there are clearly difference in cases, notably cases in medicine often address fascinating events, medical errors or anomalies with mysterious causes. As Fye (2002) states in his President's address at the American College of Cardiology, that, despite the advances in cardiology, when diagnosing someone with an idiopathic dilated cardiomyopathy, the idiopathic means 'we don't understand what happened to his heart'. He goes on to note that while the desire of evidence-based medicine may be to have 2 plus 2 to equal 4, the answer is probably between 3 and 5. In contrast, in management the cases that are presented frequently encourage a methodology that is universally applicable across organizations, and the design and answers in the case often support a rational approach. Typically managers are considered to be poorly skilled, overloaded with information, prone to mistakes, possess limited rationality (Stubbart, 1989, in Melone, 1994 and Walsh, 1988) and are fixated functionally³⁹ (Dearborn and Simon 1958), conditions that can be alleviated simply by

³⁹ In fact, in their oft cited study Dearborn and Simon's experienced students were actually far more complex in their orientation for 'when the executives appeared at a class session... they were asked by the instructor to write a brief statement of what they considered to be the most important problem facing Castengo Steel Company – the problem a new company president should deal with first' (Dearborn and Simon 1958: 141). Of the 23 subjects, 6 included more than one issue, while others responses were so general that they would be of little benefit to the incoming president: 'We should start to think and organize for our peacetime economy' (Dearborn and Simon, 1958: 144). What is not revealed is the

following the appropriate method. Just as Walsh (1988), in his attempt replicate the findings of Dearborn and Simon's (1958), found managers to be far less one-dimensional than typically reported, the success of Honda's small motorcycles in America, had more to do with learning and surviving misfortune than what is explained by rationally analysing their success (Mintzberg, Ahlstrand, Lampel, 1998).

Despite the different traditions, what these approaches involve is the compilation of a data into a form of narrative and a shared belief that engaging the field should give readers a sense of the situation, provide enough information so that issues can be discussed, and offer the potential to take a new perspective on a phenomena or an issue in the field. This will be impacted by an individual's experience of the field, so a text will perform differently depending on the readers background. In this case the idea is to represent the season in a manner that facilitates conversation about the challenges of coaching and organizing performance. The purpose of the case is to better understand coaching, while also providing a sense of what is involved in being a coach. It encourages readers to reflect upon the experience as a way to encourage learning, discussion and sharing of experiences, what Greenhalgh (2007, p.4) described as 'parables for reflection and learning'. Obviously cases employ various and often multiple methods, and each of these can be influenced by various traditions and orientations (Hamel, Dufour, and Fortin, 1993, in Patton 2002). In this instance ANT influenced how the field was approached.

Actor Network Theory and Black Boxes

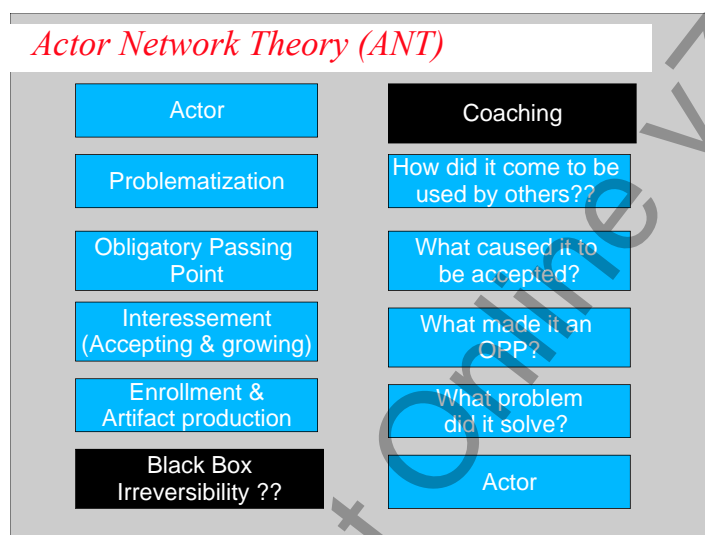
ANT emerged from the early work of Bruno Latour, Michel Callon and John Law on the sociology of science (Law, 1992; Latour, 2005). By following scientists they became increasingly aware that the practices of science and innovation were as constructed as any other practice (Latour and Woolgar, 1986). Latour (1993), addresses the problem of the relationships that exist between objects and subjects, and how it is very difficult to separate a subject of interest, a person, an idea, a chemical, from the

actual key issue. If one did not exist objectively it would be difficult for anyone to correctly ascertain the issue and individuals would be forced to use their most familiar schema.

community of objects that help define it. For this reason it is more accurate to speak of subject-objects as a collective of heterogeneous materials, a person consists of their personal style, education, heritage, and culture, and acts within a network that may encourage or restrain certain actions or findings. As a theory ANT is considered somewhat radical as it includes the relationship between, not only people, but also objects as well, for technology, symbols, texts, and architecture, may become associated with a single punctuated entity (Law, 2003). With ANT the purpose is to capture the reality of the event, and do so in a manner that presents an informative account of the relationships involved in producing the results. As the intent of this project is not to evaluate the program or the individuals involved in it, but the phenomena of coaching, ANT was selected as the approach. Certainly there is a belief that what is revealed might benefit the program and the individuals in it, but this will only occur as a by-product of the process, and it is not the primary purpose of the research.

Of special interest to ANT is the notion of the black box, an entity containing ‘that which no longer needs to be considered, those things whose contents have become a matter of indifference.’ (Callon and Latour, 1981, p.285). This process of black boxing, outlined in Figure 3.1, involves six steps, first there is the phenomena, the original actor. Secondly, there is a problem or issue that becomes associated with the phenomena, what is the first translation. Third, as a result, it becomes increasingly difficult to discuss the problem without invoking the actor, as it has become an obligatory passing point. Fourth, the phenomenon becomes interesting to other actors as it grows and becomes accepted. Fifth, the actor begins to produce artefacts to extend the influence of its network. Finally, the actor becomes ‘black boxed’ as it is accepted across a wide range of domains. As coaching has already become a black box, the purpose of the research is to understand what coaching involves, how it is performed and why it has become so popular.

Figure 3.1 Actor Network Theory, Coaches and Black Boxes



As the black box represents both the known and accepted, and the unknown and mysterious, describing coaching as a black box raises two interesting issues that frame the potential of this research⁴⁰. In one sense, the coach, is very much an accepted black box. Within sport the presence of coaching is so accepted and certain that it can be treated as fact, yet it is also mysterious, as despite its growing influence and the emergence of the \$2 billion executive coaching industry it remains unknown. In effect, making sense of coaching requires two streams of research, one that emphasises a macro perspective that explains the emergence of coaching, and another that focuses on describing coaching at the micro level. By following the coach at the centre of an organizational system the intent of this project is to develop an understanding of this leadership style in a fashion that closes the gap between this influential organizational form and our knowledge of it. Taking this perspective on coaching is seen as appropriate for five reasons, the role of technology, the emphasis on connected

⁴⁰ In the management literature the black box has been used to explore the unknown, the process of institutionalization (Phillips, Lawrence, Hardy, 2004), types of teams (Gibson and Zellmer (2001), what occurs between actions and outcomes (Hung, 2004).

materials, the relevance of biology, the importance of action, and the belief that ANT can serve as a travel guide by facilitating understanding for people that are facing similar situations.

Technology

Sport may be non-traditional, but it is a massive consumer of science –sometimes this consumption is unintentional – but regardless of intent, it is often central to the impressive performances and has been since at least the invention of the flat hulled boat. Highlighting the benefits of using science with this organizational domain is the performance of Earle Connor, a one legged sprinter, who with the assistance of a prosthetic has run the 100 metres in 12.01 seconds. It is nothing short of amazing that if time travel were possible Earle would win gold in that discipline at the first modern Olympics in 1896. In many respects the relationship to science and technology is one of the most puzzling aspects of the strange relationship between sport and OMT, as in Anaheim, where the theme is *The Questions We Ask*, James Walsh, the Program Chair, encourages some reflection concerning the feelings of ‘uneasiness about why our knowledge has not found its way into practice’ (Walsh, 2008), while in Beijing there was some fear participants are far too reliant on science for their performances.

Connected Materials

ANT involves describing the relations between the ‘patterned networks of heterogeneous materials’ (p.2 Latour, 1993) and comprehending how a diverse array of materials can come together to be seen as a singular object that can be treated as unique subject. Speaking metaphorically, Latour (2008), in a discussion on organizing and organizations, notes that it is ‘not like a baton being passed in a race, but much like a whole race, stadium, hot dogs, television rights, illicit drugs, what passes is not a stable fixture but a whole moving assemblage of disconnecting parts’. In this sense ANT traces the emergence of a vast network of heterogeneous materials that comprise sport and in the process highlights how it is not ‘not just them [the athlete] going down the mountain any more but it's also a bank, a drug store, and a car parts chain as well’ (Canada’s former Alpine Ski coach, Curry Chapman, (Kidd 1988; p. 23). As the

world's most popular sport is technically called association football and Latour (2005) has described ANT as a sociology of associations, using this perspective to study the coach, who is often at the centre of this moving assemblage, appears quite compatible and appropriate. Importantly in looking at these assemblages, ANT treats these objects as having a certain agency as actors that influence outcomes.

Objects as Actors

That Weick's firefighter would not drop his tools, for without them what would he be (Weick, 1993), demonstrates the influence objects, such as a coach, can have on our identities, perceptions and actions, and why they are considered to have a type of agency (Law, 1992; Latour, 1993; Latour 2005). Without objects, how we think about and perceive things would be very different. Examples of this include how the invention of the pump facilitated our understanding of the heart (Miller, 1978), how computers shaped our thinking about thought (e.g. Weizenbaum, 1976) and, most recently, how film (e.g. Damasio, 1994; Donald, 1991; Donald, 1997) has had a profound impact on theories of cognition and consciousness. In sport the relevance of objects as actors is crystallized by the significant contribution the Harvard Stadium (Figure 3.2) made to football. This stadium was built in 1903 (for a cost of \$310,000) and was a gift celebrating the 25th anniversary of the 1879 graduating class. It was the world's first massive reinforced concrete structure and was considered an engineering marvel with the architecture drawing inspiration from elements of a Greek stadium and Roman circus. With a seating capacity of 30,898, it was the first large permanent arena for American college athletics, and filling it was as important as beating Yale in the annual match that had started in 1875.

Figure 3.2⁴¹ Harvard Stadium

More significantly football was an entirely different game at the time, and while players are bigger and stronger than ever before, the games were actually far more violent than they are today. Showing football's common roots with unregulated mob football, during the 1894 Harvard-Yale game, there were four crippling injuries. One of the major problems of these contests was a mass formation called the flying wedge, where a large number of offensive players charged together at a defence of the same formation. In 1905, after 19 fatalities that year, and an immense amount of media coverage from an emerging industry, President Theodore Roosevelt threatened to shut the game down if changes were not made. This had two consequences, first it led to the formation of a formal body to govern athletics as 62 schools participated in the creation of the Intercollegiate Athletic Association of the United States, what later became the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA). Secondly, it forced football to address issues with their rules so the games would become safer. One of the proposals made by Walter Camp, given the emphasis on running as a group, was to make the field 40 feet wider so that contact would become less frequent and less dangerous. Of course the proprietors of

⁴¹ Photo by Aaron Frutman. Reprinted with the permission granted in accordance with the creative commons. <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/2.0/deed.en>

one of the only permanent stadiums, with its stands that were so close the fields, were not particularly enthusiastic about the idea. As costs for widening the stadium were prohibitive, Harvard supported the rule changes that would allow the forward pass, and this rule was ultimately accepted as the way to make the game safer. This rule, though not embraced immediately by offences until the 15 yard penalty for incomplete passes was rescinded in 1909, came to differentiate American football into the unique sport it is today, and essentially it was passed because of the limitations of Harvard's stadium (http://www.gocrimson.com/information/facilities/Harvard_Stadium_Football_History; Stern, 1979).

Relevance to Biology

Secondly ANT is perceived as an extension of biology. Despite the fact that earlier pioneers such as Elton Mayo were trained in medicine, and much of the influential research he and his research associates published was derived from a grant to the Committee on Industrial Physiology of Harvard University (Roethlisberger, 1977), today the social sciences pay little attention to biology (Massey, 2002), and much management theory is presented as if the body does not exist (Heaphy and Dutton, 2008). Commenting on the experience of having a social experiment conducted within in his lab, Salks observes how:

‘Bruno Latour, a philosopher-sociologist, began a sociological study of biology and along the way came to see sociology *biologically*. His own style of thought was transformed by our concepts and ways of thinking about organisms, order, information, mutation, etc. Curiously, instead of sociologists studying biologists, who in turn are studying life processes – in a sort of infinite regression – here are sociologists coming to recognize their work is only a subset of our kind of scientific activity, which in turn is only a subset in the process of organization’ (Latour & Woolgar, 1986; p. 13).

What Salks appears to be suggesting is that sociologists are a type of biologist studying the connections between organisms, in much the same way a biologist does, with an

interest in knowing why some interactions succeed and grow, while others do not⁴². ‘At the heart’ (p.1, Law, 1992) of ANT is a belief that everything starts with interaction and a desire to understand why some small interactions acquire scope, size and power and how they become ‘macrosocial’. How has coaching become a macrosocial organizational phenomena and an approach that has become present in a wide array of specializations? What allowed coaching to rapidly emerge in the last decade (Feldman and Lankau, 2005), and become a \$2 billion industry, when, as recently as 1998, the concept was not contained in a text book such as Schermerhorn, Hunt and Osborn’s, *Basic Organizational Behavior*, the text used in McGill’s MBA program?

The Importance of Action

Finally, while ANT is primarily descriptive, it remains pragmatic concerning individuals’ responsibility/need to act, and encourages the development of tools that may enhance the quality of the action. At a pragmatic level it involves how these things are connected, and how these influence the actions that are taken. Weick’s emphasis on sensemaking, with its stance that action shapes our view of the world, shares a similar stance as ANT⁴³, especially when looking at the action of individuals at a micro-level. The importance of these connections is evident in Weick’s (1993) analysis of the Munn Gulch disaster, where tragedy strikes during the response to what was thought to be a routine forest fire as the responders, individually and collectively, are increasingly unable to make adequate sense of their situation:

⁴² Latour (2005) pushes this point to the extreme when discussing Gabriel Tarde who felt the social represented a principle of connections, something that implies the words nature and social are somewhat synonymous. A similar point is explored by Eisenberg (1995) when he discusses the full implications of how the human brain is constructed socially. In the first sense it is generally accepted that our concepts of brain and mind are situated and developed by beliefs, sciences and politics of our times. ‘The second and more challenging implication is that the cytoarchitectonics of the cerebral cortex are sculpted by input from the social environment because socialisation shapes the essential human attributes of our species’ (p 1563). This is also common in physiology which holds you cannot describe an organism without its environment, Posner (1993), whose work has contributed to founding the cognitive school of management states ‘If the neural systems used for a given task can change with 15 minutes of practice ... how can we any longer separate organic structures from their experience in the organism’s history?’. Neither Posner or Eisenberg are discussing ANT, although Posner does abbreviate his work on attention in the neural system as ANT, but are simply stating the implications of our interactions with environments. Replace social with natural and socialisation with interaction and no meaning is lost.

⁴³ Law asserts that the processes of punctuation and translation are similar to other contemporary social theories, Giddens ‘structuration’, Elias ‘figuration’ Bourdieu’s ‘habitus’, just as Weick discusses ‘structuration’ and ‘punctuation’ (Bougon, Weick and Binkhorst, 1977).

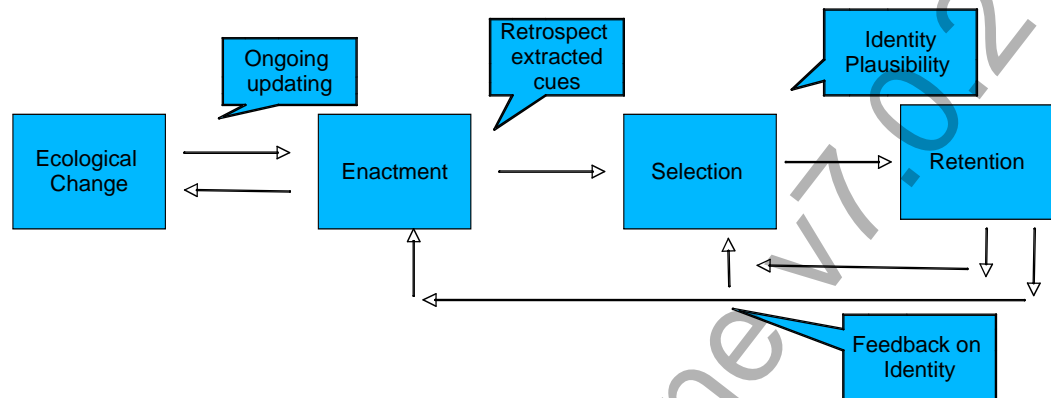
‘As the fire gains on them, Dodge says, ‘Drop your tools,’ but if the people in the crew do that, then who are they? Firefighters? With no tools?... and then, to everyone’s astonishment, he lit a fire in front of them and then lie down in the area it had burned. No one did, and they all ran for the ridge. Two people, Sallee and Rumsey, made it through a crevice in the ridge unburned, Hellman made it over the ridge burned horribly and died at noon the next day, Dodge lived by lying down in the ashes of his escape fire, and one other person, Joseph Silvia, live for a short while and then dies. The hands on Harrison’s watch melted at 5:56 (p.90), which has been treated officially as the time the 13 people died...’ (p. 635 and 629)

This analysis parallels the approach taken by ANT when describing the existence of teachers within the classroom, and how a projector participates and helps define the lecture student relationship (Law, 1992). Essentially this can be translated as: What is it about a coach that makes them a coach? What it is about coaching that makes it attractive and causes it to be retained? What is it in the process of sensemaking that they cannot drop?

In this context sensemaking reflects the basic idea ‘that reality is an ongoing accomplishment that emerges from efforts to create order and make retrospective sense of what occurs’ (Weick, 1993, p. 635). This implies two things, first, somewhat paradoxically effective sensemaking decreases the need for sensemaking, as what occurred is viewed as sensible. Secondly, when sensemaking falters, and is thus required it is focused on equivocality (interpreting events that could have many meanings) and gives primacy to the search for meaning as a way to deal with uncertainty (e.g., Mills 2003, p. 44). Obviously if one performs near their limits, they are frequently effective at making sense, but will often require sensemaking as it is at the extremes where sensemaking is most required. As discussed in Chapter 2 (Stec, 2009; Stec, 2010), Coaches largely emerged to manage in these situations, intuitively this suggests the popularity of Coaching may reflect the significance of the questions Weick is attempting to answer and suggests studying Coaches might provide valuable knowledge about managing at beyond the edges of our competence. As a result, explicit efforts at sensemaking would occur, and are most important when the current state of the world is perceived to be different from what would be hoped or expected. This

means a feeling that spurs the question, 'same or different?' activates sensemaking. When the situation feels 'different' sensemaking, as a skill, becomes relevant as it becomes an important issue when the organization experiences a lack of sense. Effectively sensemaking privileges the role the past plays within the present, the texts we see are based on past events, as they shape, regardless of how accurate they represent reality, the actions that influence the future.

More formally discussions of sensemaking invoke seven characteristics. First it is grounded in identity construction, in that it holds that it is difficult to take action that is inconsistent with one's identity, and doing so typically requires a justification no matter how tenuous. Secondly, it is retrospective, contrasted with traditional modern notions of 'decisions', where the facts are laid out in front of you and you make a choice, sensemaking reviews the past to confront the future. Experience matters. Third, in confronting the future, a sensible present environment is enacted. Fourth, sensemaking is a collective process, in that it involves interactions with other agents enacting sensible environments. These combined interactions can make someone's new environment either more or less sensible. Fifth, it is ongoing. This distinction might be imagined as the difference between target shooting while on the bow of a boat in choppy waters, where one must constantly adjust, or target shooting with one's feet firmly planted on stable ground. Sixth, it focuses on extracted cues; it seeks understanding for sensed items that cannot be explained because they are unusual, it exists within the space between the future that was anticipated and the present that is apprehended. Effectively the need for sensemaking is augmented by nonsense. Seventh explanations for these items are driven by plausibility, what is primary is not that they are truly, but that they remain consistent with the expectations that are linked with the identity of the sensemaker. In combination the characteristics of sensemaking create a perpetual process of enactment. This process consists of 4 stages and these are presented in Figure

Figure 3.3 Sensemaking Enactment Process

The enactment process begins with a change in the environment that triggers the question ‘same or different’. Answering different augments the efforts at sensemaking as one reflects (retrospective) upon the past to identify the difference. Explanations for these items of difference that are plausible, in that they provide useful justification and make sense are sought. These explanations provide feedback and are retained as the process ‘begins’ or continues by asking same or different. By following the Coach at the centre of an organizational system the intent is to develop an understanding of this phenomena in a fashion that contributes to our understanding of performance cycles in a way that is consistent with the notion that ANT may be viewed as a travel guide.

A Travel Guide

The emphasis on the sensemaking of coaches within their action filled environment is consistent, especially at the level of the Coach with ANT, as Latour encourages thinking of this methodology as a travel guide (Latour, 2005), and the idea of a map is central to actions taken within this perspective (Weick, 2001; Cossette, 2004; Mintzberg, Lumpel, & Ashland, 1998). In addition to this, the idea of a travel guide invites the subjects to participate in the confirmation of the findings. This invitation is extended as it attempts to develop knowledge that is directed at managing the issues faced by the participants who are being studied. The more accurate the description, the more likely it results in a tool that solidifies, contributes, shapes or facilitates navigation

along networks with similar properties. To successfully complete this approach, Latour (2005) proposes the following thought experiment about this type of journey:

‘Imagine the following scene: you try to build a bridge over a rather tumultuous river. Let’s say that one bank of this river is the ‘social’ and the other, far away, inaccessible, separated by a violent current, by many eddies and dangerous rapids, is the ‘natural’. Suppose now that, instead of trying to cross this river and to build this bridge, you decide instead to go with the flow, that is to get involved in a bit of canoeing, kayaking or drafting. Then the absence of a bridge is not such a problem. What counts is your ability to equip yourself with the right paraphernalia in order to go down the river without drowning yourself. You might be scared to get into the turbulent river, you might regret the task of bridge building, but you will probably agree that the two riverbanks are bound to look rather different once you apprehend both of them from the point of view of such a kayaking movement forward. This flowing lateral direction, turned at 90° from the obsessionnal question of bridge building, is, if I am not mistaken, what William James has called ‘pure experience’.’

Change social to discussions of management, and natural to management science, and this metaphor describes the current relationship between the domains of practice and theory. Sport represents a river that has become quite strong, informs discussions of organization via metaphor, and permits studying of sport via existing concepts and questions within OMT⁴⁴, but not as a domain where organizing is perpetual, even though it is popular and frequently experienced from both vantage points. In taking the perspective of ANT sport becomes an organization, moves beyond metaphor, and provides the questions guiding this research project and suggests a method for capturing the experience of coaches. It is by following the coach during an entire season that it attempts to develop an understanding of the coaching phenomena, explain why it is growing, and provide a tool for individuals involved with teams.

⁴⁴ In sociology Ball (1973) describes this as ‘a sociology through sport, using sport data to address more general sociological questions’ (p. 97, italics in original (In http://physhed.otago.ac.nz/sosol/v5i2/v5i2_1.html)). Wolfe et al (2005) allude to this point when they observe that many phenomena are studied in sport, but this is different than studying sport per say, a domain that is not given systematic attention.

The Field Study (Jumping into the river)

At a pragmatic level this study involved an extensive period of participant observation that spanned an entire season of hockey, what is probably the most popular Nordic sport, Canada's 'glorious scientific game' (Farrell, 1899; p. 23) and something of a national religion. In hockey, each team has 5 skaters (plus the goalie) who play at a time, while the other skaters rotate in and out of the game somewhat continuously. A hockey team usually consists of 20 players, usually this means there are 12 forwards (4 lines of 3), 6 defenseman (3 pair), and 2 goalies, of which only one plays. All the players play, but they do so five at a time, with the line of forwards and a pair of defenseman playing a shift lasting approximately 45 seconds. Players change during the game or when the play stops, not always in a unit, and on occasion a play can continue continuously for over 3 minutes, meaning everyone on the team may have played during one extended continual stretch, and in many respects this continuous play makes hockey the most similar to soccer, both in terms of its reciprocal nature and the continuous flow of events.

Another characteristic of the hockey team is the existence of what are called special teams, they are used when there is a penalty and one team must play with less than 5 skaters. In the contemporary language of OMT, teams can be described as task forces (temporary), teams (somewhat permanent), and crews, which are defined as 'people assigned as the need arises to an existing set of tools designed for a specific purpose' (Arrow and McGrath 1995 p. 380). Hockey then represents a team consisting of crews, the lines and defence pairings, and task forces, the special teams representing the power play and penalty kill. In this sense, in addition to the highly reciprocal nature of hockey, it is also very sequential as each line plays one after another, and during the power play the team attempts to create open shots for a skilled player, much like they do in basketball (Stec, 2008).

In hockey the sequence of plays is unpredictable and open, and the successful execution of skills, occur primarily in a continuous fashion. As compared with baseball (no time clock) and football and basketball, the time clock runs for extended period of times in hockey. The decision-making is completely decentralized and specialization (aside from

the goalie) is restrained, all participants are required to have the same skills, there is some specialization based on the position of the player but the overall skill set is the same. There are certainly players who are more skilled than other players, but all players require a minimum level of competence for each required skill. In this environment, to paraphrase Thompson, we would have players with overlapping responsibilities differentiated functionally to correspond to segments of their task environment, and each to operate on a decentralized basis to monitor and plan responses to fluctuations to others players moving in and out of their environment (Thompson, 1967; p. 73).

The fact that in hockey all the players share the same field of play, with a greater overlap of responsibilities make it a more complicated form of interdependence than basketball. All of which suggest hockey is more than just a convenient field for research, but also that it is somewhat of an ideal setting as the structure of the game captures the tensions of interest expressed by Wolfe et al (2005), represents the hybrid between basketball and baseball that Keidel (1987) feels best captures the tension of traditional organizations, and involves the different types of teams that are discussed within discussions of OMT. The primary subject of the research is the Coach of the hockey team with an interest in what Coaches did and how he and his staff made sense of their season.

Surrounding the coach and his coaching staff were the players, plus an additional staff providing service (physiotherapy, communications and equipment) and more specialized services (medical and sport psychology) who were present as required. Finally, surrounding the team were supporters in the form of family, fans, former players, friends and significant others, and the media. Within this setting my role was to be that of an observer whose participation was to include providing generic advice on management issues, though ultimately it was far more observation than participation. The expectation was that I would be granted extensive access and be able observe the activities of the coaches and their interaction with the players during practices, games, pre-game rituals, road trips, meetings, and other activities associated with the team. In negotiating this access only two requests were made by the coach: that I respect the privacy of the players, and two, that I not detract from performance.

In total the research project entailed five phases. The first phase involved the collection of data, the second involved compiling, synthesizing and coding the data for relevant themes, and the third phase involved researching the themes that appear and linking them to the relevant literature. The fourth phase focused on increasing the coherence between the literature and the data, by encouraging participants to validate the themes from the research and submitting papers derived from the field research to conferences. The fifth phase involved validating the results of the study and putting the whole thesis together by integrating the feedback from participants, my committee and the anonymous reviewers who commented on the chapters that were submitted to conferences.

Phase 1: Data Collection

Data was collected over the course of the entire season from the team's first meeting until their last gathering at the end of the season. This data is divided into two primary types, personal notes and organizational texts. In addition a small survey was distributed to the players as means of providing them additional details about the research project. During the course of the season field notes were written describing the range of activities observed. The texts that were collected can be separated into internal texts, those created by the team for either internal or external communications, including but not limited to (scouting reports, player evaluations, practice plans, web based game reviews etc) and external texts, those created by other organizations such as media outlets.

Field notes

The field notes taken consisted of three types, one focused on the setting, one focused on dialogue and events, and the other addressing issues, observations requiring clarification and theoretical notes requiring further study. Given that the setting and routine are consistent, the first type were primarily descriptive and provided an account of where the research occurred. The second type focused on capturing conversations and the unique events that transpired. Doing so in this type of environment is challenging (Latour and Woolgar, 1986) and in combination the sensitivity, the

intensity and the number of people talking in a confined space made taking verbatim notes of the dialogue impossible. Following the observations notes were taken to highlight issues that were discussed, outline events and describe portions of the dialogue. The third type of notes focused on my personal experience, potential interpretations, and raised questions that could be researched later.

Organizational texts

Throughout the season, articles published in various newspapers and press releases from the team were collected, as were documents concerning practice plans etc.

Table III.I Types of Data Collected

	Participant Observation	Media Coverage	Internal Communications	Team Documents	Video
Practices	X			X	
Games	X	X	X	X	X
Bus	X				
Meetings	X			X	
Road Trip	X			X	

Phase 2: Synthesizing Data

When performing qualitative research (Patton, 2002), it is important for the researcher to approach their subject without biases or preconceived notions, and draw conclusions from the field. Doing so is difficult not only because we are human, but also because institutionally there is a tremendous pressure to state ones objective and possible findings prior to starting a project; because -it will be interesting- is unlikely to secure funding or produce a guaranteed paper. Further to this, approaching a field in this fashion extends the time required by the researcher, as if they had no preconceived notions, they should not have knowledge of the themes that are discovered. Once all the data was collected and reviewed, a narrative was created that attempted to capture the experience of the participants. Following Weick's (2001) maxim of how do I know what I think until I see what I write, this narrative attempted to compile the events of the season and capture the experience of the coach.

In doing so it tried to represent the season, the data and important events in a variety of ways. First, it tried to capture the day to day rhythm of season of hockey as it follows a remarkably regular pattern. This is the field, or arena, from the most macro perspective as it sets the stage for the particular season where the research occurred. Secondly, it tried to capture the events that comprise the season as it went from training camp to the playoffs; this case is nested within the macro perspective that constitutes the rhythm of hockey. Third, layered within the events of the season are series of incidents and representative discussions with the coach during the season. For each portion of the season an incident or a problem is described as coaches attempt to make some sense of what is happening and what they should do. In addition, to highlighting these incidents, a summary of the conversations with the coaches is provided to outline some of the perceived challenges they are facing as they try to attain their goals during the season.

Phase 3: Making Sense of the Season and Investigating Four Themes

As patterns and themes emerged from the narrative they were compared with the field notes and texts, and this contributed to the development of internal consistency between sources as I attempted to create an accurate representation of the coach and the teams season. In addition, given the abundance of sport coverage, this phase was also sensitive to whether the same themes and issues were present in other media reports. During this period four themes emerged that informed the perspective taken on the emergence, significance and role of coaching. The first of these involved the role of the body within sport, it is difficult to conceive of a field study on sport that is not aware of the body in motion and the senses that are involved in playing or watching sport. Importantly this theme contributed significantly to the first two chapters of the thesis, as the skills performed regularly in sport have contributed our form, and travelling with a coach as he sits at the front of the coach while gesturing like a coachmen as he discusses coaching highlights a surprising number of connections. The second theme involved the cyclical and repetitive nature of sport. Sport comprises some of the most discussed, watched, and exciting events on our planet, yet behind these heavily mediated images is a tedious routine, that begins the same way each day. This theme revolved around the notion of beginning at the start, not continuing from the end, and

then beginning again, something that contributed to writing a case that returns to the same points repeatedly. As with the first theme, the importance of beginnings also contributed to the extensive discussion of history that preceded the chapter on methodology.

The third theme draws attention to the notion of space and relates to a player's comment that coaches often appear to have 'a split personality'. Something that brings to mind a Japanese saying 'A man is whatever room he's in,' as the character and appearance of the coach were drastically different dependent on where observations occurred. The fourth theme involved an athlete's observation that the coach is everything an effective manager is and more. In effect understanding Coaching involved asking: What is the more involved in Coaching? On the final day of the season a coach summarized the disappointing result by declaring how 'we thought this might happen, but hoped it wouldn't'.

Why Hope

Trying to synthesise an intense experience that spanned 6 months and involved a certain awareness of the team for another three seasons is remarkably difficult. The relevance of hope was derived from three perspectives, first it involved an analysis of the data that was gathered, compiled and used in transforming the fragments of pieces of conversation into the description of the season. The second perspective involved that which was gained as a participant. Though these two are obviously intertwined, and certainly interacted with each other as the events of the season were synthesized together, there is an important distinction. Regarding the analysis, hope appears as a fairly neutral component, it is there but can be difficult to feel, whereas as a participant, hope, while being a regular and frequently positive, if not innocuous aspect of participating, was also a highly negative experience, especially as it pertained to false hopes. Importantly, as a participant, I was not particularly enamoured with hope. My first interaction with hope was actually quite negative and I was quite resistant in making hope an explanatory and central component of the thesis. But in trying to report

the season, the presence of hope, while ultimately being disappointing, could not be avoided as it fluctuated constantly.

The third perspective is discussed in Chapter 7 and involves the historical and philosophical link between these domains. For now it suffices to say that sport is ‘the last residue of passion in the old religious sense and all sports are ceremonials’ (Giddens and Pierson, 1998; p. 36), though play and passion are typically considered less civilized (Giddens, 1986) and are not seen as serious topics because of their playfulness (Giddens and Pierson, 1998). Coaches, as discussed in Chapter 2, are very much the product of our modern era and what they do occurs after technology, often with the latest products of modern science, though they are concerned with actions and skills that are widely neglected by modern science, and these skills were central to our evolution (Chapter 1). It is as fair to say, and perhaps more accurate, that sport is the institution within our collectives that remains connected to what made us human, as it is to say it is ceremonial and less modern.

Hope and the Data

It would be true to say that hope permeated the entire season. At the onset of the season the Coach was quite apprehensive about expectations surrounding the team as their hopes for a championship were elevated. They expected to be a better and more experienced team than in the previous year. Their ‘hope to get another shot at the League Nationals after last year’s campaign ended in heartbreak’, where after having scored ‘one of the biggest goals in my career,’ a player says ‘hopefully there will be bigger ones yet to come.’ In addition hope appeared frequently whether as a response to the scoring production coming from unexpected places ‘Hopefully, they won’t decrease’, playing on the fourth line ‘work hard and hope to get a third shift each period’, playing within the system, ‘You have to keep doing the things you’ve been doing the whole game that have made you successful. Then hopefully the goal will come,’ so finally a game where ‘All five goals were scored at even strength, an area in which Joey N. had hoped the team would improve’. Something they will need as they will have to ‘win all three of these games and hope that the Maroons lose to Wanderers

if they hope to win a second straight division title'. There will be hope to decrease the hopes of others as 'Stingers' hopes of making the playoffs were fading fast' as they were 'needing at least a tie in order to keep their playoff hopes alive' which they get in a big game to 'keep playoff hopes alive'. As unexpected losses increased hope for the season they desired was decreased, though hope that this would change increased, as a good game would restore hope. In this sense hope was an element that was always on the move, and could appear in different forms:

'This year we really hope to win it' (We always hope, but this year it is more realistic)

'(In the past) the best we could hope for is to win a period, never a game' (What is hoped for changes)

'That will teach us, we approached the game as if we had no chance, if we think we can win it is possible' (Without hope, there is no chance)

'We hoped this wouldn't happen and tried to prevent it (There are some aspects of hope that can be controlled)

'During this period, we hoped are injured players would be able to return and they have (There are some aspects of hope that cannot be controlled)

'If guys react like that there is no chance of you guys winning' (Some things cannot be done if hopes are to be achieved)

'We have to play like he will not return to the line-up' (Some hopes can damage your prospects)

'Last year our recruits were not high impact players, this year they have some talent, and talent does give the team a sense of hope' (Hopes rises and falls)

'It's a cliché but we have never been in this situation (realistically challenging for a title), you are told about it but until you experience it (Being close to what you hoped for feels a lot different than being far away)

When you expand discussions of hope to include words often used in lieu of hope and those broadly related to various conceptions of hope and their synonyms, desire, expectations, despair, possibility, uncertainty, passion, fear and virtue, and objectives, the relevance of hope becomes increasingly evident. These words frequently appeared during conversations, and the synonyms of hope and related words such as hopeful are

found in Table III.II, as saying ‘we desire’ or ‘we expect’ can, philosophical differences aside, be taken as the equivalent of saying we hope.

Table III.II Synonyms and Antonyms of Hope

Hope		Hoping		Hopeful	
<i>Synonyms</i>	<i>Antonyms</i>	<i>Synonyms</i>	<i>Antonyms</i>	<i>Synonyms</i>	<i>Antonyms</i>
Expect (ation)	Despair	Eager	Dread	Confident	Pessimistic
Desire	Doubt	Expecting	Fearing	Expectant	Distrustful
Chance	Apprehensive	Counting on		Optimistic	Cynical
Trust	Discouraged	Trusting		Encouraged	Negative
Anticipate	Fear	Anticipating		Buoyant	Fearful
Wish				Positive	
Aspiration				Belief	

To put the frequency of these synonyms in perspective, in the 100 media reports and press releases, hope and its synonyms appear a 142 times, though if you include the word goal this number quickly rises to 500. Within the three chapters that comprise the case that was compiled, the synonyms appear over 200 times. In effect without the vocabulary in Table VI.II it is difficult for Coaches to discuss their players, opponents, games, goals and personal desires, and virtually impossible to write about the season with confronting the language of hope. As a Coach would say when presented with Table VI.II, ‘yep those are the words we use’. In contrast, when you look at all of the literature published by the Academy of Management during the last ten years, hope is a keyword supplied by the author on only one occasion, is found only 4 times in the abstracts of author supplied articles and is never once considered the subject, though arguably much of the popularity of management schools may be traced to student’s hopes of getting ahead in good times, and their hope not to fall behind in bad times. In the context of the growth of coaching, this absence is significant, especially given Manfred Ket de Vries (2010) description of coaching as being involved with the hopes of individuals.

Hope and Participation

It would also be true to say that in addition to the presence of hope, that when following a group of individuals working hard to attain a difficult goal you cannot help but hope

that they will be successful. Having this feeling appears to be consistent with the positive experience the 10 authors of a *Journal of Management Inquiry* shared in their article exploring the synergies between sport and management (Wolfe et al., 2005) and how a symposium at the Academy of Management in Montreal argued that what makes sport unique is the presence of passion (Cameron, UY and Wolfe, 2010). And it is also probably true that some of this hope involved my belief that a winning team would make for a better thesis, if not easier, as who wants to write about individuals and their failures. It would also be true that while I hoped the team would win, I spent most of the second part of the season walking to the arena feeling a bit like Ben Affleck in *Good Will Hunting*. In this movie Affleck's character is responsible for picking up Matt Damon, and everyday he stops by, he hopes Damon's character will not be there as he will have left and moved on to better things. For me I entered the arena hoping that the athlete who had suffered a concussion in the preseason would no longer be suffering from post concussion syndrome and would be out on the ice playing with his team mates, instead of sitting in the stands with me. Ultimately he would not, and after watching two seasons from the stands he retired from competitive hockey, though he continues to play recreationally as he completes his law degree.

All of these are true and support the conclusion drawn from the analysis of the data and the compilation of the season, but the reality is that although hope is tremendously relevant and productive aspect of being human, the first interaction with hope was not positive. It occurred on a weekend during two exhibition games, where some players were concerned there was something different, one of which was the energy on the bench (a lack of positive energy), while Coaches were concerned about their players, especially those supposed to be leading. These important players were a bit lost (something that was witnessed), and discussions that alternated between fears that they were being too hard on players because of the eagerness to do well and worries that they were also going soft. Specifically, it was following an exhibition game against an elite team on the continent; it was the second of the two exhibition games that weekend, the previous day they had lost in overtime after having been out shot 51 to 18.

Admittedly this game was only one of a series of exhibition games and I had only watched my team play 7 games. Included in this were a playoff game in each of the two previous seasons, 2 league games and 3 other exhibition games. However, during this game my subjects were completely outplayed and dominated by the opposition. Sitting in the press box the opponent's media person was astounded at the play of our goalie and wanted to know the details of the goalie's career, as he was clearly the best player on the ice. Of course he was informed about his status as an all-star, team MVP, League MVP, his notable academic achievements, and how he had attended a rookie camp for an NHL team. Meanwhile on the ice my team had been unable to clear the zone for what seemed like an eternity, but was really only about a two-minute stretch that gave our goalie plenty of opportunity to demonstrate his skill.

During this shift, while my team was trapped in their own end, our opponents cycled the puck with ease while they also managed to cycle their lines repeatedly. As they had continuous control of the puck, one of their tired players would leave the ice and be replaced by a fresh player. As our players on the ice became increasingly tired, the players on the bench became vocally frustrated at this exceptionally long shift. Making matters worse is my team only had a short change, meaning that to make a change they only had to clear the zone, all they needed to do was get possession, chip the puck out and they could get a fresh body or two on the ice. Ultimately, our opponents did not do any damage on what was certainly one of the longest shifts I had ever witnessed, but with a previous game presenting a similar challenge (two massive and accurately listed forwards of the six three- 230 pound variety versus the liberally listed 5.7 and a remarkably generous 180 pounds) there appeared to be some problems gaining possession of the puck.

So as our stats guy openly contemplated whether a shot from the defensive end should be counted. It was, but technically a save does not constitute a shot if it was going wide, so it was counted as a shot because it was deemed, somewhat ambitiously, that if there had been no goalie the shot may have entered the net. Of course, whether it was or was not a shot did not impact the outcome of the game which ended with the following

statistics, shots for 23, against 30, penalties 9 (for 18 minutes), penalties for the opposition 13 (for 26 minutes), a power play that scored on 2 of 11 chances (and generated 15 of the 23 shots), and a penalty killing unit that did not allow a goal on six chances (and only conceded 5 shots, meaning on 5 v5 hockey they were out shot 25 to 8), conceded far more scoring chances, but ultimately won 3-1. On what was my first, and actually one of my few experiences of a happy bus, the Coach declared 'What a game, when I was a player the best we could hope for was to win a period, and we won the fucking game, awesome', a statement that the assistant coaches greeted with some enthusiasm.

My internal dialogue to this statement was, are you crazy and demented. It looked like men against boys; they had possession in your end for over two straight minutes!!! I have never seen anything like this. If this is a positive the team you played for must have been awful. To win this game involved an amazing goaltending performance, a deserved advantage in power plays that was the result of the other team's stupidity, not because of anything particularly positive your team did. So yes, you took advantage of their preseason form, and yes the power play produced some goals for you, but the other team missed an incredible number of chances. They rotated their lines, not just once but all of them and you guys could not make a change. Christ with a two man advantage your PP is like 1 for 20 and without exceptional goaltending performances your players feel they have no hope of winning. As your team was loading the bus after this awesome victory the last group of players got on the bus, but they neglected to inform their team members that someone's equipment was still on the sidewalk. I realize I am primarily here to observe and not to disrupt the team, and though I am unsure what will constitute a disruption, I am certain that as the last guy to get on the bus I should not leave the equipment next to the to the bus. I am also certain that if I mention this that I will detract if not ruin the happiness of the bus, as I am pretty sure not loading one's own equipment is a no no, especially as players are benched when they are late for the bus (if not left behind). So as the last guy to get on the bus I loaded the equipment, but, that I did so after watching team-mates not take corrective action, and good team-mates cover for each other, and that these team mates were veterans, veterans that are

supposed to take leadership roles, troubles me deeply. This is not a positive, you may be ranked, but if you are hopeful that this type of performance is adequate, if you are satisfied with a victory when you have been outplayed, you are deluded and while I have promised to respect your players and organization, I have to write a thesis, and as you are my subject I would appreciate it if you would get a grip on reality, because it is what I am supposed to present.

In fairness, my internal dialogue might be considered overly dramatic, and subsequent conversations between Coaches revealed similar apprehensions about the accuracy of their hopes for the season. Essentially my reaction to the Coach's expression about realizing a hope captures the longstanding tension between hope as a pivotal and central component of being human and the potential for hope to mislead us. As from our earliest western myths to a popular movie like *The Shawshank Redemption*, where Red, another of Morgan Freeman's unusually wise characters, waxes philosophically about both the necessity and dangers of hope. From this perspective, it can be understood why Frederick Nietzsche, in *In Human, All Too Human*, describes hope not as a gift from Zeus, the Greek God who lived upon Mount Olympia where he was honoured during the ancient Olympics, but as the most evil of evils because it prolongs man's torment (1996; p. 58).

Phase 4: Increasing Coherence

The amount of data created by this project, to say nothing about the experience of following a coach, was substantial and sometimes overwhelming. This phase focused on making the presentation of this information far more coherent with the data and the literature that is relevant to the themes that were identified. This was challenging for various reasons. First, it is a strange experience to be studying a subject that while not considered a traditional academic subject, is a subject that individuals are interested in, have an opinion of, and knowledge on. Secondly, unlike traditional narratives, where anonymity is relatively easy to assure, the results of sport are publicly available, and often posted on the Internet. When Adler and Adler (1988) did research on an anonymous college basketball team, few results were posted on the Internet, but even now an educated guess suggests it was the University of Tulsa. It is a stressful process

to consider how to represent events that occurred in a public domain where there is interest, with information that is generated in a private space. As a coach would say (not about a player on his team), ‘I was surprised the story in the paper said that about the performance, saying a player cost the team the championship is one thing when they make millions, it is another when they are a student’. That everyone asks who, makes respecting privacy challenging, especially as one hopes to discuss portions of the thesis publicly.

Third each game is something of a product launch, representing the difficulties and successes of numerous launches is difficult, as everything that is said relates to the failure or success of the performance. Whenever I missed performances, there was no context to the conversations. Related to this is the challenge of ordering observations and linking statements to situations in manner that contextualizes the events. On any given day conversations would discuss past games, games that are about to be played, or games in the future, in much the same way issues were discussed repeatedly on different days; for coherence these representations are grouped. In addition representing the season required some simplification. In sport films, not all the players and coaches have their characters developed, and outlining the season necessitated taking a perspective that did not include all possible perspectives, ultimately it focused on the experience of the coach. Therefore to increase coherence the results were presented to some of the coaching staff, and their comments and concerns were then integrated. After doing so the description of the season was provided to additional members of the coaching staff, an improved presentation was given and feedback was taken. In the process this improved how the quality of games were assessed, and though the text will always perform differently depending on the experience of the reader, for participants it did bring back memories about events and discussions, and is a ‘fair representation’ of the challenges they face.

Phase 5: Authenticating Results

The validity of a research project and the quality of the findings are usually assessed according to one of five criteria (Patton, 2002). These include, Traditional Scientific

Research Criteria, Social Construction and Constructivist Criteria, Artistic and Evocative Criteria, Critical Change Criteria and Evaluation Standards and Principles. Traditional scientific criteria emphasize objectivity, causal hypotheses and theory with the belief they capture reality, and when performing qualitative research is often associated with Strauss and Corbin's (1998) grounded theory (Patton, 2002). Contrasted with this tradition are more constructivist criteria, which place less emphasis on objectivity and accept relativity when judging the validity of the findings. In this approach consistency amongst multiple data sources, particularity and the contribution to dialogue are emphasised. Artistic criteria involve judging the extent that a world is opened to us in some way, the degree it stimulates, provokes and connects with the experience of those involved. Critical change focuses on raising the consciousness of individuals concerning inequalities, injustices, structural barriers, and how power privileges some and impoverishes others. For some this approach can appear radical, but less radical evaluative criteria of critical research would include Flyvbjerg's, phronetic method, which, pragmatically, acknowledges power gaps but recognizes that all of us exist within a complicated web of power relationships. Evaluation standards stress the importance of systematic inquiry that is performed in a fashion that respects participants and is aware that due to the utilitarian nature of the research there is a responsibility to the public at large (Patton, 2002).

Either Constructionist or Artistic criteria should assess a project influenced by ANT. In this case Artistic criteria⁴⁵ is emphasized as the study occurs in a world that is secretive (Adler and Adler, 1988) non-traditional (Barr and Robinson, 2005), and that has been given little systematic attention (Wolfe et al., 2005; Devine and Foster, 2006). In addition our tendency to treat sports organizations as if they 'exist in a separate domain' (Sommer, 2006; p. 288) and neglect non-traditional organizations (Bamberger and Pratt, 2010) makes this criteria the most appropriate for this subject. For this, and all the other aforementioned reasons that encourage this methodology, the Artistic Criteria are

⁴⁵ Patton's distinction between social construction and artistic criteria, is one of degrees, as enhanced and deeper understanding is essentially the same as opening the world in some way, the selection of artistic criteria as more important is based on how artistic criteria integrates feeling, as the 'feeling dimension is every bit as important as the cognitive dimension' (p. 548, Patton, 2002).

deemed most important to determining the validity of this project. These criteria are highlighted and contrasted with the other criteria in Table III.III. For the purposes of this project those criteria that are both ***bold and italics*** are primary, while those that are *italicised* are seen as secondary, of this project.

In addition to the artistic criteria it would be naïve to think that the results of this project will not be evaluated by a wide variety of secondary criteria involving the groups who have been involved or who may take an interest in this project. These include the academic community, the participants whose actions are represented and practitioners, the larger group of individuals and organizations whose response to the project depends on whether it has any utility. Though the tensions between these different groups are difficult to reconcile, highlighting them is important, especially when the field project occurs largely within the confines of a hockey arena, is an activity of substantial interest to many people, and produces a text that will be interpreted differently depending on the experience and background of the reader.

Table III.III Approaches to Articulating Truth

Scientific Criteria	<i>Social Construction/ Constructivist Criteria</i>	<i>Artistic Criteria</i>	Critical Criteria	<i>Program Evaluation Criteria</i>
Objectivity Validity of Data Systematic Rigor Triangulation Reliability Correspondence to Reality Strength of Evidence Contributions to theory	<i>Subjectivity acknowledge Trustworthiness Authenticity Triangulation Reflexivity Particularity Enhanced and deeper understanding Contributions to dialogue</i>	<i>Opens the world to us in some way Creativity Aesthetic Quality Interpretive Quality Flows from Self Embedded in lived experience Stimulating Provocative Connects with audience Voice distinct Feels true or 'authentic' or 'real'</i>	Increase consciousness Identifies sources of problems Represents problems of less powerful Makes visible the ways in which those involved take action, Engages less powerful respectfully Builds capacity for change Praxis Clear historical values context Consequential validity	<i>Utility Feasibility Propriety Accuracy (Balance) Systemic Inquiry Evaluator Competence Integrity Honest Respect for people Responsibility to general public</i>

Academia

For the academic community the intent of this study is to contribute to our basic understanding of a significant institutional form and popular organizational phenomena. Academics should consider this a successful research project if they have a new understanding of the significance of sport, the implications of using this popular organizational form as a metaphor, and most importantly the relevance, and implications, of coaching as a contemporary management concept. Ideally scholars who have research interests that have not been examined within this institutional setting will see both the potential for research and the challenges represented by the field. In addition as this project was exploratory in nature and provides a different perspective on organizing, it should also outline possible future projects that can be performed with more traditional criteria.

Participants

For the participants the most important criteria concerned elements associated with this exercise involves recognizing the challenges they faced and a sense that they were respected. In addition, as the majority of the participants were athletes with a significant amount of education, it is seen as important and appropriate that the findings from the project enhanced their understanding of the dynamics of their own organization in a manner contributing to their education regarding organizational life. Ideally, because the model and findings are based on my observations of them, they will see some of themselves and the other participants within my representation of their season. For this reason, where possible this thesis has been written in a way that respects these readers. The intent has been to attempt to write about academic concepts in a manner that is accessible, and perhaps even interesting, although it is also probably meandering and longwinded, as it attempts to put their experience as athletes into a greater context. As with academics there is a desire for them to understand questions that are asked concerning the attention sport receives, the benefits that athletes accrue from participation, how sport impacts identity and what participants might have gained from these experiences.

This dilemma is not foreign to the athletes I studied; they too find the attitudes towards sport to be problematic. Early in this research, during one of my first conversations with an athlete on what I was doing, I was informed, quite emphatically, that sport received far too much attention, some noted somewhat uncomfortably that when meeting people the most frequent questions involved their experiences playing with current NHL superstars, whereas others were frustrated at being represented as Neanderthals. Some of the experiences appeared to mirror those of former U.S. Presidential candidate Bill Bradley who was routinely amazed that individuals took his height and ability on the court as related to his intelligence off the court.

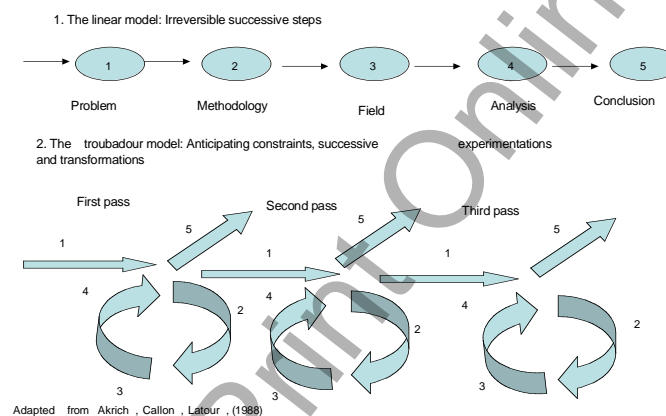
Practitioners

Given that the coach was not only a participant but also a practitioner, whose practice was the subject of the research; the intent was not to inform practice. From a practitioner perspective, as with academic and participants, this thesis can be considered successful if as a Coach one develops a better understanding of their practice and why it faces the issues it does, especially concerning education and respect for the profession that serves as the foundation of this popular concept. In addition to this, Chapter 8 is presented in a way that offers Coaches a different way of understanding the challenges and skills required in their profession, it provides something of a navigational tool. What is significant about this perspective, is that it provides a different perspective on the skills involved when leading, and thus also on the role of cognitive diversity when managing performance cycles. In combination, this potentially provides a new dimension when constructing teams that are more capable of leading themselves as they navigate performance cycles.

Finally, although the phases of the research project were discussed in a linear fashion, a more accurate representation of the process is described in Figure 3.4. Here the research project is presented as occurring via a series of 3 loops, each of which contain five steps. In this representation the first loop consists of the Comprehensive Exam and Thesis Proposal. The second loop emphasizes the observations that occurred within the field, the collection of data and its synthesis, and included the challenges related to

being in the field and researching some of the ideas that were generated from the research. During the third loop, the emphasis was on synthesising the analysis, concluding the thesis and authenticating the results from the research project. Progressively each loop deepened my understanding of Coaching, its relevance and its role in organizing.

Figure 3.4 Graphic Representation of Research Program



Limitations and Challenges of the Field

All methods and research projects possess certain limitations and difficulties; this subject is certainly no exception. Anyone doing field research has encountered similar challenges involving extended time in the field (long road trips), meetings that never end where you cannot excuse yourself, and schedules and circumstances that are not under your control.

Institutional and Macroenvironment

In a discussion on reflexivity and the construction of their subject Hardy, Phillips, Clegg, (2001) observe how they have created a research subject that is entirely different than that of other disciplines whose objectives were to understand the same subject. Citing Latour (1987), they observe that publishing an article is as dependant on the

journal that is selected as the quality of the paper. This issue was writ large on this thesis project as various institutional forces impacted the field research. First, HEC Montreal is in a city where '*la ville est hockey*', media stories on hockey are the most popular, hockey is widely seen as religion, the peoples' game, and something that can be used to explain the nations' and the country's problem, but sport is not included in the program that emphasises managing in cultural industries and organizations. Secondly, in combination with an unusual topic, my research background, having an MBA as opposed to a Masters', made it difficult to secure adequate funding for a project of this scope. On the whole the research occurred within an environment, where the topic was not well received. The lack of funds⁴⁶ made doing extensive interviews at the end of the season unfeasible and this impacted how depth was pursued, as increased emphasis was placed on describing the environment (first type of field notes) and the reactions to the field study (third type of field notes). In addition, as it was not possible to compare different in depth interviews, far more attention was given to finding consistency between field notes, public sources of data (news reports on sport), and academic texts that discussed the relevant themes. Ultimately these combined to support the synthesis of the field data (second type of field notes) and provided an interesting way of triangulating the data, as conclusions could be drawn from various sources.

Assumptions about the Field Environment

The proposal for this project occurred after the team had just finished a successful season with a young team and was expecting to improve. On this basis it was assumed that being present would provide many opportunities for discussing coaching and what contributed to becoming successful. The season was nothing like it was supposed to be, and this impacted the type of conversations one could have. For example there was a dramatic change in the leaders of the team, and therefore there was a far greater emphasis on developing leaders than was expected. Doing research on developing leaders in this domain should prove interesting, especially as there is substantial

⁴⁶ Another complicating factor involved a family emergency that occurred at the beginning of the season after I had spent time with the team. Having gotten a sense of the data during the summer, I had planned to have discussions with various players and staff, but I had to leave town suddenly, and when I returned almost a month later, the season had started and the window had closed.

turnover in athletic teams, but researching and focusing on this aspect would have been fascinating but inappropriate. A project looking at this issue would have to involve multiple teams, coaches and players as a way to ensure better generalizations and make participation far more anonymous. If this issue impeded research, the season being different permitted made the issue of performance cycles prominent, as instead of performing at the level that was expected, the team was far more inconsistent.

Particularities of the field

In addition to the environment being different than was expected, there were also three specific challenges associated with researching the coach of a competitive hockey team. These include gaining acceptance, and then defining and determining my role within the organization, the ethical obligations of the researcher and the distance from the action, each of which impacted data collection.

Acceptance

First and foremost, sport is somewhat secretive and gaining acceptance is not an easy process so while becoming an accepted member of a group can be difficult, becoming an accepted part of a team is more difficult. This impacted the time it took to become familiar with the participants, how best to participate and observe, and presented some problems regarding the issues of accessibility. In Adler and Adler (1988), this dimension was overcome by taking 5 years in gathering their data on intense loyalty. In their research one individual became an assistant coach and participated, whereas the other researcher focused on compiling the experiences of the assistant coach doing the fieldwork. Further complicating the process of acceptance was the fact that the coaching staff has known each other in some capacity for over a decade. The sensitivity to insider outside status that was challenging to Adler and Adler (1988) in their study on loyalty within sports, presented the same type of challenges and these impacted how notes were taken.

Originally I intended to spend the first part of the season observing and having individuals become comfortable with my presence in their environment before

documenting conversations in real time. This was seen as appropriate for while being granted permission to observe, it seemed that prior to documenting what was said between a player and coach in the office after a game, or about upcoming line up changes, that I should have had some informal conversations with players. It was one thing to provide a formal explanation of your research program as you inform your participants, and quite another to take notes about who is not playing within the Coach's office, then continue to take notes in the same notebook as the player is informed about their play, and *then sit with the same player watching the game*. In total, there were four issues that made the issue of note taking difficult.

First, I had promised not to interfere or become a distraction, having not taken visible notes from the onset meant I would have to change how my presence was perceived and this might potentially cause an issue. Secondly, at the beginning of the season it was assumed things would go well, so what was an excited group became increasingly nervous. Third, there are long periods of inaction/silence when on a bus, or watching a practice, followed by bursts of activity where 7 people are talking at once. Or, put another way, my first extended participant observation involved a 42-hour period. This made it physically impossible to document everything all the time and challenging to document 'interesting' conversations without indicating to participants what exactly was being documented in way that was potentially disrupting to some and might be problematic to others. Fourth, there was, especially given the difficulties the participants faced, the potential for the notebook, to be a distraction, spending time in the coaches office and spending time with players in the stands created the potential for participants to wonder what was in the notebook, as my access was to conversations they were not privy to.

When these reasons were explained to the Coaches and the players who inquired, they agreed, thankfully, that I had not been a distraction, and that taking the decisions I did, though it meant I performed way more observations than I intended, probably contributed to my being somewhat invisible as my routine was fairly predictable. From a more academic standpoint this seems justified, as when Rond (2008) did his research

on a rowing squad he allowed the crew to have access to his notes during the research period. This caused some discomfort, and many individuals associated with Cambridge felt the research should be stopped. Fortunately he is a tenure track professor and had the full support of his school, and even though the Dean was able to convince powerful alumni that the project should continue, Rond (Personal Communication, 2008) acknowledges if the Coach decided he should no longer be present, his project was done. As a PhD student studying a non-traditional topic who lacked the same powerful institutional support, I had no such luxury and so the approach was overly cautious.

Ethics

The importance of ethics when performing research cannot be emphasized enough when interacting with human subjects. Ideally researchers do not disrupt the territory they are investigating, in reality this cannot be avoided. Even when doing research in traditional organizations, where more formal schedules, tasks and roles may permit 'easier' observation, difficulties abound. Recent legislation in certain jurisdictions making employers liable for behaviour inducing psychological damage creates potential problems for researchers. Even though the researcher is trying to generate management theory they must also have some knowledge on what is acceptable organizational behaviour. At what point is a researcher bound by ethical obligation to interfere?

For example in 2004, Quebec became the first North American jurisdiction to include protection against psychological harassment of employees in its Act respecting Labour Standards. Psychological harassment is defined as:

'Any vexatious behaviour in the form of repeated and hostile or unwanted conduct, verbal comments, actions or gestures, that affect an employee's dignity or psychological integrity and that results in a harmful work environment for the employee. A single serious incidence of such behaviour that has a lasting harmful effect on an employee may also constitute psychological harassment.'

Included in a list of activities by The Quebec Labour Standards Branch (Commission des normes du travail) are a broad range of actions that might constitute a breach of the labour legislation:
Making rude, degrading or offensive remarks.

Making gestures that seek to intimidate, engaging in reprisals.

Discrediting the person: spreading rumours, ridicule, calling into question aspects of the person's private life, shouting abuse or sexual harassment.

Belittling the person: forcing them to perform tasks that are below their station or professional skills.

Preventing the person from expressing his or her thoughts, e.g. yelling, threatening, constant interruption, and prohibiting the person from speaking to others.

Isolating or shunning the person by not talking to them, ignoring their presence, or isolating them from others.

Destabilizing the person by making fun of their beliefs, convictions, tastes or political choices.

Fortunately, even though guidelines exist, most sporting organizations are not bound by this legislation, for, as is often pointed out, actions that take place on the field of sport would not be legal on the street, a point made frequently about fighting in hockey, especially when minors are involved. As politicians in Quebec made clear during a recent provincial election, sport operates under different guidelines. In June of 2007, when a soccer referee ordered that an 11-year-old Muslim girl from the Ottawa area remove her hijab while on the soccer field or be banned from play in a major tournament in Laval, north of Montreal, Premier Charest supported the decision stating, 'My understanding is that the referee applied the rules of the soccer federation'. Premier Charest went on to reminisce about playing 'games when the referee stopped the game so that the players could put their T-shirts in their shorts' (Gazette, 2007).

This placing of sport outside traditional boundaries does not change the challenges of doing research in this field, nor the ethical obligations of doing research. The stance that I took in approaching this organization is to accept the culture of the organization. In addition it was also accepted that the institution of hockey is aware that problems have arisen⁴⁷, but it is also believed that given that management has not studied phenomena

⁴⁷ I have addressed this issue in a paper titled: *Rewarding crime and punishing discipline: The economics of penalties and their impact on outcomes in competitive sports*. This paper compares the economic costs of penalties across different sports, as each sport has something of a different payoff when taking a penalty and this impacts the style and strategies of play and was presented at the 2011 annual meeting of the Administrative Sciences Association of Canada.

in this domain, it lacks the expertise necessary to participate in these important conversations that are central to our national identities. It is noteworthy that when a committee was formed to review the issues surrounding fighting in the Quebec Major Junior League, none of the 7 management faculties in the province of Quebec were a part of this organizational discussion.

It is believed that this type of study can produce knowledge that might be beneficial, especially to those concerns involving Coaching, and this project was approached accepting hockey for what it is. However, within this context, I would have felt obliged to raise an issue with the Coach for two reasons. First, from a health perspective any information I received concerning an unreported serious injury (i.e. a concussion) would be reported. On one occasion this did happen as a player taking physiotherapy had judged that a player, who was not disclosing the extent of his injury was actually too hurt to play. He informed me and during a meeting I revealed what I knew, as the player wanted to play. I am certain that the Coaches felt that he was unfit to play, but I felt that testing this theory would have been inappropriate.

Secondly, as part of discussions on the team, there is an expectation that if I have management knowledge that might improve performance, it will be shared. This would include the tendency for behaviours that seemed inconsistent with basic management theory, to be questioned. This did not mean that I could prevent unethical behaviours or bad management practices, only that I could seek explanations about those tendencies. For example after hearing the coach ask players who did not mind being yelled at, I discovered that in the old days screaming at players was a lot more common. In fact some players would enter the office and request it, they would let Coaches know they were ready, willing and able to be yelled at, if it was thought it would help the team, and some players think they need it to play better.

Finally, doing this type of research can be remarkably difficult as one of the tenets of doing good field research is to avoid preconceived ideas of the field, presently both the requirements of a thesis proposal and the need for ethics committee approval appear inconsistent with the ideals of some qualitative approaches. Compounding this issue,

when exploring a territory that is unfamiliar to both the researcher and the evaluator of a project, it is difficult to have the answers to some questions without gaining access to the field. Given, one is technically not allowed to access the field without having approval from an ethics committee; it can be quite difficult to begin research and given what will happen during a season, even with a well planned project, it is virtually impossible to know what questions would be appropriate at the end of the season. It would appear that the reviewing qualitative projects might be enhanced by something of a two-step process. One step involves access and ensures individuals receive information that a study is occurring, while the second step addresses more particular issues that may emerge from the field.

Barriers to Participation

Hockey occurs on the ice, a space not accessible to the researcher. It might be possible to participate in practices at ice level, but generally speaking I was removed from the on ice action. Some researchers have attempted to reduce the distance between the action and the observer; Sands (1999) has fully participated in sport, by playing football, joining the track team, and competing in an extreme sport. Admittedly, this option was possible as I do have 5 years of eligibility left, but it was not considered to be a truly feasible option. A short list of reasons would include the lack of a slap shot, a remarkable unwillingness to back check, and knowledge of my own personal velocity; for when skating, quick is not the appropriate adverb. With these shortcomings in mind, the next three chapters present the season of hockey that comprised the field research.

Summary

Just over twenty years ago in the introduction of the *Handbook of Organizational Behavior*, Lorsch (1987) comments how ‘Organizational behavior will be important to the head coach of a professional football franchise’ (p. vii), and, though this is certainly true, coaching is absent as both a concept or as an example in the chapters on teams (Hackman, 1987), first-line supervisors (Schlesinger and Klein, 1987), middle managers (Stewart, 1987) and general managers (Conger and Kotter, 1987). Today, coaching is no longer just associated with sport but has become an important management concept that

is associated with a way of leading (Goleman, 1998), managing (Mueller, Proctor and Buchanan, 2000), developing people (Garvey, Stokes, and Megginson, 2009) and enhancing the effectiveness of teams (Hackman and Wageman, 2005). Despite this popularity, coaching is somewhat ill defined and the management research that exists has been described as having a black box feel (Feldman and Lankau, 2005). Essentially coaching is both known and accepted, and unknown and mysterious. The lack of management attention given to coaching is surprising, as coaches have played a central role for over a century in the games that constitute a significant aspect of our cultures.

This chapter has outlined why ANT produces a particularly relevant method to look at coaching for it takes into account technology, history, and connections, while also being concerned with the pragmatics of actions. As with Callon's (1986) story of the scallops and the fisherman of St. Brieue Bay, where he observes that predicting how the drama would unfold was not possible, so too with the remarkable transformation of the coach and growth of coaching. How exactly would this popularity have been foreseen? In lieu of framing this history within an explanatory framework, this thesis attempts to allow the actors to speak and describe what they do. In doing so this account of the history of coaching has provided a sensible rendering of the various elements that have combined to encourage coaching. As a result, this article has placed coaching within an historical context and has described a number of characteristics that can be understood as fundamental to coaching.

In a more macro sense taking a methodological approach where the fieldwork is influenced by a retrospective perspective resulted in a far greater historical scope than was originally intended. Importantly, this is where the data generated by the field work led, as hope, like the motor skills that comprise our most popular sports, has an exceptionally long and important history. Taking this long view deepened the understanding of the coach as Chapter 1 and 2 provided a history of sport and of the transformation of coaching. Chapter 7 describes our long history with hope, and in doing so demonstrates there is something of historical connection to sport. Chapter 8 responds to the question, how do Coaches manage performance cycles by outlining how

their relationship with hope influences this process. Chapter 9 discusses the question, what does coaching mean to contemporary management and suggests that coaching involves a different conception of the world than that that is maintained by traditional approaches to management.

In combination these chapters integrate the four themes that became apparent during the time in the field, the analysis of data and reflecting upon the experience. These include the inescapable presence of the body, the 'split personality' and how these personalities were linked with a particular space and a certain aspect of hope (the third theme) and a fourth theme that revolved around the notion of beginning at the start, not continuing from the end, a theme that is consistent with the emphasis on hope and an idea of time that is not simply linear but also cyclical. In Giamtti's *Take time for Paradise*, a book outlining his deep appreciation of sport and his love of baseball, he observes, among the many unique characteristics of baseball, that it has a home plate that both teams share. This thesis, especially having taken a couple of seasons to complete it, was influenced by this notion of returning to the same place to begin again. Sport, given it's intimate connection to our roots, does seem to capture this idea, for it constantly seeks to do better, but also regularly returns to the fundamentals to ensure the basics are not forgotten. It incorporates both notions of linear time, where we progress and enhance performance over time, as bad is certainly getting better, and circular time, as every season begins again at the beginning. Experience certainly helps individuals quickly get up to speed, but there is a reason the start of seasons cause so much anticipation and apprehension. With this in mind the next Chapters 4, 5 and 6, try to capture the experiences involved in a season of hockey.

Chapter 4

Habits and Habitat

Abstract

This chapter describes the environment where coaching occurs. It outlines the rhythm and cycles of events that are involved in a hockey season. In doing so it concludes by presenting the coach as involving 3 personas or selves, what an athlete called a split personality.

'Nobody on the outside knows the dynamics of the team... how the pieces are fitting emotionally, the only people who really know are the people on the inside'.

Steve Kerr General Manager of the Phoenix Suns during an interview with Chad Ford on the NBA dish as part of ESPN's Daily Dime

Setting the Stage for a Hockey Season

In hockey terms, seasons are divided into four sections, training camp, or making the cut, talent, systems and guts. Talent refers to the early part of the season where the success of team is primarily attributed to the overall skill of the players on the team. Systems is the second portion of the season, during this period success is determined by how well the team performs as a unit, how effective coaches are in designing a defensive and offensive systems that mitigate a team's weaknesses and enhances its strengths. The portion of the season described as guts refers to the season that begins when teams require points to secure a spot in the playoff and continues until a team is eliminated from the playoffs. Reinforcing the notion of guts is the often-told tale of the Edmonton Oilers, one of the most talented teams ever to grace the ice, as the players realized after they lost to the New York Islanders in the Stanley Cup final, that they lost because the other team had more desire.

'Kevin and I loaded up our troubles and our junk and made our way to the bus. We both knew that we were going to have to walk by the Islander's locker room and we were dreading having to see all the happy faces, the champagne shampoos, the girlfriend's kisses the whole scene we both wanted so much. But as we walked by we didn't see any of that. The girlfriends and the coaches and the staff people were living it up but the players weren't. Trottier was icing what looked like a painful knee. Potvin was getting stuff rubbed on his shoulders. Guys were limping around with black eyes and bloody mouths. It looked more like a morgue in there than a champion's locker room. And he we were perfectly fine and healthy. That's why they won and we lost. They took more punishment than we did. They dove into more boards stuck their faces in front of more pucks, threw their bodies into more pileups. They sacrificed everything they had. And that's when Kevin said something that I'll never forget. He said: That's how you win championships'

Wayne Gretzky (In team binder)

College Hockey

As a sport hockey generally runs from early in the fall until the beginning of spring, although professional hockey now finishes sometime in June. In college hockey,

training camps begins during the second week of September and, if all goes according to plan, which it will for only 6 of the 31 teams, the season will conclude at the Nationals in late March. In college hockey the talent portion of the season usually involves the first 8-12 games of the season, the systems portion typically involves games from 10-22, and the guts portion begins around game 18 though this is entirely dependant on where the team is relative to their goals. The first game of the 28 game season is October, 15th and the final game of the season is February 10th.

Aside from the two-week break at Christmas, the schedule is the following. Tryouts last for two weeks and the players are on the ice almost everyday. Teams will be finalized during the first week of October. After that the schedule becomes fairly standard. There is a practice Monday at 4:30, Tuesday is an off day, although once of month there is a spinning class for cardio, Wednesday, there is a practice at 4:30, on Thursday the practice is at 6:30, unless the team is leaving for a road game, in which case the practice is at 4:30 and the bus leaves at 6, and on both Friday and Saturday there is a game. Sometimes there will be a game during the week, but normally the games are on the weekend. When on the road, the team gets on the bus immediately after the game and will arrive back home sometime between one and three in the morning. Sunday is a day of rest. On occasion, players who are trying out for the team do not realize the commitment it takes to play college hockey and it becomes a challenge to balance school and hockey. The habits required to be an effective student athlete are demanding. Between practice, workouts and games players spend about 20-25 hours a week on hockey related tasks from mid September until the end of season and this does not include the time on the bus, which can be as much as 15 hours a week.

From a coaching standpoint, the schedule is similar, but the hours are worse. 'Monday's practice are usually technical and flow driven, as it is after the off day, so the idea is to get them skating. If I skate them for cardio it is normally on a Monday. Wednesday's practice typically focuses on what we have noticed after reviewing the video or talking with the players. Thursday's practice is a pre game practice, this means that we will work on an aspect of our game that needs to be improved, later in the season this might involve working on an adjustment because of an opponent, but most importantly we try and get our legs goings, so we do a lot of flow drills, and we end the practice with a fun

game. These games are usually modified hockey games involving multiple pucks, extra players, three teams, and rules that prevent players from moving freely’.

‘It would be nice if I had more time to spend with my assistants prior to practice as we have little time to discuss the practice but we make do. Fortunately, we have done this for a while, so we can get by with a little less organization, as we all know what we are doing.’ Basically during a season everything revolves around the arena and a routine. In this routine, that includes some long extended bus trips, Coaches go from preparing and practicing to games, while pausing to reflect on the performance at the practices and games. You can tell if a Coach is preparing as they will be dressed casually, if they are at practice they will be wearing a track suit, for games they will be wearing a suit, and when reflecting they will invariably be in some state of undress, be it a removed or loosened tie or, as occurs occasionally after practice, a heated debate may begin while someone in the room is lacking pants.

Arenas

Arenas are a necessity for hockey and they are the same no matter where you play, or what level you play at. The Air Canada centre may be bigger than your average community centre, and its concessions are certainly more expensive, but like the beer that hockey fans tend to drink, there is a remarkable consistency to the design and feel of arenas. Like the fabulous beverage that is associated with hockey, each arena also has its own personality, some have the boards are forgiving, in others the glass is renowned for producing irregular bounces, some have hard fast ice, making it easier to skate, while others have soft ice, meaning it slows the game, some appear intimate, others intimidating, some make it difficult for the visiting team, some are plastered with advertising and others control the temperature. In a surprising display of hospitality the visitors’ room is frequently painted prior to the guests’ arrival and maintenance of the showers, air ventilation and heating systems occur regularly.

The claim by Arthur Farrell (1899), in *Hockey: Canada’s Royal Winter Game*, that hockey is the world’s most scientific sport may be due to the fact it requires an arena. The hockey arena differentiates it from other sports, as more than any other sport, hockey requires the creation of space for the game to be played. All sports require a

constructed space but other major sports can be played outside on a wide variety of surfaces, soccer is popular because it can be played anywhere, including, as a popular method of warming up prior to the game, in the lobby of arenas. Team sports such as football, baseball, and basketball only require basic equipment, a ball, stick, hoop, and an open flat space. A space for hockey does not magically appear, it is created as even when played outdoors with no boards someone has to remove the snow. This is evident in the first known picture taken of hockey game during a winter fair in Montreal, as it is the snow surrounding the ice surface that creates the field of play.

The Arena

The Chiefs' Arena, or in hockey terms, the Chiefs' barn, is nestled into the lower part of a local famous landmark. It is up behind the athletic centre and the stadium, named not because of his relationship with an influential company, but in honour of a former athlete who excelled in track and field, racket sports and hockey, who lost his life in a war. The Arena, is named after the major benefactor, and does in fact look something like a barn. It has been there since 1956. It originally held 3500 people but its capacity was decreased to 2500 in 2000, when it is renovated to coincide with the celebration of an important anniversary in the Chiefs' hockey program.

As you enter the arena through the main doors there is a plaque honouring the individuals and organization who donated money to the project. Although the arena now contains less people, it has an improved concession and ticket area, improved lighting, new boards, time-clock, and a 2500 square foot Alumni Hockey Lounge permitting alumni, and family to gather to watch games from the South Side of the Arena. More importantly these renovations included the addition of two locker rooms, a small exercise room and offices for both the men's and women's hockey coach. Prior to this renovation the space for the teams was cramped, making it hard to take advantage of playing at home. 'Today, the space we have is luxurious compared to when I started coaching. I mean now I have an office, where as before I had a curtain, tell me how can you have a private conversation, with a player or about a player, with a curtain separating you from everyone else'. Together these changes certainly increased the capacity of the coaches to recruit players to the hockey programs.

Facility Operation

On a daily basis the facility operates from 8 in the morning until 12:30 in the evening. On occasion it opens earlier as coaches will sometimes schedule practices at this hour during training camp, but it is more likely they will arrive to provide extra ice time to players who want to skate or injured players trying to recover. Over the course of the year it hosts approximately 1000 games, in the form of 7 intramural leagues, one alumni league and the home games for both the men's and women's teams, plus recreational skating, shinny games, excursions for day care, figure skating, hockey lessons, and any other public or university groups who wish to rent the available ice. In total approximately 100,000 individuals use the rink during the academic year.

Looking towards the back of the arena you pass through the doors on the left, which everyone who uses the arena for recreational purposes does. When you do use these doors, you have to struggle to get through the narrow doors with wide hockey bags to the 4 change rooms on the west side of the building. Few people have passed through these doors and not commented on the size and difficulty of entering the hallway that leads to the dressing rooms. If you do not have a hockey bag and walk down the hallway be prepared to take a deep breath, not only because you may not appreciate the odour, but you may have to flatten yourself against the wall to let someone pass with hockey equipment. Approximately 99.9% of the individuals who use this facility enter and sit themselves in the stands situated along either side of the rink, or pass through the doors on the left to the recreational dressing rooms. It is a constant source of amusement for recreational players that an institution with a long relationship to hockey failed to design a corridor that took into account the size of hockey equipment.

The temperature

Though the building has been renovated and the lobby, concession area, dressing rooms and varsity space are much improved, the climate surrounding the rink, like most arenas is dependant on the weather outside. During the winter when leaving the lobby and concession area brings upon a drop in temperature. It is cold. When it is a warm winter day outside, it remains cold inside. When it is cold outside it can appear colder inside. This is not as noticeable when you skate, for the increased circulation of the blood by an

active heart warms you up, but if you are not moving you will feel cold, and if you don't feel cold, you can see your breath, not in August, but probably in January. In February, even the coach will wear a toque during practice. On one occasion, in another arena, a player will even do his pregame warm up while wearing his winter jacket.

During a game, the heaters might be turned on, but even then, it can be cold. This sensation of temperature may not be as present in heated arenas, but from the stands to the ice, the temperature drops, and the closer you get to the ice, the colder it feels and smells. This may be because heat rises, and ice, artificial or not, by definition is cold, but the closer you get to the ice the more likely you will feel the cold. If you get close enough to the ice you may even smell the cold, or at least get the sense of a texture indicating it is colder down here by the playing surface. Whatever the reason standing next to the ice feels different.

The Ice Resurfacers

If you enter an arena, be it in Dubai or Dawson's Creek, and wait long enough you will see what is technically called an ice resurfacers, but known as a Zamboni. Before time was standardized, church bells used to indicate the passage of time by sounding at regular intervals, inside an arena the Zamboni does this. The schedule of a rink is broken into the time intervals associated with the resurfacing of the ice. In some arenas this will occur hourly, in others every ninety minutes, but where you find an arena you will find this schedule as the Zamboni ensures every event begins with a fresh, clean and smooth sheet of ice. Depending on the temperature this process takes around 10 minutes, during which the Zamboni does approximately 12 loops of the ice as it picks up almost 1500 pounds of snows while it floods the ice with 1200 pounds of water (<http://www.zamboni.com>). In summer you can recognize a hockey arena because it is the building with a pile of snow outside.

The lounge and concession area

The renovated lounge and concession stands, increases the space for socializing, team meetings, and studying while simultaneously serving as a shrine to the impressive history of hockey at the college. When you walk up the stairs to the lounge you pass a large laminated copy of the first written rules for the game of organized hockey,

published by James Creighton, in 1875. Throughout the lounge and the concessions area, the walls contain old photographs, including that of the first hockey game, the Chiefs's first women's team, and the portraits of legends who have played for Chiefs; the names of these players are familiar to anyone who has played the game of hockey. Despite the presence of this history it is difficult to say how many people take notice of these photos, as I myself had been in this arena over a hundred times and had never really noticed the historical significance of any of the pictures or the plaques.

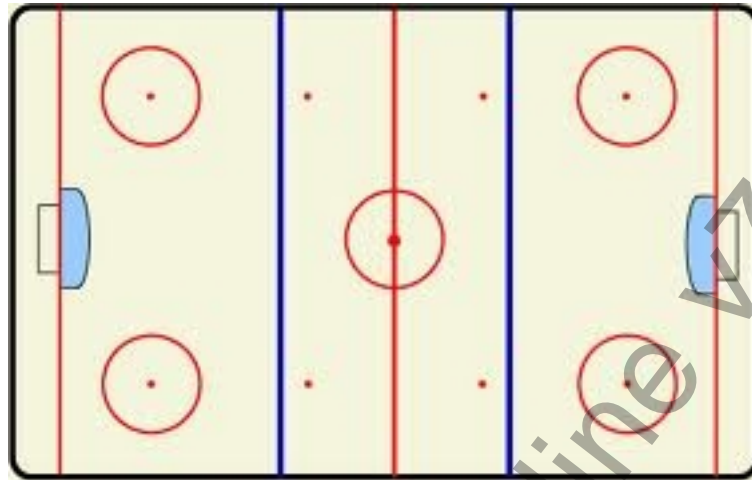
The stands

The general seating remains, as it was fifty years ago, hard red wooden seats, unless of course you sit in the last row, here there are benches whose back support consists of a brick wall, regardless of whether you sit or stand, the floor is cement, and it is cold, or more accurately it is chilly in September, cold around November and very, very cold in January and February. In the middle of the building, hanging from the rafters, directly above centre ice is the scoreboard that keeps time during the games, shows the score and tracks the time remaining in penalties. Each side of the scoreboard is decorated with the Chiefs' logos and the insignia of local sponsor. Hanging from the scoreboard are the flags of all the regions represented in the league and that of the Chiefs.

Here on the right there is a banner hanging in front of a secluded hanging area hangs a banner for a cellular company, on the left in front of another other secluded sitting area, there is a banner for a telecom company. At the far end of the arena there is an advertisement for beer, hockey equipment, Bauer-Nike and Sherwood's Axiom blade, athletic beverages, Power-Ade, and for a website, doyoulookgood.com. Similar to professional arenas banners hang from the ceiling highlighting past championship seasons and great former players.

The Playing Surface

The surface at the Chief's barn is essentially the same as at other rinks. Standing outside of the playing surface and looking down the rink from end nearest to the lounge, there is a sheet of ice, 75 feet and 150 feet long, making it an average size rink. The ice surface is divided into various spaces as outlined in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1 Ice Hockey Playing Surface

It is beneath this scoreboard where the puck is dropped – the faceoff- to begin games, start periods, after goals and when the referee needs to restart the game after making a mistake. Not a mistake, as according to players and coaches they make lots of these, but an officially acknowledged mistake, like when the whistle is blown by accident, when this happens the puck is dropped at centre in the neutral zone.

The playing surface is divided into three sections, the neutral zone, the space between the two blue lines, and an offensive and defensive zone. A game is divided into three twenty-minute periods and the object is to score more goals than the other team. If at the end of regulation time the game is tied, there is a five-minute sudden death overtime. On the sheets coaches use to track performance there is a triangle in front of the goal. This space is important to protect when defending and when attacking the more shots released in this area the better. A team is happy when the majority of the shots they concede happen outside this area as, though the puck travels in excess 85 miles an hour, these shots are relatively easy, and should be stopped. When they are not, they are bad or soft goals. In hockey soft is bad. Soft goals, soft players, soft on the stick, soft in the corners, soft ice, all of these are not good. A soft shot is called a muffin. The major exception to this is hands, soft hands are important. Soft hands make hard skills look easy. No matter how hard a team works, no matter how hard you try, no matter how willing you are to go hard to the net, or play hard in the corners, if no one has soft hands goals are hard to come by.

Today the arenas housing professional teams have playing surfaces surrounded by advertising, it is found on the bleachers, the stairs, and sometimes painted on the ice. Although there is no advertising on the playing surface the Chiefs coat of arms is painted at centre ice. This logo is derived from an armorial device used by an individual associated with the founding of the university. Its meaning reminds people that for things to grow hard work is required.

Varsity Space

On the right there is a hallway leading to the locker rooms of Chiefs's varsity team. The hallway looks the same, except for a red curtain that serves as a barrier on game days. Walking down the hallway, there is the locker room of the women's team, the coach's office, then there is a small hallway that leads to the rink. Continuing down the hall, there is a medical room, where players receive treatment, then a weight room for players and then the door to the Chiefs's locker room. The door is usually locked and requires a combination to enter. Immediately behind this door, to the left is the Coach's office, proceeding down the hall a little further is the players' dressing room. To get a sense of this space, it takes over 4 months for me to get the code. After I do receive the code from one of the leaders, on the first occasion I use it, I hear the coach who has just entered the hallway say 'You can't go in there alone'. Though I respond 'I can't know I am alone until I open the door' and the Coach tells me smiling genuinely that he was joking, I know this space is not for everybody.

The Hall

The hall of the locker room is full of sticks and there is a small room to the side of the locker room for storing extra equipment. On the outside wall of the equipment room is a notice board with the schedule for the month, a listing of important numbers, important notices and the list of line combinations for practices, plus any other pertinent information ranging from social events to a motivational story the coach wants players to read. The walls of the hall are adorned with various media articles on former players and motivational posters from great hockey players.

The Locker room

On the floor of the locker, in the centre of the room, is the Chiefs logo, players and visitors are not to walk on the logo, but around it as a sign of respect. Along the wall are stalls for the players equipment and personal belongings, the players in the corners are usually rookies, and veterans have more central stalls. Painted around the room are quotes:

It is not what is behind you that matters or what is ahead of you but what is inside of you that matters

10 % is what happens to you, 90 % is your reaction to events

The locker room is the players' space, the staff accesses the room as required, the coaches deliver speeches, but unless there are problems this space belongs to the players and they set the expectations and norms concerning behaviour. As one player will say at the end of the season, it would be interesting to have someone do research within the room just like you have done research with the Coaches.

The Coaches office

The coach's office is approximately 8 by 12 feet. The desk faces the door and is surrounded by computer, vcr, dvd player, and printer. Inside the office people are almost always talking and discussing players, opponents, results or recounting stories from the past. Even when alone in the office, there is a good chance the coach is talking either on the phone on the desk or on his cell phone, whose message box is routinely full. On the wall behind the desk where all of these conversations occur is, in big red block letters, the statement,

The older I get the more I pay attention to people's action as opposed to their words.

Below the quote is a bookshelf covered with old game videos, movies for the bus, and various binders for coaching and the results from past seasons. Facing the door from the coach's desk on the left is a bookshelf filled with titles whose subjects include hockey, leadership, academic, history, leadership, strategy and management. Next to the bookshelf is a closet space where the staff keeps their equipment and jackets during practice. When the curtain to the closet is open the office smells of old hockey gear,

when it is closed it smells less. The walls are adorned with pictures of former teams, players who have succeeded in other leagues, a framed quote from Vince Lombardi and a message that awareness is more important than knowledge. When all six coaches are in the office it is crowded. If there is a meeting with the captains or another group of players, there can be more people than square feet, and when these occur after practice, the office smells like hockey.

Practice

In hockey, as with all sports, practice supposedly makes perfect, though for every player who needs to be on the ice every day, there are some who say practice smactice, lets just play the game. In hockey the drills have names such as the Philly, Devil, and Red Wings, all of which appear to be based upon the team or a coach that used or designed them. Often these are flow drills, drills that get players skating and provide them with a feel of the puck as they do continuous three on twos and two on ones. Each should, ideally, begin with a quality outlet pass. Throughout a season teams will practice special teams, regroupes, skills, fast breakouts, slow breakouts, controlled breakouts. Each of these is adjusted depending on whether their opponents are using an aggressive 1-2-2 forecheck, a 2-3 wing lock forecheck, a 2-1-2 wide forecheck, or a passive 1-2-2 forecheck. Against these there is always talk about using the torpedo, but this plan is never put into action, either because they feel it would not be effective or that it would hinder some players ability to play well.

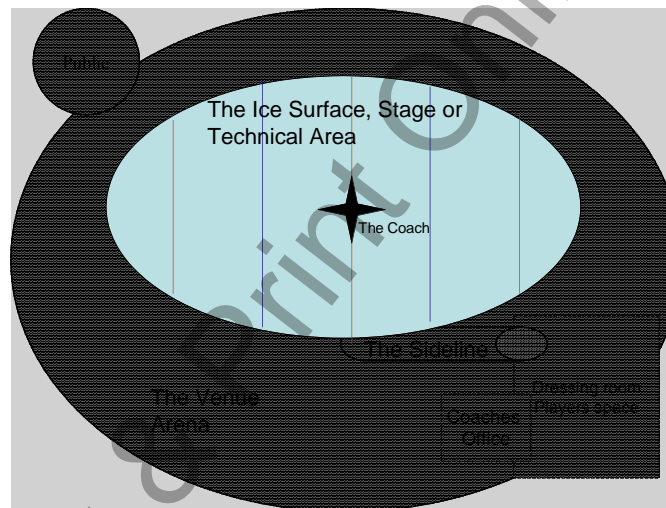
At the same time they will practice different forechecking systems, offensive zone face offs, and game situations. These will include defensive zone coverage during face offs and the importance of going from defenceman to defenceman (what is called d to d) and how each player should support another, if they win the face off, while if they lose responsibilities are based upon the positions taken at the face off. Though much of this terminology is shared across hockey teams, late in the season, having received a scouting about an upcoming opponent, the Coaches are mystified as it contains a hockey dialect that appears unique to the coach who provided it. That they are discussing the other team in detail is an indication that despite the habitual routine of

practice, there are differences in practice depending on whether it is the training camp, talent, systems, or guts portion of the season.

Preseason

During the pre season practices, as they always will, begin with flow drills. During this period the coach is frequently standing at centre ice. A position the staff will occupy unless there is a scrimmage in which case they are observing from off ice. This is outlined in Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2 Coach's Primary Position During Training Camp

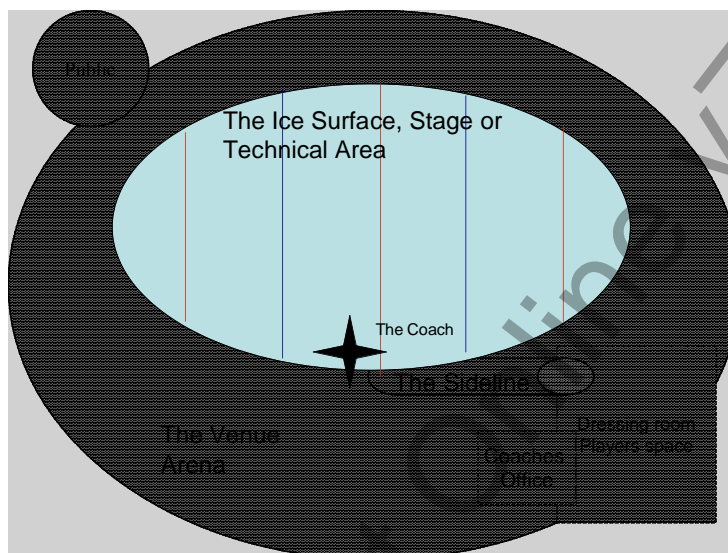


Talent

During this portion of the season practice emphasise systems. Within hockey special teams, regroup, the forecheck, and other aspects integral to the game are continually emphasized. Some teams emphasize more skill work in practices than systems, 'there are teams in the CHL that put very little emphasis on systems, they simply wait for a quality player and so long as they have one it works', whereas others are pretty rigid, stay in your lanes, basic north south hockey. As rule changes have recently increased the number of penalties 'it is going to be important to have effective special teams, so extra work is done on the penalty kill and the power play'. During the practices the coach is

less likely to be standing at centre ice and is found more frequently at the chalkboard near the bench diagramming what is expected. This is outlined in Figure 4.3

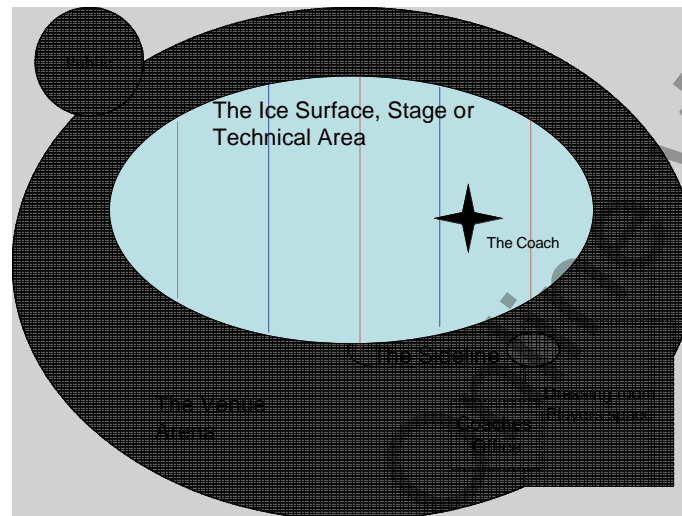
Figure 4.3 Coach's Primary Position During Talent Portion of Season



Systems

During this period adjustments are made to what is not working or needs improvement. Consideration is given to the team that is being played and adjustments are made accordingly. The coach still diagrams drills and systems on the chalkboard by the bench, but there are fewer drills that have to be explained and practices have become shorter. In addition, while there have always been interactions with players during drills, it is often more pointed, more enthusiastic, increasingly player and situation specific, and more demanding. What began as abstract drills encouraging flow increasingly become focused on execution of game situations as the coach provides feedback, either a frown, a shake of the head and a whistle for negative, while smiles and yes indicate positive. This is outlined in Figure 4.4.

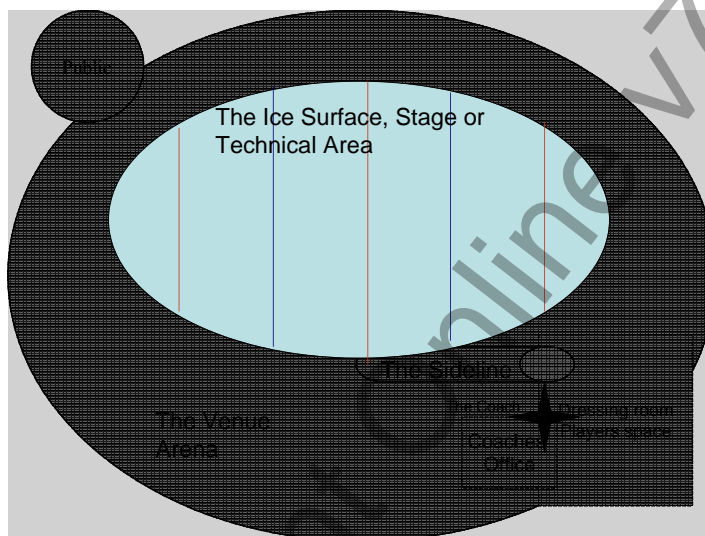
Figure 4.4 Coach's Primary Position During System's Portion of Season



Guts

During this period practices become more intense. Ideally practices have enough pace that the fitness oriented skating sets do not have to be done. Best of all, practices should not require the coach at this stage of the season, for as the Coach informs me sitting in the office one day, 'I don't need to be there, right now they are waiting for me to begin practice, but they don't need me. Other years they would start practice and give me hell for being late and make me skate, but right now our guys are not taking charge and it is them who play the game'. This is outlined in Figure 4.5.

Figure 4.5 Coach's Primary Position During Guts Portion of Season



A Practice

For a usual practice players arrive at the dressing room twenty minutes before the scheduled ice time. They usually arrive randomly and appear with what may be described as the student athlete uniform. For the most part they look like average students. From a size standpoint, while they are certainly more fit than the average student, they are not as big as you would expect a hockey team to be, but as the coaching staff will say on numerous occasions – we are a small team-. But generally speaking, hockey players, while we speak of towering defencemen and power forwards, are not, when compared to basketball, volleyball or football players, above average in size though on average they are bigger than soccer players. Physically you can understand what Christie Blanchford, a columnist with the Globe and Mail meant when she quoted an unnamed feminist as saying the beautiful thing about hockey players is they are masculine but you can imagine them coaching your children, but also why former NHLers say –you never realize how ugly you are until you stop playing hockey.

The player's attire does not differentiate them from other students on campus, although they are more likely than the average student to be wearing a cap or toque. This changes with the season (baseball caps fall, toques winter) and the fashion, but they are always more likely to have something adorning their head, but given this is currently in fashion it is not as noticeable. What is striking is a rather large majority of them have backpacks that are carried in an ergonomically correct fashion, not slung over one shoulder, but in the way the name suggests. Usually these backpacks are full, and of the 26 players on the roster, over 80% have them. Their contents are another matter, but for the most part these individuals have days that begin around 9 and finish approximately 12 hours later, so between classes, workouts, and food the bag is usually full. The fact that 4 or 5 of them are usually studying in the lounge in the time between the end of their classes and the beginning of practice suggests the books are used regularly. This is supported scholastically as the team is comprised of 7 athletes recognized by the league for their studies, and the team's average GPA is 3.2, higher than the average of the other males in the college.

As players enter the locker room they pass by the coaches office, if the door is open, which it usually is if he is not in a meeting, they will probably say hello to the coach who greets them in return. Prior to practice players needing assistance, sorting out a financial issue, requiring feedback on their play, needing a letter for a faculty, or an equipment problem see the coach. These interactions are not scheduled, and during most days players have easy access to the coach. In the dressing room the players check the practice line-up and put on their equipment. During practices the team is divided by position and by colours. The goalies practice in grey, the defensemen wear black and the forwards wear either red or white. Further to this the defensemen are paired into four groups and the forwards are placed into lines 1 through 5. Being in the 4th group or 5th line usually indicates if a game were played tomorrow you will not be dressing for the game. As a general rule players want to move up and not down on this list.

The players have each put on equipment over a thousand times in their career and get prepared quickly, although there is one player who is always remarkably slow even when hurried. Even though this individual has been chirped at before, he will be chirped at again. Today if it is not this individual it will be someone else. The fifteen to twenty

minutes prior to practice is for these activities, catching up, finding out about a course, a date, reliving a moment for a game, and more chirping of someone.

At 4:30 players take to the ice when practice begins but before it officially starts, for if you are late without a reason you will skate. When they take the ice, different colour uniforms distinguish them, there are 6 d's in black jerseys, and an equal number of forwards in red or white jerseys. Injured players wear a brightly coloured pinney to indicate they have not been medically cleared for physical contact. The goalies wear grey. For the first 4 minutes they skate laps and shoot at open nets to warm up. The goalies do not take shots at this time but do laps as well. Many of the players have their own routine, some practice stick handling through pucks, others carry the puck on their stick, like they are playing lacrosse, and then throw it in the net. Most simply get their legs going and other practice 'one-timers'. At some point during this pre warm-up Coaches take the ice in their matching black tracksuits, and take a couple of laps with the players prior to starting practice. When they are not skating with players they are talking to individual players about practice their play or how things are going during classes. If you close your eyes, you know when practice starts because there is a whistle. If you open your eyes after the whistle, the coaches will be at centre ice, with the players surrounding them in a semi-circle, the players in front are usually kneeling and those behind are standing leaning on their sticks.

In fact, if you keep your eyes closed you can tell if it is a good or bad practice. If it is a bad practice, you will hear lots of whistles at random intervals, as a drill is not going well and will have to be started again. You will also hear the coach as he will not be using a talking voice as he asks if there is a particular reason for one hand on the stick. If you open your eyes during these moments the coach will be frowning or imitating a bobble head as he exaggerates the shaking of his head in a clown like fashion. If it is a good practice there will be a consistent rhythm and tone to the whistles. A whistle will sound for players to gather to hear instructions. A whistle may sound for a group to begin the drill and every 5-15 seconds a whistle will sound for the next group to begin. After 2 or 3 minutes a whistle will sound and players will be told to switch sides as they continue to be put through their paces.

During this practice players take to the ice and for seven minutes they warm-up and work on individual skills until the Coach blows his whistle. The first drill is explained and 40 seconds later the players are practicing 2 on 1 flow drill until there is a whistle two minutes and forty six seconds, at which point they instantly switch sides and start the drill from the other side. They continue for 2 minutes and twenty seconds with many whistles as the execution of the drill does not meet expectations, then WHISTLE.

For the next 52 seconds players have a water break as the next drill is explained. During the next three minutes they work on continuous 3 on 2 break outs, which results in a 2 on 1 in the opposite direction, with the deepest player in the offensive zone, becoming a back checker who attempts to negate the 2 on 1. WHISTLE. And they switch sides. Two and a half minutes, WHISTLE. Waterbreak. Players, having finished taking water, gather in front of the chalkboard to await instructions. The Coach for the first time all season, after more than 50 practices, is not at centre ice or the chalkboard, but waiting at the blue line, and it takes almost a minute for the players to realize where the Coach is standing. Smiling, the Coach explains the next drill to many of his smiling players, before they begin to work on 5 v 5 play in one zone. At the other end of the ice the goalies are involved with the extra players working on various drills. For eight minutes, as lines and defensive pairings rotate in and out they work defensively on protecting home plate (what the danger zone in front of the net is sometimes called) and offensively on puck possession. WHISTLE.

Before the begin to scrimmage the Coach explains that, 'Watching the tape it is becoming clear we are picking up bad habits, we are not stopping and going, watching you skate in practice and not stopping, got to stop and then go.' During the scrimmage they are asked to go d to d and then jump up. Three minutes and thirty seconds into the scrimmage, WHISTLE. The Coach is not happy and the scrimmage is stopped. After talking to them, the team works on performing 3 on 2s with a regroup for the next four minutes and twenty seconds. WHISTLE. The players gather around the coach at centre ice and he informs them about the Hedgehog principle:

'In Good to Great, Collins tells a story of the Hedgehog and the Fox, the Fox knows a great many things and the Hedgehog knows one big thing.

Because of this fox is never able to defeat the hedgehog, for our team, our hedgehog principle, has to be exceptional defence, for us to have a successful season our defence has to be perfect.’

Following this discussion, they scrimmage for the next seven minutes and twenty seconds. WHISTLE. Practice officially ends, but because the team has the ice for another 25 minutes many stay to stretch while others will work on different aspects of their game, as the coaches discuss the line up for the next game in the office

The bus

The buses used by the teams are the buses used for tourists and when travelling by ‘coach’ between cities. On each trip there are the players, the coaching staff, and support staff including medical, equipment and communications. The trips made on the bus are of three types, local (away games in the city), medium (away games where you travel, play and return on the same day – Maroons, Bulldogs and Victorias) and long (leave the night before – Wheat Cities), though a medium trip after a loss can feel longer than a long trip after a win. Regardless of the length of the trip, or the result, certain things remain the same. Players are responsible for loading their equipment on the bus and ensuring the rest of the equipment, skate sharpener, massage table, exercise bike, ice and lots of water are on the bus.

What does change with the length of the ride is the dress code and whether food is provided. On local and medium trips the players are required to wear a shirt and tie, and most wear a suit⁴⁸. On long trips this dress code is not enforced and players wear what is most comfortable. Basically when players are arriving and departing from games they are expected to be in a shirt and tie. The rules for food are, if the game is local, a pregame meal is not provided, although food will be provided after the game, especially if there is a game the next day. For medium and long trips, food is provided both before and after the game. On some occasions players will eat two meals, as having lost the last game where they ate on the bus, they assume, ‘cause it is just how the coach is’, that the meal might have been the issue. If you do not learn the rules, and eat twice,

⁴⁸ There is only one player who does not consistently wear a suit but what barely qualifies as a jacket.

something players can easily do, or more problematically, forget to eat, you will be chirped.

Chirping

Chirping is what happened around mistakes or as a result of a comedy of errors. For the most part this involves friendly banter and some jockeying for position. Examples include players who miss an open net, players who took a large hit or players who got dangled badly. Other instances involve the annual gift exchange at Christmas when rookies have given veterans mittens and a toque to help them stay warm when they lose ice time. On the plus side this playful tendency turns potential negative events that could decrease performance into light hearted moments that can be laughed about. On the downside chirping requires both individuals to accept this premise; sometimes this does not occur. Some players do not see the humour in the time they were on a breakaway and picked the corner, usually a good thing, except when it is not the corner of the net but that of the ice. More problematically following a close game where protecting a lead and a player makes a perfect pass to the opposition allowing them to tie and ultimately win an important game. Everyone makes these mistakes at various times, but highlighting them to the player who is still angry with themselves, no matter how playfully, can contribute to a more tense and less cohesive atmosphere.

Food

On game day the players are fed pasta. If they are playing the next day they will receive chicken and rice, after games they are also given chicken and rice, although the pre game chicken is always from the same local place, and is baked with no gravy, whereas the post game chicken is from a familiar chain, has lots of gravy and occasionally fries are substituted for rice. This makes the players happy, but not the coach. When the players are returning from a long trip, post game, they receive half a large pizza. Pizza is not given pre-game as it is not seen as a healthy choice prior to games. If the bus stops enroute the players eat again, usually from one of the dominant chains at convenience stops along the highway, McDonald's, A&W, Timmy's or Wendy's. As one player observes 'I do not understand how it is Ok to have a Big Mac with fries but

eating pizza is not a good idea', while another comments that if you are not playing and eat like you are you will put on weight.

On the bus

When the coach takes his seat on the bus, it is the front right seat on the passenger side. Across from him behind the driver are the assistants. At the back of the bus are the captains and the veterans. In between the players and staff are seated according to seniority. Directly behind the coaches are any other coaches and the teams' support staff, then there is the medical team. The players are then seated, rookies, usually the DNP's, (do not play) are behind the medical staff, then the rookies who are playing, then the 2nd years, 3rd years and finally 4th/5th year players. When the bus is loaded and Joey N. has taken his seat he asks the bus driver to leave at the scheduled departure time.

It is difficult to tell if the seating order is perfectly aligned with seniority and status as some players share classes and will sit together to do an assignment, but generally veterans are at the back and everyone has an assigned seat. What is certain is that there is certainly a space for players and a place for staff. At no point did coaches go to the back of the bus, and as one alumni tells the story there was only once where an assistant sat with us, and he kept saying – I shouldn't be doing this (referring to drinking beer)' but it was weird. No one articulates these rules unless there is an issue, something that can be discovered by walking to the player section, only to hear the coach yell your name and remind you that your space is at the front of the bus.

Once on the bus the food is distributed by the rookies, one of whom is the 'bus captain' The bus captain is the rookie whom the veterans love, the reasons they love him find frustrating yet admire or despise with affection, as one player says ' it had to be him, because he is just so'. The distribution of food is random, some players take a portion when they get on the bus, they eat when they are ready, the only exception to this is the head coach, he does not begin eating until everyone has food.

On medium trips once the food is eaten the trip is essentially the same as a short trip. Players begin to prepare for the game. For the players this usually involves listening to music on some personal music player as they begin to mentally prepare for the game.

Within the broader athletic community it is not uncommon for people to talk about ‘game faces’, and once a player begins to prepare to play there is certainly a different look about them. One small difference between the short and medium trips is some of the players remove their suits on the medium trips and sit in their shorts and undershirts before putting the suit back on to walk into the arena. The players who engage in this behaviour end up wearing the suit for a distance of approximately 50 metres, as they walk from their arena to the bus and then from the bus to the arena.

While the players prepare, the coaches discuss the upcoming game or complete some necessary administrative work. The discussions between coaches occur in hushed voices and revolve around the line-up, the strategy, and the other team. As required the coach will request a player to join him so that they can discuss the upcoming game. These discussions begin with ‘How are you doing’ How are you feeling or How are you going to respond to this situation. These conversations take a couple of minutes and end with the coach thanking the player, before bellowing the name of the next player, while using his hand to indicate he would like him to come to the front of the bus.

Aside from these conversations there is little talking and talking is literally frowned upon as the coaching staff will face the back of the bus and stare disapprovingly if there is too much conversation. If there are people talking it is probably support staff or rookies who are not playing.

On a long trip a variety of activities occur once the food has been eaten. Some players study, the dedication to studying is probably unusual for most hockey teams. As one alumni put it ‘I walked on the bus and guys are studying –what the fuck, that used to be a punishable offence in kangaroo court’. Other players will play cards and many will watch movies on their computers. Players will move about the bus to discuss weekends, classes, parties and girls. As with anyone who is travelling in a confined space they do what they can to pass the time, including a wide variety of games. Fortunately buses are now equipped with television so movies are watched to pass the time. Over the course of a season, *The Rocket*, *Ali*, and *Click*, among others are watched.

Whether the bus arrives at 4:30 pm (short or medium trips) or 1:30 am (long trips) everyone helps unload the equipment. As players ensure all the equipment is unloaded,

this means the hockey equipment is kept in the players' hotel rooms, the bus captain and the rookies clean the bus before entering the arena.

The Bus Ride Home

If the team has lost the bus is loaded quietly and the players await the distribution of food. As they wait for the food the players remove their suits and put on their usual clothes. When the food is pizza the only concern is that Joey N. gets Hawaiian and that the player who is lactose intolerant receives a pizza without cheese. Joey N. always gets his pizza, sometimes all the pizza has cheese which causes a certain amount of distress and cursing.

Sitting on the bus after a loss few people are happy and no one is really happy. There are certainly a few players who will be pleased with how they played, a rookie who has scored his first goal, a player who rarely plays but performed well and will probably 'keep his spot' or a goalie who made exceptional saves but lost through no fault of his own. But collectively the mood is disappointed. Though players are repeatedly told to 'park it', 'put the past behind them', 'focus on what they can control' after a loss it is expected they think about the game and reflect on what could have been done differently, if this is not done the coach, especially after an important game, is apt to inquire 'is there something funny fuck' or 'am glad to see some of you are happy'. These statements normally bring about a quiet bus.

Win or lose the coaches spend the early part of the journey discussing the game and the performance of the players. When it is a loss this conversation may be extended through out an entire ride and continued in the office upon arrival. On long trips, win or lose after reviewing the game, the coaches discuss how things were, how they could be, how they came to be, and other stories revolving around their personal experience with hockey. Stories are swapped concerning NHL coaches and playing professionally. After a victory these conversations are supplanted by the showing of a movie, after a loss there are no movies except for those players who watch privately on their computers.

Arriving at home

If the trip is short players arrive at the arena between 10:30 and 11:30, if it is medium, 12:30 and 1:30, and for long trips between 2:30am and 3:30am. When the bus arrives at the arena late for a pick up, gets lost during the journey or a customs agent is not certain how to process documents, the arrival may be delayed.

Unloading the bus happens in much the same manner as loading. The bus stops at the coach's request so the equipment manager can open the arena; the bus then pulls up to the back of the arena. The coach is first off and grabs some equipment before heading to the office. The players and staff follow grabbing as much as they can. The captains ensure everything is taken off the bus while the bus captain and rookies clean the garbage off the bus. If it is early enough players may plan to go out, if not they go home to sleep.

Game day

It is four o'clock. The arena is fairly empty, there are some general maintenance staff, recreational skaters, and the coach, who is asleep on the floor in his office. It is possible not to notice the coach asleep, as I have stepped in side his office but left immediately feeling it was not my place to be in the coach's office if he was not present. Soon player's start to arrive and this eases my anxiety, as one, they inform me that the coach is asleep in his office (fortunately I did not wake him) and two, while I am now considered part of the scenery by the players and staff, I remain far more comfortable being in their space, when they are around.

The players begin to arrive at approximately 4:45, 2 hours and fifteen minutes⁴⁹ prior to game time, they, as usual, are dressed in suits. The only exception to this rule is away games. When they play on the road, they may arrive carrying their suits, they then don their suits before entering the bus, some choose to remove them prior to eating their meal, before putting the suits back on prior to exiting the bus and proceeding directly to the visitor's locker room where they begin to prepare for the game. By 5:15 most

⁴⁹ Players are expected to arrive at the arena two hours before game time, for away games they arrive approximately a half hour before the bus leaves, with the expectation the bus arrives at the desination two hours before game time.

players are in their work out gear and are beginning to warm-up for the game. Each player has his own regime, there is always a large group that plays soccer, and others jog around the arena. Many players sit and look at the empty ice as they visualize the upcoming game, while others practice stick handling, and some toss around a football. Usually similar routines are being practiced by the other team on the opposite side of the arena. In total there are approximately 40-50 individuals engaged in some type of physical activity as they prepare for the game.

As players begin to warm-up, the coaches hold individual meetings as required. These usually involve a review of the overall strategy with the team leaders, either as a group or individually, and then a discussion with players who have specific tasks. Sometimes these relate to a player who has not played in awhile so that the coach can reinforce expectations, for others it involves outlining a specific issue about the opponent or a weakness the coach wants the team to focus on. Players are asked to verbalize their roles and/or describe the challenge using a diagram. –What are we trying to do to neutralize their forecheck?, What are we trying to do on the power play?, What are you going to have to do differently when playing with 39? What do you have to do to play well tonight?

In parallel to the warm-ups and the meetings, the medical staff, the equipment team, and the operational staff involved in the arena begin to work. There are between 4-7 physios at each game, the majority of which are students, 3 individuals responsible for equipment, and approximately 40 people involved in operations, 10 are selling tickets, 15 are security, 10 are selling refreshments. The physiotherapists are treating players with injuries, usually this involves taping portions of the body requiring reinforcement or massaging a muscle that is sore. Approximately 25% of the players require some form of treatment prior to playing; of this 3 or 4 players always require treatment.

The equipment managers are preparing for the game. They make sure the water bottles for the locker room and the bench are full, they sharpen skates as required. In addition they ensure the sticks are lined up and in order so that a player can easily find a replacement. When things go well tasks are routine and performed easily, when they go

poorly, they are replacing a skate blade thirty seconds before a game, repairing equipment and on one occasion the Zamboni.

6:00 team warm-up

Once the players have had their team meetings and coaches have met with captains and special team members to review and discuss strategy, the team does its warm-up. The warm-up is a fifteen minute routine set to music and is led by leaders of the team. They begin with jogging on the spot, incorporate various yoga poses, including the downward dog, but what is called by the team, the dirty dog, and end with dance moves that hide the grace to be displayed on the ice. The warm-up sets a mood and is designed to get the team together. I am told that having the team do a routine is something new and was instituted to ensure all players warmed up adequately and appropriately, something that did not always happen when left on their own.

As players warm up, the operations crew prepares for the game. The staff change the practice nets for the game nets, these are easily distinguishable as the game nets are white as fresh snow, whereas the practices are more grey than white. The zamboni

6:30 the pregame skate

At 6:15 the game clock begins counting down from 15 minutes towards the beginning of the pregame skate. When the clock reads 2:25, #12 appears and begins his routine of tossing the pucks on to the ice. He begins by tossing the pucks towards the near blue line face off dot, his objective is to get as many pucks in the dot as possible, he throws half the pucks at the near dot and the other half at the far dot. He appears approximately one minute before the other players, who begin to line-up one by one behind him, in a half hazard yet regular order. With thirty seconds left on the clock the goalie steps on the ice, followed by the rest of the players. Each twenty-minute warm-up follows the same routine; there is approximately two minutes of skating and shooting. The goalies, after skating a couple of laps, line up on opposite sides and begin their own, but quite similar stretching routines. Then one player warms up the goalie. After five minutes players perform a series of 3 on 2s. The concentration at this point is on speed and position, offensive players are not trying to blow by a defence man but working on passes and finding their rhythm, defencemen are working on their angles, they do not

try and take the puck but keep their player in front of them. When players shoot, many do their best to pick the corner, frequently the puck sails into the glass. The goalies rotate through the drills, the starter takes more shots during the warm-up but both participate fairly equally, during warm-up stopping the puck is not a major goal. They focus on squaring to the shooter, cutting the angle, and reacting to the shot. With five minutes left some players continue to warm-up the goalies. The other players work in groups of three, skating, passing, touch pass, skate, switch. When the buzzer sounds players return to their locker room.

As the players warm-up, the assistant coaches leave the office and come out from under the stands to watch the warm-up. During this period they check their game notes and look to confirm the lines (crews) that are being used by their opponents. Although the coaches will exchange hellos with people they know in the stands they concentrate on the ice and primarily the other team⁵⁰. Their only conversation revolves around confirming information about who is playing, how the opponent is performing and other details relevant to the game. Each coach has their routine, one awaits their coffee, another enjoys a cookie, the other rehearses the game in his head, and the most senior assistant waits down below with the head coach. The head coach stays in his office, on the one occasion he ventures out of his 'lair', the assistant wonders what is wrong. Effectively game after game, the 3 or 4 coaches stand primarily in silence as they watch warm-up.

6:50 Pre game speech

The players and coaches return to the locker room, and the head coach addresses the team. The coach stands in the middle of the room, and the assistants stand in the entrance in such a fashion that there is a complete circle. The speech varies depending on the game, a game against a weaker opponent they are told not to let up, to concentrate on their game and work the system. Against a stronger opponent, their strengths are reinforced and they are reminded what they have to do to neutralize the opponent. In the most difficult situations they are told anything can happen, they are

⁵⁰ Only on one occasion did the coaches interfere with warm-up, and that occurred during an unusual situation where the coaches wanted to maintain the confidence of the team.

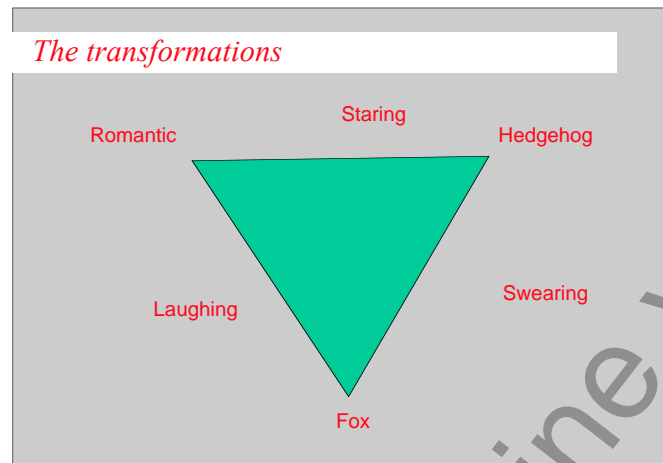
reminded about how important it is to play their game, that no team has their depth and if they keep skating, follow the process, the opportunities will come. After the anthem is played, the puck will be dropped at 7:06.

Constellations of Meaning

In many ways the emphasis of their season of trying to become a great team was captured by Collins (2001) best selling book, *Good to Great*. This book was popular not only amongst the coaching staff but with some players, all of whom were given a copy of portions of the book during the season. One of the key concepts in this book is the hedgehog principle where great organizations have mission at the intersection of three simple questions ‘What you are deeply passionate about?’ What drives your economic engine? And what can you be best in the world at?’ For the Chiefs, this translated into being an exceptional defensive team. They are a team that has developed a character as an effective hard working team; they play hard and do not give up. They feel that if they can achieve their process goals by creating 20 chances a game, while holding the opposition to 10 chances and be plus one on special teams, they will win most games and have a chance at attaining their objective goal of winning consistently and becoming the best team in the country. Because Collin’s contrasts the determined nature of the hedgehog with the speculative nature of the fox and Coaches are frequently discussed as romantic figures (Stec, 2010; Chapter 2), it appeared appropriate to label the constellations of meaning as the Romantic, the Hedgehog and the Fox. To this end the Coach can best be understood as a struggle to create an appropriate balance and maintain coherence between each of their personas, as each plays a specific role in the attempt to achieve a goal and Figure 4.6 outlines the transformation from one persona to the next.

If you watch a Coach long enough you will see examples of this ‘split personality’, as depending on where and when you observe the coach you will find a different persona. In this field this involved constellations that included different modes of dress, space, activities and a particular kind of way of providing sense, order and meaning to the world.

Figure 4.6 How Coach's Persona is Transformed



This way of providing sense and representing order is consistent with Vygotsky's notion of cognitive tools, where tools leads to qualitatively different ways of making sense. Each of these ways of ordering information encourages a certain outlook and a tension. By ordering of information I am discussing something similar to what William James alluded to when discussing ways of conceiving the cosmos, in that there are multiple methods of making sense and multiple perspectives on the same issue within James' fluid and pluralistic universe, where it can sometime feel 'as one great blooming, buzzing confusion.'

So despite the diversity of particular situations a Coach's life involves a regular rhythm, and each component involves a particular view of the world. Regardless of whether they were winning or losing (objective results), playing well or poorly (subjective indicators 'sniff test'), Coaches were preparing, involving articulating possibilities through stories and practices, performing, involving public displays of determination that outlined expectations, and wondering, often bewildered within the privacy of their office. Each habitat emphasised a different manner of ordering information that tended to involve not only a different venue and a modified outfit, but also quite literally a physical transformation. Moving from preparation to moderating involved an intense amount of staring, the transformation from moderating to wondering required more than a little

swearing,⁵¹ while going from wondering to preparing involves some interaction between the realization about what do I really know and laughter.

Staring and the Hedgehog

One of the most frequent images of a Coach has them standing on the bench dressed in a suit staring intensely at the ice beyond the bench. The appearance of this persona commences sometime prior to the game, and if the Coach has time for a pre game nap, would appear to emerge after having woken up, when the Coach begins dressing for the game. The outfit worn by hockey coaches traditionally involves a suit, and when the suit is on you are observing the hedgehog, on the bus you will find them sitting at the front of the coach concentrating intensely on what lies ahead. They feature prominently whenever structure and rules are important. They represent determination and an ordered world where causes are clear, you focus on the game and prepare appropriately as preparation is the most important habit.

Importantly there is something about this that is almost scientific, where the arena is laboratory and they are responsible for an experiment that seeks consistent performance. A decision whether to leave a day early for a road trip involves a discussion of variables that can be controlled, 'If you go a day early, you know what they eat, you eliminate distractions'. But there is much about determining the best way, a process that involves trying to isolate variables, this can descend into sporting a luck tie, or having support staff bring desert, yet there is still an attempt to reduce the variables. This might seem like an exaggeration given the rituals some players go through, but in a conversation with a PHD Candidate in Chemistry, the response to what would happen if I walked into his lab and started looking at the technology is informative. His answer that he would probably flip out is not much different than the response one might observe if you disrupted the preparation methods of coach, a player or the team in general. As described in Chapter 3, the Coach, though smiling, did suggest that they could be sure I

⁵¹ At one point an assistant coach commented, 'so you are going to swear in front of him' a comment that caused my internal dialogue to go fuck fuck fuck; how does one represent this in an academic community that already thinks this field involves Neanderthals and produces some 45000 pages of research annually on organizations without discussing the word (or action for that matter).

was not responsible for their poor performances, highlights the potential for me to have been perceived as a variable.

Swearing and the Fox

The emergence of the fox is typically preceded by an intense bout of swearing and some shedding of clothes. The intensity of this transformation is certainly impacted by the quality of the performance. A poor performance involves more swearing, but even after good performances this occurs, as there are always situations that did not go as expected. One may win because of a fortunate bounce that masks the true quality of the performance. This is not to say that this is the only place swearing⁵² occurred, only it was far more prevalent in this space. There is also a certain amount of symbolism here as this transformation occurs in a place where few have access, behind the closed door in the privacy of the coaches' office.

The issue of swearing appears to be an important one that does not appear to be well studied. With this said there are two things worth noting. First, while swearing occurred in a variety of places, it featured prominently in the transformation from hedgehog to fox, it was more intense, more frequent and more colourful. The second thing is that regardless of the language, the swear words often referred to things that are either messy, are considered waste or that have been discarded. This applied regardless of the language used when swearing. In French this involves sacred Catholic symbols, while in English the words were far less spiritual and related to messier bodily functions. Regardless, having shed what needed to be shed, solutions were sought to address perceived issues within the game, those things where causes were not easily identified. Potential solutions are proposed and these are often funny, as there is the realization that

⁵² Obviously swearing does not have to occur as part of this transformation. To summarize a conversation with a former National Greco Roman wrestling champion after watching his athletes perform poorly. 'Coaching is a lot easier if you accept that you have a window into an individual's ability to do something remarkably stupid. You spend weeks developing and practicing a plan, and then watch as someone does something where you thought there was agreement it would not work. Accepting this with a smile, does not mean it always has to be tolerated, but it makes it easier to continue and does not detract from the joy on those rare occasions where everything goes awesome, and athletes achieve beyond your expectations.' During this extended talk there was no swearing but much head shaking which was ultimately followed by laughter best described as a guffaw about what might be our unbounded capacity for stupidity.

on the day their best player had a job interview in another city, barely made the game, but played awesome, so pre game habits may not be all they are cracked up to be. What is significant about the attribute of humour that is associated with the fox, is that what is funny requires a particular context.

Laughing and the Romantic

The Romantic persona, like the hedgehog is frequently present in more public situations. When the laughing is finished preparing for the next performance becomes a focal point. Unlike the Hedgehog, dressed in a suit and focusing on rules, and the fox, usually not fully dressed and looking at particular issues, the romantic is dressed in regular work attire, usually casual office attire or the tracksuits used during a practice, and emphasises stories. These stories often reflect the idea of what being on the team means, the importance of the next game, or the challenges that need to be overcome. These are often reflected in the messages that surround the team, be it the slogans on team t-shirts, the words of wisdom found on the walls of the dressing room, or the posting of past and ongoing successes of former members of the team.

In this manner being a Coach might be described as revolving around different ways of being, sometimes they are the Romantic, a the heroic leader with an exaggerated sense of reality, the Hedgehog, with the understanding and knowledge of reality, and the Fox, and their many perspectives as they wonder what happened to reality. These spheres of activity shape the character of the coach, the skills possessed by each coach may be unique, but they share these responsibilities as they manage the tensions that exist between games, the review of performance and practices in a context where they must balance the desires of the individuals with that of the group. Table IV.I provides random excerpts from the field.

Table IV.I Quotes from the Field

Excerpts from Romantic
<p>'If we work hard we can beat them, we are competitive and can do it' S1AG 'We can do it, let's shock the world' S232</p> <p>'Does it matter? Really, what happens if we lose? Nothing... then why are we playing as if we are afraid? Hull was wonderful, you must think he was some mythic character the way we talk about him, but he had such great emotional intelligence, was able to make everyone part of the team. S3MG Do you know what one of the recruits said, he said we were soft, soft!!! Jesus that hurt, Mark, he wasn't our best player but he had character, and you knew the other teams hated playing against him, cause he played hard, he was respected by the other team guys it was hard and fair, and now we are seen as soft. 'Play with character'</p> <p>I am trying to find a quote, maybe their players said something that we can use for motivation, I know they are throwing around the fact that we used our first Power Play unit against them to run up the score in that 11-1 game. Their goalie has said how they are using that for motivation, hoping I can find something similar, but I can't. S342 'This is great', Upon opening war and peace and reading a passage about how if writing a letter before battle, you cannot write about how it will go badly but take a positive approach if you want to survive (S4 Preseason)</p>
Limitations of Romantic
<p>'The video of our highlights is nice, but those things are not what win you games' S336 'Last year we thought we did not get enough respect, this year I think we kind</p>
Excerpts from Hedgehog
<p>'If we just work harder and prepare more we will do better, especially if we are perfect' S3AG 'We are a hard working, determined team, who needs to outwork the other team and execute effectively' S0AG 'Tomorrow is our first game, and we have to remained focused on what we do, it is not about who we are playing, but about playing our game' 'After seven seconds, ice the puck. When they have looked at games, they find that after seven seconds of trying to clear the puck things go poorly. So if we cannot get it out dump down the ice. I will not get mad for icing a puck after seven seconds' We need to hold opposition to 10 scoring chances and be plus one on special teams, if we do that with this team we should not lose often We want to reverse it, if the pass on the boards is not there, don't force it, if mistakes happen because you do what I ask, I will take the blame for losing, but we have to work the system before we abandon it. I won't get mad at you when my plan fails. We have to modify our process goals, with the new rules and number of powerplays there is no way we can hold a team to ten so we are raising it to 15 scoring chances. I don't understand what he is complaining about, it's like he doesn't like how he puts on his skates, or taste in music or food, it is all non relevant character stuff, it has to be behavior, doing a is problematic because, not this vague shit about this or that. If you don't like him calling for the puck say so, don't avoid the issue by complaining about things that have nothing to do with the issue. No he is mad for not playing the first period, but the bus was leaving at 3, and he got on it at 3:02, he is lucky we didn't leave. Not happy, we had a meeting and some of our players showed up late, but there were other people around so I could not blast them then, so I go to skate them at the next practice, then I am late and I have to skate my self because of the rules. Write a letter, I realize it is difficult when someone wants to talk to your before the game, but you know our rules, but do take the time to thank the guy, he was your agent and helped you at some point, be nice, as it is the professional thing to do, but politely let him know that there are some things you can't do. Did you thank him for the tickets yet? Ok guys, jacket and tie, we are stopping to eat, and if we are feeding you chicken and ribs you need a jacket and tie.</p>

Limitations of Hedgehog
Careful in your ratings of determination, just because it is easy for some guys doesn't mean they are not working hard,
Excerpts from Fox
<p>'We can win, all we have to do is play our game and will be successful' S2AG</p> <p>'Before we can worry about winning we have to cover the fundamentals first and the rest will happen' S4AG</p> <p>'If we remember to stay in the moment we will be fine'</p> <p>I agree, I have to confront reality, but whose?</p> <p>I am not agreeing with him, but I have to respect that fact that maybe my lenses are tinted, and am not evaluating him as fairly as I should be.</p> <p>Guys you don't have to agree on everything, in here we don't always agree we express our opinion, sometimes it is ugly, but within these walls we are comfortable doing that, outside of this office we try to put up a united front so we can move forward together. You guys have to take some decisions on how you want, as our leaders to resolve this issue, and then face it and move forward.</p> <p>What do I know?</p> <p>Fuck off, how did we miss that, you mean that goal was offside. Let's watch the tape again... I can't believe, we didn't notice it, none us did, but the Zamboni driver notices it, (lots of language not suitable for children)</p> <p>We will tell everybody it was injuries, that will be the public story but that is not the truth. S3Postseason</p> <p>'Really if we are honest, in a lot of those years, we lost to a better team, so to say we had a mental block when it comes to beating them is not accurate, they deserved to win'</p> <p>We had a chance, they were playing in front of their own fans and if we had scored to take the lead, it would have been interesting to see how they responded. But the truth is we lost to a better hockey team, but we cannot have asked more from our guys'</p> <p>'I asked the scout, do they use numbers, he said no, it is too easy to pad statistics against easy teams, or because they are playing with another great player, they are more concerned with the character of the player, their work ethic, when they score not how much they score'</p> <p>'Do I count that as a shot?' S3MG</p> <p>'Try it again, but don't think or try so hard, just let it happen'... 'See funny how that works isn't' S3</p> <p>'Wow, 27 shots, thanks, that many, that does wonders for my save percentage'</p> <p>'Is that a scoring chance' S3MG</p> <p>I think it has something to do with, if we win the opening face off. When we win the face off, we do well. (laughter).</p> <p>I said I had a theory, I did not say it was a good one.</p> <p>'Do you know why he did that? He said he did it because I drew the play on the left side of the ice, so because the puck went into the right corner he did not know what he was supposed to do. It is the same play, you have to be smart to get into this school, but sometimes it doesn't show. It might be better just not say anything at all.</p> <p>'We have a three on two, great, and we skate it into the corner. I guess its my fault, I told him not to make passes at the blue line, but he should have given it up'</p> <p>'Is there a reason he is not making that pass? Is there some sixth skater on the ice fore checking I can't see on the video. The good news is that I have found what I needed to on the tape, they are not doing anything spectacular to us, there is not a system that is confusing our regroupings and breakouts, we are our own problem and not playing very well.</p> <p>'He throws a saucer pass, across ice to a rookie defencemen who is under pressure!!! Why? Someone tell me what he was thinking?' S3</p>
Limitations of Fox
There is always something, but you are not gonna get those calls in the playoffs, not gonna get em in last five minutes in some else's barn, but you gotta play through it. S340

A metaphor that facilitates the idea of these personas exemplifying a cognitive tool, while also distinguishing them from a traditional typology, is to think of each way of representing information as constituting a lens. Our mind consists of something of multiple lens, like the bifocals many people use to focus on items that are either near, or far, except in this case the mind has many lenses and they are framed by the limits of our particular type of consciousness. Or by analogy, the lenses operate in a fashion

similar to our bodies energy systems. Physiologists typically discuss three systems that providing energy to muscles to individuals with a specific percentage of slow and fast twitch fibres, the energy provided by the lactate, anaerobic and aerobic system respond, within their limitations, to the specifics of a designed training program. Despite having genetic limitations, the capacity of each system is not predetermined and in most sports, each is developed, even sprinters can have a phenomenal aerobic system, though training is remarkably customised to fit the demands of each sport.

These interactions can also be detected in conversations with Coaches, as an extended dialogue would routinely involve a reference to possibilities, what had been done in the past and could be used as motivation, expectations, those things had to be done and that if executed properly would improve the probability of attaining goals be they team or individual, and potential, the admission or acknowledgement that anything could happen and that causes were multiple and identifying the real problem involved some speculation. In the same manner, the emphasis during the week would also involve different personas being more apparent at different times. The first practice of the week would emphasize flow and 'getting the legs going', the second practice of the week involved a review of the facts from the weekend's performance in the form of video session, while the third practice, prior to the next game, would finish with a game typically involving multiple pucks making the practice far more loosely coupled than the actual game.

Chapter 5

Going from Good to Great

Abstract

This chapter recounts the events of the first part of the season. It emphasizes the context that surrounded the season and the expectation the coaches and team have put on themselves. It highlights both how strong the team has become and the challenges they face to become better.

"And to those who say that all that matters is winning, I want to warn them that someone always wins. Therefore, in a 30-team championship, there are 29 who must ask themselves: what did I leave at this club, what did I bring to my players, what possibility of growth did I give to my footballers? I play to win, as much or more than any egoist who thinks he's going to win by other means. I want to win the match. But I don't give in to tactical reasoning as the only way to win, rather I believe that efficacy is not divorced from beauty"

César Luis Menotti former coach of Argentina. Quoted by Jonathon Wilson of The Guardian on March 16, 2011.

Act I Scene 1: Reflecting because of the Future

'Character is your destiny'

Entering his 11th season as head coach, Joey N. is excited about his team's chances of winning a national championship, and very apprehensive about how they will manage expectations. He is excited because the coaching staff feels their team is stronger than the that reached the Nationals for the first time in many decades last year. But just the same he is nervous as, while the majority of his players have returned, he has lost two central figures in the dressing room and as he mentions repeatedly, people keep telling me I have not lost any defensemen, but the truth is the majority of them are in their second year, and those in their third year did not play very much in their rookie years, so arguably this is still their second year. We have a strong team, but how we handle the pressure that comes with high expectations is going to be interesting and makes me a bit nervous. Last year our power play really struggled after we lost Hull, and with the new rules special teams are going to be important, so it is going to be important that it is dangerous. If not, teams will not be afraid to take penalties against us and we will lose all the advantages our speed provides us. Reviewing the semi-finals against Metropolitans from last year, I believe if we could have taken advantage of our power plays, we could have beaten them⁵³. We knew we were in tough, and they were a better team overall, but if we could have gotten up a goal, especially because they were playing in their own barn, we had a chance. What we know is it is not going to be easy to repeat, last year our captains, were wonderful, Chadwick was the best captain I ever had, he worked really hard in preparing our team, and replacing him is going to be difficult. One of the challenges is the guys we have lost, in addition to being leaders, were also what I call radio's, they broadcast the mood of the team, and it helps me get a sense of what I need to do.

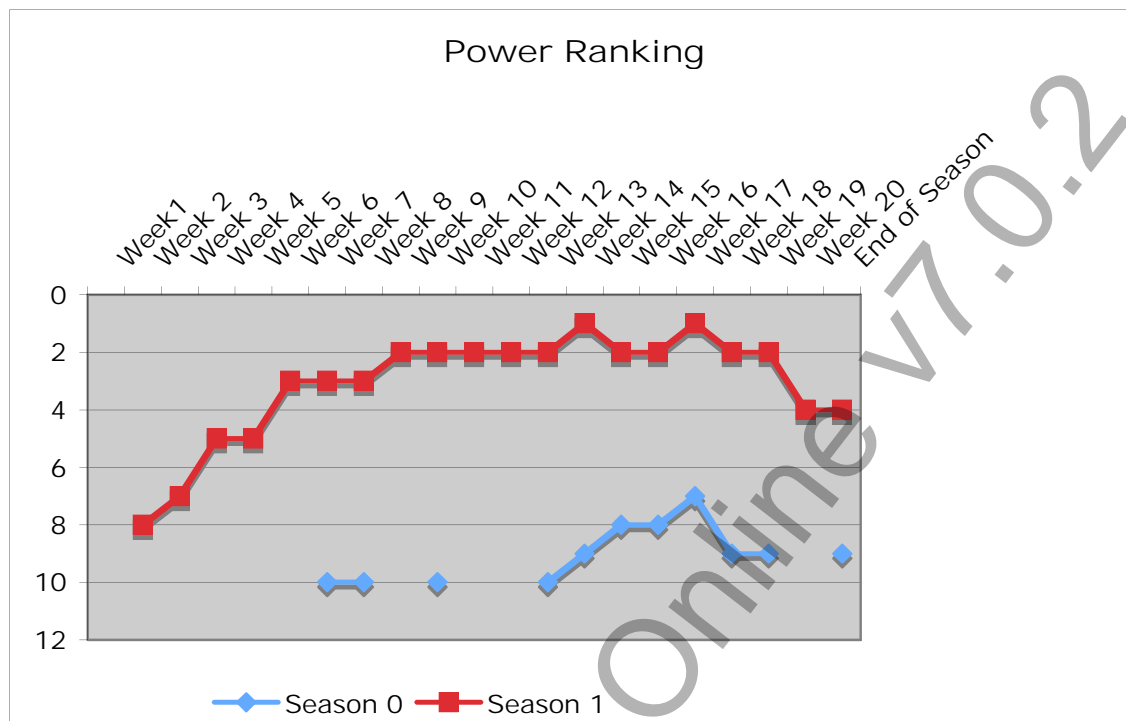
⁵³ I actually watched this game on television, and shared the Coach's opinion. In a tie game they had a power play and had a chance to score but did not take it, or they asked a question and the Metropolitans's goalie had an answer. Soon after the Metropolitans scored and the momentum appeared to turn. We both spoke of that chance.

As for doing a study on us, it makes me nervous, we feel we have a pretty good recipe, and I am not sure how one more ingredient will impact us. But I have spoken to our leaders and they are ok with it. So as long as you respect our players and don't impact our performance, we will be your subjects. You can say what you want about us (the coaches) but the players have personal lives and other priorities, as they will deal with family issues, death and illness, injuries, exam stress, and their future, and nothing should detract from that.

A Record Season

Last year was a pretty remarkable season. We started the season pretty determined, we felt that a couple years ago (Season 0) we had the team to beat the Maroons (the perennial powerhouse in the Conference) and we lost the series in hard fought battle on home ice in the third game. That gave us a lot of motivation. Guys who could have graduated, especially Hull and Chadwick, decided to stay, and they were pretty focused on helping the team achieve their goal of winning the conference, so we had a good feeling and knew we would be solid and competitive. Having said that, we had a number of rookies playing regularly and certainly did not expect to perform as well as we did. When you compare our win loss records you can see we were better, not significantly better, but statistically how we won was impressive, so were pretty excited with our season. It had been almost 60 years since we played for the Conference Finals, and it was the first trip to the League finals for our team. This year we hope not only to return but also to win.

Season	GP	W	L	T	GF	GA	+/-	Pts
Season 0	24	17	6	0	87	54	33	35
Season 1	24	20	1	0	93	29	64	43



Records and Awards from Season 1

Team high in win
 Fewest defeats in regular season
 Goals Against Average
 Shutouts Team
 Shutouts Player
 First participation in Conference finals
 First participation in League Finals in program's history
 Regional Team of the Year
 Regional Coach of the Year
 League Player of the Year
 Regional Player of the Year
 Conference Outstanding Player
 Division MVP
 Division Coach of the Year
 4 Division First Team All Stars
 2 Division All Rookie Team

Act II Scene I: Training Camp

'10 % is what happens to you and 90% is how you react to it'

Training camp begins officially on September 7th, we have a brief meeting to provide all the players with the appropriate information, and then we do a fitness test on the 8th and players takes their medical, and we hit the ice for the first time on September 11th. Last year we carried 24 players (dress 18 skaters a game), this year we will be carrying 26, more than I usually do, but I feel it is necessary and we are actually going to have a couple of young guys who we expect to develop, it will be the first time I have an 18 year old on the roster. It should be interesting.

Although the tryouts are open to all students, it is rare that someone makes the team as a walk-on. This year we only lost 3 players and have recruited 5 players, so for someone to make the team who has not been recruited will be difficult. It looks bad if you recruit someone, even if you don't guarantee them a space, and then cut them, it has happened but it is rare. But to cut someone who you recruited makes recruiting tougher in the future. Already it is tough to recruit players as the high academic requirements limit the pool you can recruit from, but also because some coaches promise players a certain amount of time or a spot on first or second line, whereas I try not to do that. A lot of the time players don't receive what they are promised, but the promises certainly factor into their decision. This year we could have had a great goalie, I probably could have convinced him to play here. But I had to be honest, we have two goalies who combined to set a League record and each of them will play for two more seasons, this means it is unlikely he would see the ice during a competitive game. You have to be honest or it will catch up with you.

Of course, despite this, we have a pretty good idea about who will make the team, we want to give each player who shows up a look and a fair chance. Only once have I not let a player take the ice and it is because I honestly feared for his safety, but other than that I try to do my best to evaluate each player before making a decision. Sometimes it

is not the best player who makes it, but who makes the best 7th defenseman (d) or 4th line centre. For example this year I think we will have a walk on who might be able to make the team, however, because he is local and a walk on, it means he is probably trying out for another elite team. At our level he is a 6th or 7th d, but on his other team, there is a good chance he is one of the captains and will be playing on the power play. For some it is not about making the team but accepting their role, and the recruits have a better idea of what position they are playing for and more realistic expectations as we have already communicated with them. Some guys might be better players, but they may not be a good 6th or 7th d, and so you pick the guy who is the best fit.

The information meeting

There are approximately 35 players who show up for the meeting in a classroom in the fitness facility. Joey N. waits for the players to find their seats and exchange hellos as many of the guys have not seen each other since the end of last season. There is barely enough space for the players and the staff, but even in the classroom it is evident that there are three groups of players, those who played last year, those who have been recruited, for they appear to have met some of the players, recruits and coaching staff prior to the meeting, and those who are walk-ons as they do not appear to know any of the players or coaching staff.

As you guys can see from my slides, which have not changed, as there is no need to reinvent the wheel, playing for Chiefs takes commitment and is an honour and a privilege. For those of you who are new, this session won't take too long. All of you have to fill out a medical information form but returning players are not required to complete the media information form. Once this is completed, you will receive some information from the athletics department, the medical staff. Please when filling out the forms, do them correctly no stupid comments about your sex and first menstrual experience. - Everyone laughs, including the athletics department representative, who mentions, that those comments are her favourite part of reviewing the forms of the 500 student athletes in the school- But before I hand you the forms let me introduce the

coaching staff, this year we will have 5 assistants, 3 of whom will be regular and two who will help when they can. In order of seniority:

Mercier has been my assistant since I started coaching at Chiefs.

Mercier is the self professed black sheep, whose job is to work with the penalty killing (PK) and in Mercier's words 'I am the guy who says what no one else will say regardless of whether it is politically correct' Or as Joey N. puts it with a great deal of affection, 'Have you told me to fuck off yet today'. The arguments between Joey N. and Mercier are an endless source of amusement for the other members of the coaching staff. Old school is another description as some feel Mercier's communication skills are from another era. Although he can be hard around the edges, the coaches who were once players acknowledge his value and they are quite surprised by the knowledge he brings. There is a consensus that his tendency is to always have an opinion that is the opposite of the consensus, but when hopes are running high and they are dreaming about a national championship and how wonderful they all are, he brings them back to reality and the often-unpleasant truth.

In this sense Mercier, while not being politically correct and lacking, what one might call communication skills, to the extent that he, some believe, is not best equipped to deliver messages to players, though he does bring about a distinct quality and moral compass. This compass may not always find true north but it does give an indication of what should be considered. There are things that can't be done by teams if they want to win. The commandments of Mercier might read: 'Selfish players don't win. Soft players don't win. I admit when I am wrong. Respect is important. Inside this office I will tell you are a crazy and an idiot, but outside I will defend your stupid fucking decision as being correct because it's the right thing to do.'

During home games Mercier is in the stands and tracks the length of the players shifts and how they perform during face offs.

Stan our goalie coach

Stan played for the Chiefs with Joey N. and joined the coaching staff at Joey N.'s request. He is the quietest of the coaching staff and is dedicated to the program as hockey occupies a space where he remained confident, successful and accepted as he struggled in his second language while attending the university twenty years ago. Having lost his parents when young it provided a safe and secure family environment, this was especially true when as a player he brought his daughter to practice. Contrasted with Joey N. who discusses hockey sense or the 'the sniff test' to evaluate goaltending, Stan focuses on skills and techniques. Within the staff he is seen as being responsible for producing offensive drills and working with the goalies. During the many debates that the coaches had on various issues over the course of a season, Stan is remarkably quiet and often, especially when contrasted with every one else in the room indicates his opinion and comfort level with decisions with body language. Despite this, the only person who ever prevented Mercier from extending an argument was Stan. During a discussion of the goalies, after Mercier raises a potential issue with goaltending, Stan informs him that it is enough and that goalies were not the problem. Echoing a statement he made early in the season, on the last day of the season, he states 'I don't say very much, but I feel very frustrated when I find people don't respect the program.'

Trottier, in his second year on staff

Trottier is the defensive coach. He is a business school graduate who played 4 years for Joey N. After 3 years of working as an accountant he has surprised Joey N. by deciding he wants to pursue coaching full time, as he, like a great many, if not all who take up coaching full time, hopes to become a coach in a professional league. Within the staff he serves as a sounding board by trying to integrate conflicting opinions into a question that simplifies the problem. He freely acknowledges that the biggest difference between his role as an assistant and that of the head coach is, that as the assistant he only has to ask the question, but as the coach he becomes ultimately responsible for answering them, and he wonders if he is prepared for it. Throughout the season Trottier imagines how he would answer the questions, and then waits to see what is done and why. He does this while wondering if he will be ready to answer the difficult questions he can

currently avoid. As he will say, you have to be yourself, because they can tell when you are not, but not sure that I have that part and it is a part you have to play.

During games he is responsible for pairing the defenseman and their shifts. When things go well, it is easy they change every 40 seconds and I don't really have to do anything. But even when it goes well, you find yourself off the plan you set out prior to the game, usually you play out which pair starts, and so on, so everybody gets into the game, but by the second shift or third shift it is all different. When it goes poorly I find myself looking at Joey N. thinking is this my fault, am I not prepared enough, am I missing something cause I am too tired, but I have to play two of them, you know who is in the penalty box, two guys are benched and two are finishing a shift and need a rest, pick your poison as the guys who aren't benched aren't playing that well either.

Gilbault in his second year

Gilbault is also a graduate of the business school who formerly played Joey. He is now studying for the bar and when not studying or watching hockey he lectures in a local university's Business Faculty. As one of Gilbault's best friends Chadwick described Gilbault as a guy we were forever rescuing playing hockey. While Chadwick describes how Gilbault would manage to get under the skin of opponents, Gilbault smiles, as Chadwick recounts having to enter a scrum again. After playing 5 years and spending a year playing professionally in Europe, he is back working on his law degree and teaching accounting courses within the university. Talking about this period he considers it to have been an awesome experience and that despite the long bus rides it was a great time. He is coaching because Joey N. helped him a great deal and he wants to give back to the program, for I have 'learnt a lot from Joey N., I can see how my interactions with students has been helped by watching him interact with players' and one of the most interesting things to watch, is the process of a group of guys, who are all a bit different, come together and play as a team.

During the season Gilbault spends little time on the ice, as he is primarily responsible for coding the video of the games on the computer so video sessions are easy to plan. At

home games, Gilbault and Chadwick track scoring chances, and will, on more than one occasion debate the counting of a scoring chance, while appreciating soft rims, good hits, and shot blocking efforts.

Chadwick, is in his first year of coaching

Chadwick is the youngest of the coaches and he was the captain of the previous season, and it is easy to see why Joey N. thinks he was one of the best captains he has ever had. He is dedicated, energetic and enthusiastic. As he is also in his first year he has gone from being a member of the team to having an entirely new set of responsibilities and relationships. When playing it is simple, you go hard for 45 seconds balls out, and then you sit on the bench, focused and wait for your next shift. But not playing is strange, when I got behind the bench, it was all so fast, and so much going on, then after games there is so much talk, especially when it is going bad, talking and talking, whereas when playing you just get out there and do it. It's strange, as a coach I am more nervous about games than as a player, I guess it is like Trotter says its because you have no control.

During away game, unlike Gilbault and Mercier, Chadwick travels to away games and tracks face offs and scoring chances.

Joey N. is the head coach. In between phone calls as he is trying to ensure that the most pressing thing on his to do list is done, which at this moment is making sure refs are available for the alumni league, he will describe the head coach's job as involving everything from being a waterboy to a cook. He has been coaching for 11 years, he played 5 for the Chiefs, then played a season professionally in Europe before he started coaching as an assistant coach. Mercier will say he gets paid the big bucks and makes the final decision, he would probably not agree with the big bucks, but he does make decisions about who plays, how the team (should) play, and facilitates an endless list of activities. In combination with the perspectives provided by the other coaches decisions are taken on the team, lines and players to recruit. Essentially he manages 24 skaters, there are six forward lines and 4 pairs of d plus three goalies. During games only 20

players dress, meaning 6 forwards, 2 defenseman and one goalie are not in the line up but will be watching the games from the stands.

During games he manages the bench, meaning approximately every 45 seconds he decides what forward lines will take the ice. Prior to a game both he and Trottier will mentally create the rhythm for the lines they hope to establish, rarely does this work for more than the first three shifts without a penalty or the quality of play impacting the plan. Concerning who plays and who doesn't, he certainly favours veteran guys as it is their spot to lose, but playing well is what increases ice time. With shifts occurring every 30 to 60 seconds Joey N. makes 120 line changes over the course of the game. With 12 forwards to choose from in a game, and with many who can play all three positions, there are over 1320 line combinations that can be attempted during a game, and up to 3360 possible combinations of 5 players who could be on the ice at one time.

The First Practice

The first player on the ice arrives from Chiefs' Official Dressing room, this means he was on the team last year, players using the visitors room are either walk-ons or recruits who will not use the dressing room until they have made the team. He skates directly towards the open net and fires a shot that players would describe as a muffin. This means the shot was not very hard, and it fluttered as opposed to flew, it was also well wide of the net. Fortunately, no one else was on the ice, or there would have been some chirping. Nonetheless the player, after looking around to ensure his shot was not seen, brings his stick close to his face to check out the blade to make sure it is not defective. He then performs a second test, by placing some weight on the shaft of the stick to check its flex, satisfied with the results he retrieves the puck in the corner. The stick is held with a power grip, and though it is this grip that contributed to our ability for the powerful swinging of sticks, in hockey this power also involves accuracy, as shots travel over 80 miles an hour consistently.

Eventually some 35 players are on the ice, skating, shooting and passing, while awaiting the coach; they are divided into two teams as half the players are wearing white, while

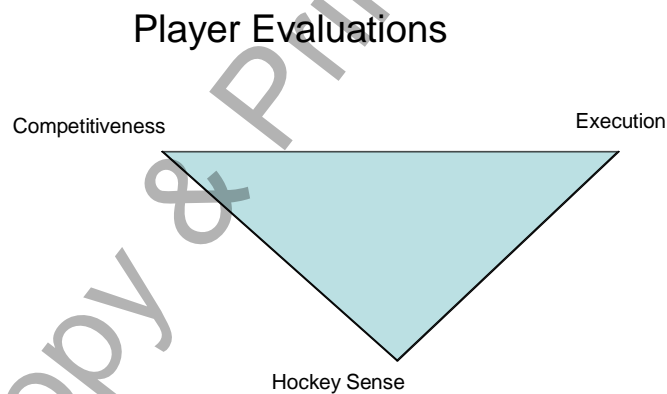
the others are wearing black. When the coach takes the ice, he goes to centre and whistles. The players stop what they are doing and gather around him at centre ice while the first drill is explained. Joey N. remains at centre ice, while the players skate around the outside, they are supposed to skate down the wing with the puck and then take a slap shot from the blue line. After a couple of rounds Joey N. blows the whistle, the drill stops, and Joey N. emphasizes, they are to shoot from the blue line, they are NOT to walk into the slot and unleash a slap shot. The whistle is blown again, the drill starts and the coach returns to the centre of the ice. The coach in the stands laughs and explains, 'That is a tradition. Every season the coach stops the first drill to give em hell and make sure they do it right'

After a couple of more drills the session turns into a scrimmage, and for the next forty minutes the players play. This rhythm continues over the next two weeks, with each practice seeing a reduction in the amount of scrimmages and fewer and fewer players. At almost every practice the coach remains at centre ice with a relatively expressionless face while the players revolve around him. Only twice during the training camp does he break into a smile. The first occasion occurs during a contact drill, players are supposed to rub out a player along the boards by eliminating the space, but one of their top defenseman decides that the opportunity to throw a hip check at a team mate is too good to pass up, Joey N. cannot help but smile and shakes his head, as the players chirp at each other. The second time occurs when one of the assistant coaches has forgotten his pants and needs to get into the office for another pair, the sight of his assistant on the bench trying to get his attention brought a smile to his, and everyone who witnessed it, face.

During training camp players are evaluated on a continual basis. Each practice concludes with an in office discussion on the performance of the players. This culminates with the players being evaluated from a scale of one to five on three different criteria, competitiveness, hockey sense, and execution under pressure. Competitiveness involves how hard they are willing to work, their intensity and willingness to pay the price when facing adversity. Hockey sense involves their

awareness of the game, their ability to recognize plays and be in the proper position. Execution under pressure involves how well a player performs in stressful situations, is their consistency in all situations with best performances coming at important times, such as near the end of a game or when they are about to take a check. Hockey sense is really about how well players understand and position themselves within a triangle, players with great hockey sense always choose the best triangle, players with competitiveness make up for their mistakes by working hard to minimize the damage that can come from choosing the wrong triangle, while executing entails how well a player accomplishes the play the triangle requires; the more complex a position, the more triangles in play. Graphically players' evaluation could be represented by a triangle, the larger the triangle the more valuable the player, and an example is provided in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1 Evaluating Players



The conversation about the players is intense. Joey N. is sitting at his desk encouraging Mercier and Chadwick to give him their evaluations. Mercier and Chadwick are in basic agreement over the players who are on the first two lines, there is some disagreement over whether a player deserves a 4 or 4.5, but the debate is minimal, but when it gets to the recruits and third line players the conversation gets heated. Chadwick is astounded

that Mercier has given a player a 2 at effort, when he has given the player a 3. 'How can you rank him that low, he is always battling, you can't think he is not working' 'I do think he works, but not all over the ice, hard in the corners but not consistent' 'Mercier you can't really be serious, he is always working, seriously' The debate moves on to another player, before starting up again for the same issue⁵⁴.

Finally Trottier reminds them. 'Guys the numbers are not important, there is not a number that is correct for effort, it is how you rank them relative to the other players. It is not important if you give Bob a 4.5 or a 5 for effort, what matters is that you agree he is one of our hardest workers, with him, even when he performs poorly and gives a two for effort, his two would still make him one of the hardest working guys in the league. What we have to figure out is, if we are ranking the guys 10 through 16 the same, and if not why. We have to be careful how we evaluate some of the players who try to play smart, as sometimes they don't appear to be working hard and appear soft, but in reality the guys who rely on working hard look like they are but it does not mean they are being effective.'

After over a ninety-minute meeting Joey N. is happy with the debate. 'It ensures that nothing is missed, makes sure we get different perspectives, shows how we think about players and it helps us correct our feelings about players. There will always be some dissention, but with out this process I would not be able to confirm my evaluations. Putting all if it together gives a fairly accurate representation of each player. What is important for a team and each individual player is that they bring something to the table. No player can be the best at everything, so you have to bring at least one thing. You take Sheldon Souray, he is not the best defenceman in the NHL, and is not a great defensive player, but he has a hell of shot. For our guys it is getting them to understand what they can contribute, work ethic, fitness, consistency, scoring, and if they find that thing, do it better than others and accept it, it improves our team.' Once the team is selected the regular rhythm of a hockey season begins.

⁵⁴ A similar issue will flare up later in the season as discussion turns to who should play more talented player playing a 60% of their capacity, or a less talented player at a 100%. After much adjusting of the numbers by Chadwick, Mercier wants to know who made Chadwick Mister fuckin percentages.

Act II Scene III 'Best we could hope for'

As the team prepares for their first game the practices become more intense and interactive. Good plays are followed with sticks slapping on the ice and supportive comments, bad plays are followed with a frown and some feedback. When a drill is executed improperly the whistle blows, the drill stops and the players begin again from the beginning. There is an increasing amount of emphasis placed on special teams and regroupings as these are seen as important to the team's aggressive skating style. Prior to their first exhibition, at the end of practice, Joey N. blows the whistle and the team gathers around centre ice to be reminded: 'I will be watching how we play, whether we are playing a good team, bad team or a new team, it doesn't matter, I want to see our team. Ok. 5'o' clock tomorrow in the dressing room with a shirt and tie.'

Exhibition Results

The exhibition season involves a series of 8 games against other teams in a pre-season tournament, teams in their division, the host team of the Nationals and two much anticipated games against prominent colleges that play in another league, the Aristocrats and Millionaires. The exhibition season opens with a relatively easy victory over the Whalers. The most promising part of the game is the effectiveness of the top line of Bergeron, Ti-guy and Jean-Guy, who combine for 10 points including a hat trick for Bergeron. Their next game is against their main rivals in the division, the Maroons. As expected this game is more representative of the challenges that will be faced this season as in recent years both teams have been ranked nationally and meet in the play offs for a spot at the Nationals. Chiefs loses a close one, 2-1, 'we had our chances, we know from the scouting reports we gotta go top shelf on Smith because he is really good low, but we kept trying to stuff it. The worst part about the game is Bergeron has a concussion, knew it as soon as he got hit, some of us bleed, and others guys don't, I never got a concussion when I played, probably because my head is too thick, but boy would I bleed. Losing Bergeron is going to be difficult; hopefully he will not be out that long'.

The remainder of the preseason involves winning a preseason tournament, and splitting games with the Cubs, a team who will be ranked no lower than second all year. The highlight of the preseason involves a trip to some elite schools in another League, and a victory over Millionaires where:

‘Penalties and strong goaltending spoiled the debut of the Millionaires new Head Coach. Bennett stopped 29 of 30 shots and Jean Charles scored twice in the Chiefs’s 3-1 win over the Bulldogs in an exhibition contest before 1,422 fans. The Millionaires, called for 13 penalties, gave up two power-play goals and could not solve the League’s most valuable player. Bennett, who led the League in shutouts last year with seven and has had a tryout with Anaheim of the NHL, was on his game. Alex, who made 20 saves, played the entire game but could not get support at the other end of the ice (0-6 on the power play). Watching his teammates fill the penalty box didn’t help either. The Bulldogs put the pressure on Chiefs in the third period by outshooting (16-5) and outskating their opponents, who fell 3-2 in OT at Aristocrats on Friday. However, Bennett (16 saves in 3rd) was there every time in position to make the stop. ‘There were some bright signs for the future tonight,’ said Arbour, who was clearly frustrated by the Bulldogs’s lack of discipline. ‘I thought we were the better team five-on-five, but we didn’t see enough of that tonight. Their goalie played a strong game and that team has a lot of older players who showed some maturity. They were fantastic at killing penalties.’

From the Chiefs’ standpoint it was an important game and marked the first time they had beaten a team from this league. It is an understatement to say they were excited. This victory represents a huge accomplishment for the program, as Joey N. tells his staff, ‘when I was playing the best we could hope for is to win a period, but a game never, this is big for us’.

Date	Visitor	Home	Result	Quality of Play
Sept. 23 (NC)	Whalers 2	Chiefs 9	Win	3
Sept. 27 (NC)	Maroons 2	Chiefs 1	Loss	3
Sept. 30 (NC)	Chiefs 4	Trolley Leaguers 3	Win	4
Oct. 1 (NC)	Chiefs 4	/Cougars 1	Win	4
Oct. 7 (NC)	Cubs 3	Chiefs 4	Win	4
Oct. 8 (NC)	Cubs 4	Chiefs 0	Loss	3
Oct. 20 (NC)	Chiefs 2	Aristocrats 3	Loss (OT)	2
Oct. 21 (NC)	Chiefs 3	Millionaires 1	Win	4

Critical Incident: Whose in net?

On the Thursday practice before the weekend, Joey N., Trottier, Gilbault Jean and Chadwick are talking about what needs to be done. Joey N. wishes Stan were there as he needs some offensive drills to keep practice from becoming boring. Trottier wants to know if they will be dressing 6 or 7 d, while Joey N. wants to know if Trottier wants to dress 6 or 7 d. He informs Trottier 'As soon as his defensive coach informs him what would be best, he will let him know'. They banter back and forth like this for bit, as players stop by to check about equipment, exams and other scheduling issues. When all the players are in the dressing room preparing for the practice, the door is shut and Trottier shares news that a player has just informed him that Bennett, the goalie, may have a sore back.

Bennett being injured, while having their back-up injured is seen as the 'nightmare scenario'. 'How injured is he fuck?' 'No idea.' 'Someone go get him and let's find out'. While waiting for Bennett, scenarios begin being discussed. When Bennett enters, in full goaltending gear, in what has quickly become a very congested and a very very concerned office. He sits and explains, 'I am ok, I have tweaked my back before. I just jammed it, I went to get treatment, but I can play. I am not going to take myself out of the game.' When Bennett is finished explaining and answering questions, Joey N. thanks him, something he does with remarkable consistency when anything is provided, and Bennett leaves the office.

After his departure the scenarios are discussed again. Joey N. believes Bennett can play both games. Mercier thinks Joey N. is crazy. 'We need Bennett next week, not this weekend'. – 'Fuck, he said he could play' - 'Remember, the games this weekend are at 7 and 2. He is not going to get a full days rest. There is not a lot of time in between these games. If playing without Bennett scares you now, try opening weekend'. There is a lot of shaking of heads as they imagine the nightmare scenario of playing without either of their goalies whose statistics are among the best in the nation. – 'Fuck he said he could play.' – 'Of course he said he can play, everyone says they can play, they guys who sit want to play, but you decide they shouldn't fuck, so yes he can play but he

shouldn't, we need him next week not now' - 'fuck' - Gilbault comments 'Not so sure he thinks he can play, he said he would play, not sure it means wants to play, to me the key thing is he said he had to be stopped as he is not going to pull himself' - 'aaaahhhh fuck'.

'Fuck. What are our options?' - 'There is Hanrahan, Fernand and Lablonte.' - 'Fuck Hanrahan has gone home. Fuck he is on a train right now. He asked me if he could go home for the weekend. He could have stayed, but he wanted me to tell him he should stay, if he wanted to stay he could have, but we were able to get a back up goalie for the weekend. What are our options. Fuck.'

'Hanrahan, Fernand or Booth. Fuck' -First call Hanrahan -(Mercier hands Joey N. the phone) - 'Wait' - 'What? Fuck you have to call Hanrahan (still holding phone out to Joey N.), make the final decision later on playing Bennett, but you have to call him. Joey N. makes the phone call, and leaves a message while opinions are offered. Mercier, Trottier and Gilbault are against Bennett playing both. Trottier and Gilbault suggest Booth.

Booth is a goalie who attends the college but plays competitively in another league. They feel that of the goalies available Booth has seen the most pucks, practiced the most, played with the most pressure, and is the most game ready. Joey N. is not sure, when they used a player from this team before it created some friction with the other league. There is Fernand. He played two seasons with the Chiefs, one as the back-up before being injured, and the other as the third string goalie, but since entering graduate school two years ago he has not played elite competitive hockey. -Not sure about Fernand, he is a wonderful team guy, he is filling in with us because of injuries for the weekend, but he has not played at anything like this level in a while.

I would go with Booth. Think that would be the best option and give us the best chance of winning. Joey N. remains unconvinced, Booth is a great goalie, but jumping to this league is difficult. Booth is certainly better technically than some of the goalies in this

league but... Fuck. Plus Booth's team was not thrilled with us the last time one of their players wanted to play with us.'

Mercier reiterates that fact that Joey N. must be deluded and fucking crazy to play Bennett ' If Hanrahan were here, we would not be having the conversation, it would be Hanrahan or Bennett fuck, and Bennett should not fucking play both games, to not use Hanrahan if he can get here... - he'll get here as he would love to play and this might be his only chance- .. is going to require an explanation. It has to be Hanrahan'.

The team wins their opening game 4-3 against the Cubs. Hanrahan has arrived and watches the game before practicing after the game. In the second game of the series Hanrahan plays. They lose 4-0. In the first period the Chiefs takes a number of quick penalties and play almost 8 of the first 14 minutes shorthanded before conceding a power play goal at 14:22. In the second period they concede two more power play goals, one of them on a 5-3. In the third period, they play better, create some chances and though they concede another goal, it is the only period where they outshoot Cubs during the weekend.

At the end of the game, Mercier takes the position, a position he defends for the entire season, that Hanrahan was their best player on the ice that night. The players' feel Hanrahan played well under the circumstance and cannot be faulted for any of the goals. He made some good saves early and there is a consensus that being down 1-0 after having given up that many PP chances is a score they would have taken regardless of the goalie. Joey N. is complimentary 'He made some good saves and McDonald is a League All-Star who will score on anybody with his shot so we have to be happy'. Hanrahan is satisfied with his performance, though he admits 'I was happy to make a big save early and while I wished I could have the 4th goal back, have never had to deal with that much contact or traffic in front of the net'. Summarizing the weekend one player remarks, in a way that reveals how the team approached the second game, as if they had no hope of winning, 'That should teach us that so long as we believe we can win we have a chance to beat anybody'.

Coaches Corner: Geese and Leadership

I am happy about the preseason. I was happy with the win against the Millionaires and our performance against the Aristocrats. Obviously there is some work to be done in transition as we got hemmed in our end a couple of times, the 3 minute shift against the Millionaires was concerning, guys were screaming at the players to get a change. As Trottier may have told you, guys were looking at us behind the bench, but there is not a lot we could do from there. We should be able to address these issues with time. On a positive side some of our support players played really well and our best players were our best players so that was nice to see. Some of our rookies and 2nd year players played quite well, whether they can play with that consistency is unlikely, as guys can be pretty motivated in their first game, against more skilled teams or when playing prestigious schools.

I was a bit disappointed that I did not get to use Hanrahan, our third string goalie during the weekend, he really wanted to play against the Millionaires. I really feel Hanrahan earned an opportunity to play again because of how he played in a difficult situation against the Cubs. If the Millionaires had used their back up, I would have switched, but he went for the victory so I could not make the change. Putting in Hanrahan would have been unfair to the team. It would have also been unfair to Hanrahan to place him in that position. Frustrating really when coaches do that, last year in an exhibition game, we played a coach who matched lines, I put out a recruit, who will have a difficult time playing in the regular line up and his only playing time this year will be limited to a few minutes in exhibition games, and he throws out his top player, and they score, who does that help really? What is the point? Why would we want to play an exhibition game against a team like that? You see teams do that, really stress perfecting a style of play, early in the season, sometimes it limits their development and ultimately prevents people from performing at their highest level.

I am certainly not perfect with this as we all want to win, and it is certainly a bigger issue when the stakes are high, I get to try some pretty crazy things cause we don't have to win, but the ethics when your job is dependant on winning can create some bad

behaviour. But trying to win exhibition games at the expense of development is probably not gonna help you win when it matters. I am certainly guilty of it sometimes, in the exhibition game against Cubs, I didn't want to play Hanrahan. After being told a million times by Mercier that I was fucking crazy I relented. Of course the teams reaction was not what I expected. They reacted horribly; none of us know how we would have reacted so it is hard to judge them because we have never faced that situation. Would we have responded better? Having said that they reacted pretty poorly. It was unsettling. They reacted as if there was no way we could win or achieve our goals for this season by playing Hanrahan in an exhibition game! During the warm-up the body language of our guys was awful. Most warm-ups goalies work on squaring to the shooter, visualizing their stops, but don't actually try to stop all the shots. I don't know if they were trying to hit him to build his confidence and when they did pucks would still go in, but some guys were panicked that he wasn't making stops. Trottier had to tell them to relax and shut up about the lack of saves or they were going to ruin all his confidence and we would truly have no chance. Hanrahan was pretty nervous before the game, he had never played in a game of this calibre, had not played a real competitive game in a year, was cut last year when he tried out and was making his start against a top ranked team with a couple of All-Canadians who are hosting the Nationals and expect to win it. He played well, he hung in there, did not give up a bad goal, and anytime you play short handed for half the first period and only finish down one, you have to be pretty happy, but how we approached the game caused some concern.

It is going to be difficult. We had a meeting during the Preseason tournament, and could see the guys looking around for someone to talk, but we can't just wait for Hull. Our coaches who used to play really like the story about geese and goose smarts.

This fall when you see Geese heading south for the winter flying in a 'V' formation you might be interested in knowing what science has discovered about why they fly that way. It has been learned that as each bird flaps its wings, it creates lift for the bird following it. By flying in a 'Vee' formation, the whole flock extends its flying range 71% greater than if each bird flew alone. Whenever a goose falls out of formation, it suddenly feels the extra drag of 'going it alone' and quickly gets back

into formation to take advantage of the lifting power of the bird immediately in front.

When the head goose at the tip of the 'Vee' gets tired, it rotates back into formation and another goose takes over the lead position. The geese in formation honk from behind to encourage those up front to keep up their speed. Also, when a goose gets sick or wounded or shot down, two geese drop out of formation to follow him down, to help and protect him. They stay with him until he is either able to fly again or dies. Then they launch out on their own with another formation or catch up with the flock. Perhaps if we had the sense as the goose, we'd find our greatest power lies in giving each other permission to lead, to encourage, to support and accomplish team spirit.

On average we lose a fifth of our players, so every year we need guys to take on different roles, ideally everyone could do it, as more leaders are better than less. A lot of people don't think you can develop leaders, but Quinn (a coach whom Joey N. discusses hockey with regularly) and I believe you can and that it helps to try. At coaching conferences when we are asked how many leaders on the team, those with more leaders generally have better seasons. Last year our captains were also vocal guys, this year we have effectively lost two important leaders. In effect if one of our key leaders was working at the front the other was honking madly. In fact if Hull was out in front he was still honking madly, the type of goose you want to shoot. He used to drive me crazy. I am sure you have heard the story about the time the window popped out of the bus on the highway. There is this commotion from the back of the bus, I turn around and there is no window next to Hull. He is sitting there as shocked as anyone, and I'm screaming 'Jesus Hull, what the fuck have you done now' as Hull will put it I've lost it. I am sure he smiles every time he tells the story. What he brought to the team was kind of amazing, he would display great emotional intelligence, but a lot of our other guys kind of drafted behind these guys. Now guys have to adapt to new roles and realize they are not coming back. With these guys not here, this is going to be a real challenge for us, often you don't know how someone will take to leading, some guys you think can do it struggle, while others surprise you.

Act III Scene I: Talent 'It's a puzzle'

This part of the season involves the first nine games, just over a third of the season, and ends, approximately one month after it begins on October 9th.

As it happened: Playing our game

The season opener coincides with the Chiefs's Hockey homecoming festivities, where past players are encouraged to attend the games and meet the team. In the paper the Maroons coach has declared that their lack of d has caused them to transform forwards to d, so while they hope to be competitive, they don't expect to challenge the Chiefs. Joey N. is annoyed, as prior to the puck dropping on the season, extra pressure is being placed on the team to live up to expectations.

The season officially begins with an impressive 8-3 victory over the Wanderers. In this penalty filled contest, where each team had 12 power plays, the Chiefs controlled much of the play as their speed and determination was continually evident. Though they only out shot their opponents 39-37, they scored 3 power play goals and the Wanderers struggled to contain the line of Roger, Mario, and Jean-Charles who combined for 8 points as their speed and cycling ability created numerous chances. The following night the Chiefs hosted long time rivals the Maroons and their excellent play continues as they outshoot their opponents 44-25, create more scoring chances than their opponents and have twice as many power play opportunities (10 versus 5), a discrepancy that usually indicates that one team is carrying the play and setting the pace of the game, while the other team is reacting. Though the Chiefs outplayed their rivals, they still required overtime to secure a 1-0 victory in front of a packed house of 500 fans.

Game report. Newly elected team captain Ti-Guy scored a power play goal at 1:04 of overtime as Chiefs defeated Maroons 1-0 in their Conference men's hockey home opener on Saturday. League all star Bennett, made 30 saves for his first shutout of the season, after establishing a League single-season record with seven last year. Ti-Guy

deflected a point-shot by Bobby, spoiling a 45-save performance by the Maroons netminder, as the Chiefs outshot the Pats 46-31, including a 21-6 edge in the middle period. It was the third straight game-winner against Maroons in league play for Ti-Guy. The Chiefs, will host the Bulldogs on Tuesday night. The Bulldogs are 1-1 after an 8-5 loss to Maroons and a 6-5 win over Wanderers.

Talking about the weekend Joey N., is impressed with the play of the RMJ line, 'usually they have been considered checkers who use their speed and cycling ability to frustrate the other team. They are hoping to contribute more offensively and it looks like they are going to' Overall Joey N. appears happy with the weekend, they managed another victory and played well against Wanderers although '3 of our power play goals against Wanderers came off passes I told them would not be there, they (Wanderers) never adjusted, other teams will. So I am not satisfied with our finishing, and the result is somewhat flattering'. The next game is against Bulldogs and it will be a good test. Last year the games were always close and they challenged Chiefs in the play-offs. Having lost the first game, they entered the 3rd period of an elimination game down a goal and with help from a great speech given by the captain and big goals by clutch guys, the Chiefs won the series, 'but it wasn't easy'.

Compared to Saturday night, the crowd for Tuesday's game is sparse, though the press release declares the same number of fans are present. The lack of support does not impact the Chiefs's play as they appear to have solved their problems with the Bulldogs. Through 40 minutes the Chiefs enjoys a comfortable advantage in play, they are out shooting the Bulldogs by a margin of 36 to 11 (including an 11-1 first period) and winning 5-3. This changes drastically in the 3rd period, the Chiefs are out shot 14-8 and outscored 3-0 in what became a 6-5 loss. As the press release declared

'It was the most goals allowed by a Chiefs team in 78 league contests... It also snapped the Chiefs' undefeated streak at 10-0-1 in Conference play, dating back to last January as the Bulldogs handed the Chiefs its first regular-season home-ice loss in almost two years...'

Behind the closed doors of the locker room, and behind the closed door of Joey N.'s office, the coaches are frustrated and concerned about the team's performance. They are

clearly worried about goaltending. With Lemieux injured, they are concerned that relying too heavily on Bennett, the nation's top goaltender last year, could impact his play. In between an outburst of swearing Joey N. exclaims 'If he becomes tired, loses confidence, or hides a nagging injury... fuck tabernac...' Mercier is trying to calm Joey N. down by highlighting how it was not just goaltending, but a team issue. There is more swearing and someone comments 'of course it was a team issue sometimes we became so automatic the opposition could 'read us like an open book'. Swearing and frustration continue as talk involves discussion of being flat, executing poorly and wondering why their goalie struggles against Bulldogs. As the game tape is reviewed Gilbault contributes it does not that the problems are not so much with 'effort but our execution and emotion'. After another intense round of swearing one of the coaches raises the body language of the players as it did not remain positive, when things started to go bad, the players on the bench just looked confused.

For the next hour the game is reviewed in its entirety, extra attention is given to the pp and pk, as there is no way we can be 'outscored 4-0 on special teams and win', if we are plus one on special teams we should win most games. Though unsatisfied with the performance the consensus is that lessons can be taken from the game that may help us later on. On the plus side Joey N. informs the staff that a meeting with the sports psychologist has already been scheduled and they hope they can take advantage of an experience that will be fresh in all the players minds. As Joey N. leaves to give an interview Trottier comments how 'he hates this part', though he accepts 'we gotta face the music' and offer explanations after each performance.

The next day practice starts late as Joey N. is holding a meeting with the players to discuss performance issues. The mood is drastically different from the night before, as players appear relaxed and express 'that was yesterday' attitude. They are concerned about how they lost a game they were dominating, but they do not appear to taking the loss too hard and the consensus is it represents a good learning opportunity. The practice begins with a free skate and when the coaches arrive it is short and intense with skating and special teams emphasized. When asked if they were surprised to see pucks, players

admitted to thinking they expected a punishing workout for their efforts last night. Watching the players leave after practice is dramatically different than it was last night. It appears Trottier is not alone in hating this part, as not enjoying 'facing the music' appears to be a shared sentiment, as players stop and talk and there is great deal of discussion, whereas the night before players filed out silently, and avoided looking in the coaches office even if the door was open.

Over the remainder of the talent portion of the season Chiefs records an overall record of 12-4 -1 with the conference games representing a record of 7-1-1. Having struggled with the power play during the beginning of the season, including an extended stretch of 13 two-man advantages where only goal was scored, the power play has become increasingly effective and dangerous.

Critical Incident: What was he thinking?

In a game where Chiefs out shoots their opponents 42 to 24, they go 1 for 10 on the power play and settle for a 1-1 draw. Troubling is the performance of some key players, as there were a tremendous number of undisciplined penalties, including one that lead to the ejection of an important player. In the office Joey N. wants to know where the fucking score-sheet is. The score sheet will indicate what kind of penalty the player is assessed and whether a suspension will be one or multiple games. The door to the office is closed and the coaches are standing, sitting, shaking their heads, leaving the office and coming back in. In what becomes a repeated refrain within this space, 'What was he was thinking?'

Watching the tape, the coaches express their frustration and the dismay continues. 'Fuck Fuck Fuck, you have to protect yourself, if he protects himself going over the blue line none of this happens. You cannot carry the puck across the blue line as if you are going for a Sunday stroll, Jesus Fuck.' - 'But he can't react like that, if he does he is going to hurt the team.' - 'Fuck I know, but he has fight and we need fight.' - 'You can't be both our scorer and the enforcer, its great that he sticks up for his team-mates but....' - 'You can't be everything. Fuck'

The score sheet arrives. The Coaches are not in the office and it is given to me. When an assistant Coach arrives I give it to them. He looks at it. -3 game suspension fuck, Joey N. not going to like that'. He leaves and gives the score sheet back to me. I don't want it and I place it on the desk as I do not want to be the messenger. Eventually, all the assistant coaches know, but they have not told Joey N. Joey N. returns to the office, and though it is full, the other coaches wait for Joey N. to look at the game sheet. 'Fuck' There is now a collective outbreak of swearing. This follows with debate on whether they should appeal the suspension. Chadwick is adamant that doing so would send the wrong message, it would say they agree with the player's action, and they do not, it is unacceptable. Joey N. agrees, they decide not to officially appeal, but will mention their concern about the severity of the suspension in case they have to appeal something at the end of the season.

As they review the tape they focus on the PP opportunities. They are happy with how they are controlling the puck, but concerned about how they are using everyone, Trottier observes, 'We are not using everybody, it is limiting our chances, they don't like (Chadwick flashes a look) ok they don't trust everybody on the ice.' There is much shaking of heads as they realize that when players are in a good position they are not given the puck.

As they watch the slash, they are lost, how can he complain about it. Then they ask why. Jesus fuck the guys not gonna score from there, and then he questions the fucking call. What is there to question, it was a two handed slash'. Chadwick is upset, 'The leaders can't act like that, talking back to the referee, slapping their sticks, it sets a bad example' Joey N. is not certain that it hurt the team tonight. Chadwick agrees but it sets the tone and we need the leaders to take more responsibility. Joey N. shakes his head and acknowledges this fact, but it is not going to be easy. 'We did not play bad, there is no need to panic, had a coach in high school who panicked all the time and I do not want to be that coach. When you start to panic everyone becomes unsettled and things become unpredictable. We have to be consistent and calm, if we start making changes on every incident it will be unsettling and they need to settle down. Playing when

constantly making changes, especially when you are always reacting emotionally is difficult, we have to remain calm and consistent, but it is going to be hard.'

Chadwick adds that it is like the burns thing that you mentioned, 'you have gotta be soft when things are hard, and hard when things are going well.' Joey N. looks confused and wobbles his head, Trotter interjects, 'maybe it wasn't Burns'. Continuing Joey N. adds 'Did I say that, really? What do I know. Our preparation is not where it should be. It might begin with me. Before our last road trip the bus driver wanted an itinerary, did I prepare us enough for the Bulldogs game, no I spent the afternoon worrying about an itinerary, we didn't win, we blew a lead, and then the bus driver managed to get lost. Today in our meeting before the game some one's eating spaghetti, trying on new skates, and fixing their helmet fuck, they were not taking the game seriously. Preparation is so important, when I was playing some guys had no idea how to prepare and had to show them. For the remainder of the evening in between outbursts of fuck fuck and fuck, the themes of preparation, how to respond to the challenge, and the power play continue until just after midnight. 'Fuck we had 43 shots, our PK is good, but our PP is 'am not gonna say what has to be done as apparently I have not made it successful yet'. Leaving the office Joey N. quotes Springsteen, whose answer to the question about the quality of his concerts over the years was 'You have to prepare for each one like it is your last'

Coaches Corner: Emotions and Action

We keep talking about emotions after our games. Our team is not emotional enough. Some guys are too emotional. When you look at our performance, some games our emotional guys are the problem, other games it is the other guys. The reality is the talk about emotions doesn't tell us anything, if players takes action that has a negative consequence we say too much emotion, if players take action and a positive occurs we applaud emotion, if players doesn't react we say not enough emotion. But fuck there is a different level of emotion for every guy, we may as well not say anything at all. Reviewing the tape Mercier and Chadwick state they feel the team was too emotional. Last week they all said the team was not emotional, now the emotional guys played

poor and the less emotional guys better but then some are invisible until they get emotional. Watch the tape, emotion has nothing to with it!!!

What we are is a systematic team, and when are systems are working well we play excellent hockey, but when we meet resistance we struggle, some guys show fight, or if you want a more politically correct word, dedicated measurable effort, and this is great when it sets a tone, without it sometimes you are done. But sometimes that fight, even if it is for everyone, becomes to individualistic and is a negative. If you watch any amount of hockey you will see these players working really hard and they cross the line, they go from being action oriented, and creating things to reacting and the system breaks, we got a couple of guys where you can see this happening battling, battling, everything you want then boom, stupid penalty. Then there are other guys who don't panic and play the same way, up by seven or down by one, sometimes they can appear almost disinterested loopy fucking goosey (there is an impression of a bobble head doll), we have one guy who drives an assistant coach crazy, thinks we should hide his skates, but he has our only break away pass and I am pretty sure that is not a coincidence. Which is better, what do I know, it depends on the situation, you need both, as for when do you need what, I have no idea, but no matter what be prepared to work hard. A team needs a bit of everything, you look at some guys, and you can see weaknesses in their game, but if you can do one thing better than everyone, you can contribute, you have to bring something.

Talent: Summary of Results

Oct. 13	Chiefs	8	Wanderers	3	Win	3.5
Oct. 14	Maroons	0	Chiefs	1	Win	4
Oct. 17	Bulldogs	6	Chiefs	5	Loss	2
Oct. 27	Chiefs	3	Wheat Cities	0	Win	3
Oct. 28	Chiefs	4	Shamrocks	0	Win	3
Nov. 3	Crescents	1	Chiefs	1	Tie (OT)	3
Nov. 4	Victorias	3	Chiefs	6	Win	3
Nov. 10	Chiefs	2	York	1	Win	3
Nov. 11	Chiefs	3	Capitals	0	Win	3

East Conference Standings

Far east	GP	W	L	T	OTL	GF	GA	+/-	PTS	T
Chiefs	9	7	1	1	0	33	14	19	15	
Maroons	9	6	2	1	2	45	20	25	15	
Bulldogs	10	3	6	1	1	38	38	0	8	
Wanderers	10	3	7	0	0	36	45	-9	6	
Mideast										
Wheat Cities	10	7	3	0	0	33	25	8	14	
Victorias	10	1	6	3	1	34	43	-9	6	
Crescents	10	2	7	1	0	23	47	-24	5	
Shamrocks	10	1	9	0	0	19	63	-44	2	

	Chiefs	Opposition	Cumulative	Change
Avg Shots	42.5	25.1		
Avg Goals	3.6	1.5		
Chances				
Powerplay	14/87 (16.1%)	7/80 (8.8%)		
Penalty Kill	73/80	73/87		
Five on Five	2.1	.66		
Conference Rank	1 st on D/6 th on O	League Ranking	3rd	

Chapter 6

‘Make work your play’

Abstract

This chapter describes what happened during the remainder of the season. It emphasizes some of the issues that concern the coach as the team struggles to perform consistently. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion on the relevance of understanding hope as an essential aspect of the coaching process.

‘Today we needed Jonesy, and Ronald showed up’

Act III Scene II: Systems ‘Managing this isn’t easy’

From the period of November 17th until February 3rd the Chiefs play 16 games during a stretch that sees them face many challenges. This stretch represented an important portion of the season they play 4 other nationally ranked teams plus the other division leaders. Included in these games were a couple of important games against their division rival and a challenging road trip where they will play two games in front of three thousand fans. Included in this road trip is a Saturday game where every fan receives a Teddy Bear. When the home team scores everyone throws their Teddy Bear on the ice and these are given to charity, when you are the visiting team you hope every fan has to go home with that fucking Teddy Bear.

As it happened: Solving Puzzles

The first game during this stretch of the season is billed as the return of the Jedi Night to visit Obi Wan. The visiting coach was Joey N.’s assistant for 3 years prior to leaving to become the head coach at another university. After a successful road trip the coaches have expressed pleasure with the play of their defence, especially as none of their players were seen as dominant during the recruitment. ‘They handle the gap so effectively who would have thought it, but wow, for a bunch of no names, they have been tremendous, with the special teams working, Lemieux’s return and only one injury we are in a good position if we can continue to solve leadership issues’.

The game against the Cougars is a good hockey game between two teams who played each other in the Championship last year. The Chiefs begin the game as they usually do, starting quickly and using their speed to dictate the tempo. At the end of one period Chiefs is leading 2-1 on the strength of two power play goals and out shooting the Cougars 19-7. At the end of two periods the Chiefs are winning 3-2 with a 34-19 advantage in shots. During the third period, with a chance to extend the lead to 5-3, the Cougars goalie makes a brilliant save. It is a save one goalie describes as the type of save that provides the reason you play the game; it is a save you have no business making. The third period ends with the score tied 4-4 and the difference in shots is now

45-28. In overtime the Cougars win when they score their first even strength goal. The Chiefs finish minus one on special teams and take a disappointing loss.

After the game the coaching staff is perplexed, as we had them. Each member offers their thoughts on what happened during the games as they watch the tape. There is a concern that the team is not playing with enough emotion, 'look at the Cougars bench, the guys are standing, all of them are into the game, our bench is flat'. 'Not sure you can say that, we played well, we created chances, how can we say lack of emotion is the cause, look at the final goal, who made the mistake, the guys with emotion, talking of emotion is not relevant, it is bullshit actually' 'This debate continues as there is an intense discussion concerning on to what extent players are not emotional enough or whether other factors are inhibiting performance.

Eventually the discussion turns to the events on the ice as the coaches watch the game as it is uploaded to the computer. They cannot wait to see Jean-Guy's shot block attempt, which really impressed the assistant coaches. Once this is found, the coaches gather round the computer to watch the play. During the first viewing they are impressed with the effort. On the second viewing they realize the players effort was valiant but was required in response to his mistake in following the play to low on the weak side after a defenseman was slow leaving the corner. On the third viewing they notice the other forward had over committed at the point, which contributed to the collapse of the PK unit. 'Wow, the box completely fell apart, it looked great during the game, but the PK unit was all over the place, Jean-guy had to skate 30 feet just to attempt the block' Joey N. interjects that if that shot is stopped, then our PK is fine, you watch the tapes and you'll see our guys are often not in the perfect box –gesturing with his hand as he demonstrates how the box rarely exists perfectly except in the abstract – that is a shot we'll give and if stopped the PK will be fine.

After winning the next game convincingly, the next two weekends bring two ties and two losses.

Assessing Systems

Behind closed doors the coaches are wondering if their finishing is that bad, is it possible they were playing the same way last year but did not notice because they were winning. 'Sometimes they are playing well, but the determination is not consistent, I am certain if they were told they'd lose an arm they would successfully execute some of those plays. Instead they are 'dans la lune' as he wobbles his head for effect. If you look at our last 4 games we have two losses and 2 ties despite out shooting opponents by 47 shots. We are twice as effective on special teams as our opponents. It is really strange people keep telling us we are having a good season. We only have one loss in regulation, yet we are disappointed and something is missing despite our record'.

To this effect a meeting is held to review the team's performance and assess the difference between their results, the expectations and how they perceive their performance. Food is ordered after practice and an agenda is distributed listing goaltending, leadership, team dynamics and the quality of practice and other issues. Joey N. begins with inquiring about how they are going with the GAGG Rule (Get a Great Goalie). Stan responds 'I am happy with their progress, Bennett is not playing as consistent as last year, but with Lemieux returning from injury, he is now more rested and forced to be more focused. He tells me it tickles, because as the starter he knows he has not played to his potential and that Lemieux is playing well. Obviously we are going to face a tough decision if they continue to play this way, but we have two great goalies'. Each are statistically in the top five in the League and capable of winning a game on their own. Mercier questions how they are playing but Stan is emphatic that 'goaltending is not, and will not be the problem', and Mercier relents.

Next on the agenda is the ongoing issue of leadership and the dynamics of the team. They are at a loss about what to do. Recently they have given a captaincy to a veteran player. Officially, they now have one captain and four alternates, one more than they are technically allowed. But they feel the player deserves it for his effort, as it was an agonizing decision not to have him as an alternate captain at the beginning of the year.

On the board is a diagram, a 2 by 2 matrix, showing how conflict can be resolved it shows win win, lose lose, lose win and win lose. There is concern that the strongest personality is often too negative, 'once, would like to hear a positive, just once fuck', and that this tendency is creating too many lose lose situations. 'If B were stronger it would be ok, but S dictates too much of the interaction and the guys don't respond to S well'. 'Well, fuck that is kind, a lot of guys are frustrated'. 'D could, but he feels out of place given there are more veterans, while Jean Charles is more Robin than Batman, and now given Chadwick is an assistant he is kind of like a lost puppy, they are all at a bit of a loss.' They continue discussing the issues with the leaders as Joey N. encourages suggestions about what can be done.

Mercier feels it is their team and the leaders have to take responsibility, and states this repeatedly. There is a limit to what can be done. 'You can't worry about some of it, you spell out options, just like you did with the team photo, and then they have to deal with it, it is their team, but fuck you can't be carrying bags of used equipment to a fundraising sale cause they didn't'. 'Isn't that leading by example'. That is not leading by fucking example, its cleaning up after people, you are not serious are you. Fuck, I ask them for sizes for shirts and they don't know, oh what is d getting, I want the same as him, none of them seem to step up' - 'I know fuck, but we gotta do something. We have to provide them with some tools.'

This conversation goes on for sometime regarding specific issues with specific players. Most pressing are the issues involving personal statistics and team results and how to deal the guys calling for the puck; they need to be able to communicate. We have talked to them about addressing this but some get so nervous about confronting these things and it just doesn't happen. It is not going to be easy and we are going to have to do a lot of follow up, now what do we do for the issues in the room.

Chadwick wants to know what can be done about some of the team dynamics as guys don't seem to be as connected as they should be. It's tough lots of guys aren't playing and the guys that aren't playing are not together, the rookies are apart from the veterans while watching the game. I wouldn't be surprised if some are wondering if they will

ever play or if they are simply wasting a year of eligibility. Fuck!. That is not good, had no idea. Jesus I know from my meetings some guys aren't talking to each other and that's a problem when they gotta play together but fuck. Even in the room these guys are separated they are in the corner, maybe we should change the room around. No fuck, whoah, you can't be serious Coach. Change the room that's extreme. But we gotta do something. Yeah but the room, that might not go over well. It's a strong statement. We don't have everybody, just get the guys out of the corner. They are not going to react well.

There is no agreement on this point and a decision is not taken. And the conversation ends with a long wow from Chadwick, the room, that's huge. It is but we gotta turn over every rock and look for solutions, this might not be it, but we gotta discuss it as an option. What are we going to do about practices.

There is concern that the practices are somewhat stale and too long. I can't be sure but is the lack of energy in our games reflected in how we are practicing. At the beginning of the season we placed so much emphasis on our special teams, did we ruin our rhythm. Not sure our performance is linked to the practices but they have been long. I know with the rule changes we wanted everyone to get comfortable with their roles but Jesus fuck we gotta get our intensity up and if Stan can come up with some new offensive drills may be we can have some fun. Just make them shorter, put more intense skating in the drills and have the practices be short work outs, get them to do everything quick.

Making Adjustments

The day after the meeting practice begins with a punishing skating session where players skate to a point of almost exhaustion. After the practice Chadwick explains. 'The players were not on the ice on time, so one of the captains asked me what should be done. I told him that it was a captain's decision so he decided they all skate. Later recounting the story to Joey N. who could not attend practice, he is happy with how Chadwick handled the situation and the leader's decision but frustrated that they had to

ask ‘They have gotta make those decisions, its’ their team ‘ Chadwick ‘That’s what I told them’ ‘ I know but its gonna be tough, it ain’t ever easy, but gotta a lot of work to do with them.’

This issue is raised at a captain’s meeting with Joey N. during the break. Joey N. wants to know how they are dealing with issues involving points and communication on the ice. The players are asked what actions they are taking and what steps they are taking to resolve the issues the face in the dressing room. The players are each given a portion of an article from Sports Psychology Journal article on research regarding the importance of captains and their role in having a team secure its goals. When they are asked about how they are addressing the issue of players stating their preference for individual performance over team goals, there is a remarkable silence. None of the captains discuss their feelings on this incident⁵⁵. They are informed that they do not have to agree on everything, but that they have to talk about their disagreements and then share them with the team, ‘not doing anything is not an option. As the article says it is you guys, our leaders who contribute to the success of a team, there is not much I can do without you. In here, the coaches will disagree, and discuss, but when we leave the office we present what we think is best’

With the break over and players and coaches having benefited from a much needed break the practices are radically different than the 70 previous practices. It is shorter quicker and more energised. Joey N. is more present and vocal than usual, his voice can be heard from the stands. After the practice Joey N. is excited, finally coaching and playing. ‘Fuck tired of practice. Let’s play. I don’t understand how Wooden practices for 2 hours a day. You might be able to do that in basketball but in hockey some guys

⁵⁵ After a game, a player inquired about whether he had received a point. A fourth line player did not think it was appropriate and a debate ensued about the merits of personal goals and team goals. The player who wanted the points, was hoping more points might get him noticed, and stated his preference for personal recognition, while the other player highlighted that no matter who wins the tour de france, he will do it because of the team. It was a strange and discomforting debate that left the Coaches bewildered because the players did not play selfishly on the ice and because the leaders had not taken any action. In the interim, a player, who sometimes plays a bit more selfishly, had requested to have points removed, as personal points were not important.

need hours just to be able to ready to skate. Now if we can take that energy into our game things should be good for the second half.'

Aside from potentially losing another player to injury the team is happy about their first game in the New Year as they win 4-2. On the bus players gladly take their meals of chicken with fries. Lemieux, who received his first start against a conference team, partially as a result of his play and partially because Bennett has struggled against Bulldogs, is happy. He is thrilled to find out that he made 26 saves, far more than he thought he did, 'this is going to do wonders for the save percentage'. The bus is happy and a movie, Bon Cop Bad Cop is played, but not finished on the trip to Tigers, where they are playing an exhibition game. Prior to the game little is known about how the team will play though League teams are always excited to play good teams with respected programs. But a discussion with a player reveals they are probably unaware that they are playing a team who had a very successful mid season break, where they beat one of the top teams in a very competitive league. As a result the Tigers currently find themselves ranked in the top ten, a discussion with an injured player reveals some surprise at this and he feels that it might be best if this fact remains unknown.

As per the plan to bring the team closer together players are paired in different rooms. Forwards are placed with defenceman, rookies are placed with veterans, those who like to study are placed with those who consider it an offence worthy of kangaroo court. During the day the team holds a team building session where they are asked to recount a significant event in their life. What does not go according to plan is their line up. 25 players have made the trip but only 18 are able to play. At the meeting upon arriving at the hotel, the possibility of dressing a coach as a player is briefly considered but dropped for a variety of reasons including legal and the potential ramifications of dressing a player who is not eligible.

Injuries become an unforeseen issue after Christmas. In total there are 10 injuries at one point, 4 players are suffering from concussions, two others hurt their shoulder, three have hurt their knee and another has broken a bone in their foot. At one point the team fields a line up which has only 16 players, five of whom are rookies. For an important

conference game against the division leader a forward is transformed into a defenseman. Even then, as each defensive position requires 60 minutes, using the average ice time of the players who will dress they find themselves almost 25 minutes short of hockey, and find themselves asking if their best defenseman could play forty minutes. Desperate to find a way to ensure that their game against the Maroons, who currently lead the Chiefs by two points, is played at slow pace they list every possible method of slowing down the game. At one point, after an excruciating discussion on whether it was viable, they ask a player walking by the office for an opinion. ‘If it were required, would you be comfortable playing up an injury, or staying down for medical treatment’ ‘No not at all, I don’t even if I could do that, I mean if you asked me to I would coach, but I am not comfortable with it, No’ ‘No I understand we are just wondering how to slow the pace if required’ ‘Have you considered asking Gagnon, he was born in Europe’. There is laughter, and Gagnon is never asked, but is told about the suggestion, and the plan is never implemented.

The game is on Wednesday and requires a 2 hour bus ride. It is their first visit of the season to an arena that they dislike almost as much as the opponent, because the visitors bench makes for an exceptionally long change in both the first and third period. The bus is scheduled to leave at 3 and players will eat pasta on their way to the game. As per their custom the bus is cleaned by players when they arrive, what is unusual is that because of the injuries the rookies who normally clean the bus are playing and it takes some time for the injured players to realize that someone has to clean the bus or Joey N. will freak.

Given the line-up Chiefs is expecting a difficult game and our hoping that the inexperience of these players will not impact the teams’ performance. They are pleased with the performance of these players as the defenceman who routinely picks under when forced to guess the shifts he will play, finishes the game with an even plus minus record and gets his shot through, and of the forward one player scores his first goal while the other picks up an assist on a pretty passing play for an even strength goal. And while the players and coaches watching are genuinely happy for these guys they are

concerned about the overall performance. They have pressing concerns about many facets of their game, as they went 1 for 8 on the power play including a long 5-on 3 where they created no chances, while their rivals went 2 for 3 on the power play. Worse is the winning goal is scored on what should be a harmless wrist shot from a bad angle and has the players watching from the stands wondering what is happening.

After the game the Coaches are beside themselves. The game has ended with something of a scrum where three Maroons are given penalties, one of which is a match penalty, and one Chiefs is given a penalty. But immediately after the game they do not know what kind of penalty and as the player through something of a punch they are concerned it could result in a one game suspension. Fuck. Fuck. I have to coach better. Mercier. Fuck, you have to Coach better, it is the guys. When Joey N. is about to respond, Stan interjects and lets him know there is a reporter in the lobby waiting to interview him. What is reported is that the team has played poorly in an important game and showed a lack of consistency. The frustration continues after the interview. Stan paces and says little while he shakes his head. Mercier and Joey N. return to debating the performance and are annoyed that the power play has hurt them again. 'We didn't create anything fuck. Trottier hits a soft drink machine. Fuck. Fuck. Fuck. We ask guys not to go up the middle, where do the go, the middle, fuck.'

Evidently this is an intense rivalry. Generally there is more respect between players in college hockey than there is in Junior, this rivalry is the exception as many of the hostilities can be traced to Junior. As veteran informs me, the goal was unfortunate that kind really hurts against these guys, but how I hate losing to them. You have to channel the hate. Guys will tell you about the first loss to these guys, Chadwick remembers his first game, figured the team played pretty well, lost a close to one the national champions and thinking it is a positive, then he sees Joey N. kicking a garbage can swearing and he was like wow fuck.

As with all losses the bus is loaded quickly, the players who have rides home inform the assistant coaches then grab their food, while everyone else sits quietly on the bus. We all eat in silence, with the exception of the support staff and the rookies who finally got

the chance to contribute talk quietly amongst themselves. At the front of the bus the coaches discuss the game in hushed tones and evaluate the players, as they wonder how long before they get Broadshaw back. In response to the increased discussion between the players and support staff, Chadwick increasingly turns his head to glare towards the back of the bus as a way to encourage silence.

Despite the poor play they remain only two points out of first place, but they have to play with some more intensity and improve their special teams. With five games before the next game against the Maroons, they feel they can play better and become healthier. With the upcoming Festival game it is felt that the sold out crowd will make them play better and with Bloomer back in the line up, the Coach decides to sit Cossette, a highly touted prospect from the Q, in favour of having more energetic players in the line up. Playing at home they skate to a convincing 7-2 victory.

Game Report. This time a year ago Chiefs were soaring atop their Division and toward a remarkable playoff run and first-ever berth in the League national championship. No one dare suggest the Chiefs won't repeat the effort this season, but the going has gotten tougher. While the fifth-ranked Chiefs improved to 10-5-3 with a 7-2 win over the Wanderers last night before an overflow crowd of more than 1,523, not many victories have come as easy as this one. The Chiefs were 14-1-3 after 18 games last season and a reason for the difference this year might be because the team has a target on its back. 'I don't know if that's really the case,' said head coach Joey N., whose team went into last night trailing the division-leading Maroons by two points. 'For sure teams are coming at us really hard, but I don't think it's more than they did last year. 'They're coming at us well prepared, because it's a very competitive league with teams that are well coached,' Joey N. said. 'If there's one big difference (over last season), it's that things have gotten a lot more physical.'

The physical play has taken a toll. Last night marked the second game in three days the Chiefs lineup was missing regulars, including three defencemen. Lack of personnel forced Joey N. to shuffle fourth-year veteran Jean-Charles, who opened the scoring early in the second and added an assist on Chiefs's second goal, from his left-wing position to defence for the second straight game. 'The number of regulars we've had out of the lineup is unheard of for us,' Joey N. said.

Over the next two weekends Chiefs plays 4 more games and there only blemish is a 5-2 loss to Bulldogs, and though a couple of players return from injury, another is lost when he breaks his leg.

Game Report. The Bulldogs surprised the Chiefs last night with a 5-2 win in men's college hockey action. Bulldogs scored the winning goal at 14:51 of the third period when he whacked a bouncing puck past Chiefs goalie Lemieux, snapping a 2-2 deadlock. The Bulldogs then potted two empty-net goals to salt away the win. 'Give the Bulldogs credit, they played a good game tonight,' Chiefs head coach Joey N. said. 'We had a few good scoring chances, but we couldn't get our power play working.' The Chiefs, who were 0-for-4 on the power play last night, fell to 11-6-3-1. Joey N. is not worried about his team's lack of power-play scoring, despite also going 0-for-8 in Friday's 4-2 win over Wanderers. 'All the teams in this division are playing us good defensively. They shut us down and a couple of bounces didn't go our way,' he said. 'We always have close games with Bulldogs,' Joey N. noted.

Reviewing their performance of the past two weeks there are some positives. We have played better but have also picked up a couple more injuries. Losing N. Braden our 4th line centre, should not be a big deal but there line has been pretty dangerous, he has gotta a lot of skill for our 4th line. The power play is working a bit better but some changes are going to have to be made, but it is tough cause some teams it works so well against so it is tough to judge our consistency. I am also not sure if some of these problem weren't around last year but we just didn't notice, this year the opposition scores last year the hit the post. Last year we were great but not certain if a we did not get the bounces that the other team is getting this year.

But it is tough, some of the assistants are looking at first years and wondering if it is their play, but a guy like Olgie is not the problem. He does somethings very well and is not a great cheer leader, so his attitude has got to be better, he can't just sit on the bench like he is slouched in front of the tv, but he is not a sixth defenseman, your sixth d is not supposed to like the puck, the puck is not his friend, they get the puck and rifle it off the boards, play it safe. Olgie likes the puck, but when he is not playing a regular shift the

puck does not like him and tends to find its way to an opponents stick. But these guys aren't the problem most 4th lines hope to get a third shift in a period and ours are regularly dangerous. In our last couple of games emotions have played a huge role as we have been either to up or to down. Upton pulls an Upton and everyone is upset, but he still ended up even for plus minus, not the issue. We get a timeout and Jan is rambling and being distracting, Bob plays hero and we have expend energy and manage him, Jean-guy has a great game and scores two goals, but he pouts because I don't give him an opportunity for a hat trick. It's a fine line.

Fuck our guys are struggling to find the appropriate level of emotion. We start ok, but then we let up, or if we get too emotional we become awful. During our last weekend Mercier was convinced we took too many emotional penalties, he said all our slashing penalties were selfish penalties reacting to emotions, but as Gilbault noted we only had one slashing penalty. Of course Mercier said we were missing the fucking point, but there is something to how we were reacting. But it is difficult we aren't on the ice, so when our players instigate something is it necessary, there wasn't so much slashing, but there some penalties taking intentionally trying to keep the team engaged, were they stupid, not sure as they have as much sense as I do about whether we are drifting. Don't like it but is it better than the games where we just disappear completely.

What do I know. Right now the theory proposed is that we don't do well when we lose the opening face off, admittedly it's a stupid theory, but we gotta go with something and it better be something else. For today's practice am going to try and get across the point on positioning in front of our net and not to carry the puck against pressure. We have not been good in transition, so we either gotta just get it off the glass or regroup and be patient until we have the outlet we want. If we do those things better we will decrease some scoring chances, reduce or turnover and maybe create some more chances, cause we need lots of chances to score, we will see what happen against the Maroons.

Currently they trailing the Maroons by 3 points in the standings, and they have the chance to close the gap to one point. This would set up a potential showdown for first place against the Maroons on the final game of the season. Once more the game is

played at the Maroons' arena and the bus is scheduled to leave at 3, four hours before game time. The bus is late and all, once they realize they have not missed the bus, are wondering how this going to impact Joey N.'s preparation. Finally, 15 minutes later the bus arrives and some of the players will eat their second meal of the afternoon as they figured because they lost the last game they would not be eating on the bus before this game.

The game starts well as Chiefs takes a 2-0 lead in the first period and Bennett makes some big saves, and the players watching state with some enthusiasm that he is back. However, with under 5 minutes to go in the second the Maroons score two goals in under a minute.

Game Report. The ninth-ranked Maroons gave visiting Chiefs an early birthday gift but rallied with three unanswered goals for a hard-fought 3-2 win over the No.6-ranked Chiefs. It was the sixth straight one-goal victory between these bitter rivals and the first-place Maroons (15-6-2) took a commanding five-point lead over Chiefs (13-7-3), which has a game in hand and five left to play before the post-season. The Chiefs, led 2-0 after one period on power play goals. The Maroons tied the game at 2-2 late in the middle period, striking twice in 51 seconds with goals from Sitler (his team-leading 18th) at 17:55 and Audette at 18:46. Despite being outshot 8-5 in the final period, the Maroons's Beaudion capped the comeback with his game-winning tally with just over 12 minutes remaining. The Maroons outshot Chiefs 28-27 and goaltender Smith made 25 saves for the win, while the Chiefs netminder Bennett had an equal number of saves in a losing cause.

After the game there is frustration. The bus is quiet. Whenever someone speaks the coaches' turn around, they do not verbalize their thoughts but it appears they are saying enough talking, sit quietly and reflect upon the performance. The message is not understood on the first, the second or third attempt, finally Joey N. turns around and says in a less than satisfied tone – is there something funny fuck-? The bus is quiet again. I had been informed prior to getting on the bus that losing to the Maroons is always a frustrating experience. 'I remember my first game against them, we played well but lost a close one, I am thinking not bad, they are national champions and it was a good game. Then I walk into the dressing room and Joey N. is swearing and kicking

the garbage can. I didn't get it until one of the veterans told me about the rivalry, but we hate losing to these guys.' This loss is much worse and the mood on the bus reflects this.

Joey N. begins to watch the game as soon as he is finished eating on the 1.5' screen of the camera. One of the players comes to the front to discuss the game with Chadwick. They do not talk but the player writes out his concern on paper and for the next twenty minutes they pass a note back and forth between them speaking occasionally in a hushed whisper. It is apparent Chadwick is concerned but advises the player not to do anything to drastic. When the player returns to the back of the bus there are few people talking, only the communications officer can be heard clearly as he calls the scores into the media. Aside from this the bus is pretty quiet.

An hour away from home Chadwick and Joey N. begin to discuss the game and what went wrong. They are increasingly concerned that they are not beating good teams and their top players are not producing goals when required. Neither understand what is going on as they are not being badly outplayed and feel that they are close to performing as they should. 'We are close, it is like a story someone told me about a pump, to get water from a well you have to keep pumping, if you stop pumping the water may just about ready to flow and it will return to the bottom, so you can't stop, you keep goings until it flows and once it does it is easy, that is kind of where we are' For the remainder of the trip they discuss the performance of the players and how they can get them to play at the next level. Arriving at midnight Joey N., as usual, is first of the bus, but instead of grabbing a piece of equipment he goes directly to his office. The rookies clean the bus, the players unload the equipment and Chadwick joins Joey N. in his office.

Behind closed doors the conversation about players and the season continues. They watch some highlights from previous games and find some good things from players but no answers or solutions. Joey N. cites Scotty Bowman, 'don't just open the door coach-. Reviewing the game, they discuss whether the problem is with their performance or is it simply that other teams are getting better, which is it and how do

we know? A discussion of the lack of scoring on five on five ensues as old tapes are reviewed. Chadwick leaves Joey N. in the office reviewing the game at one in the morning, walking home he expresses his frustration and exasperation.

The next day the story in the paper is that Chiefs had not been willing to pay the price, and this is evidenced by their lack of scoring on 5 on 5. Other teams are willing to work harder, and while academics has to be a priority, when it comes time to play hockey school has to be left at the door of the dressing room. If it isn't, it is certain we will not be returning to the Championship. Prior to practice Joey N., who reviewed video until 3 in the morning, explains, 'We have let things slip, we stopped noticing the little things and we started to pick up bad habits and it is hurting us now. Maybe they started last year and we continued to win, maybe we did not review some of the basic things because we had so many returning players, but those habits are costing us now. Watching the tape is maddening and you can see we are not doing what is required. A lot of it is our fault, we were not vigilant enough, and hopefully we can change that now.' When the team takes to the ice Joey N. remains in the office finishing the clips for the team meeting that follows practice.

Responding to a Challenge

Friday night Chiefs plays the top defensive team in the country, a spot Chiefs has claimed for the past two seasons. They are playing Wheat Cities, a team that has defeated the Maroons twice, and that is also competing for first place in the Conference. The Chiefs comes out flying and chase the Wheat Cities goalie from the nets early in the second period after having taken a 6-1 lead.

Game Report. Chiefs head coach Joey N. spent a lot of time stressing the importance of his team getting back to the way they want to play. 'The big thing for us is our work ethic. We've felt that it's gotten away from us, at times, this year. As a result, things unfortunately have been up and down for us,' Joey N. said. Joey N. had no complaints with the effort his team displayed in an 11-1 rout of the Wheat Cities. It was the most goals Chiefs has scored in a game this season

The Sixth-ranked Chiefs, still in the hunt for first place in their Division, skated circles around the Wheat Cities, the best team by a large margin in the Mid East Division, for a full 60 minutes. And the Chiefs chased the Wheat Cities goalie, who went into the game with the best goals-against average in the country (1.89) and with the most wins (18), from the net midway through the second period after lighting him up six times. Chiefs led 3-1 after the first period and 8-1 after two, and the offensive outpouring included two power-play goals, the first by Gagnon to open the scoring at 1:51 of the first. Neil Clelland replaced Grinnell at 10:15 of the second and was promptly beaten by Mercure and Gagnon, with his second of the game. Chiefs sits comfortably in second-place at 14-7-3 in the four-team Far East and the victory eased a little bit of the frustration left in the wake of blowing a 2-0 lead in a 3-2 loss to the ninth-ranked Maroons Wednesday. 'We were a lot better tonight. We let one slip the other night. (The Maroons) played hard, but we should have buried them. That kind of thing has happened to us a few times this season,' said Jean-Guy. 'The key for us is to pursue the puck whenever we don't have it. That's our whole game and when we don't do it, we create problems for ourselves.'

The post game discussion is brief, the players and coaches are happy, Chadwick is delighted that he finally gets to bring the kids team, that plays during the intermission of weekend games, into the dressing room after a big victory. Joey N. inquires about an incident at the bench where a Wheat Cities player yelled something at him. Trottier informs him he was complaining about us using our first power play he said something to the effect of 'Is your first power play unit tired yet?' Joey N. responds 'What the fuck, is it tired, is it our fault they were not prepared. Fuck and we didn't run up the score on the power play, fuck we only had two power play goals and one of them was in the first period. They ran our goalie and complain, they are lucky we didn't use our first power play.' This begins a simultaneous conversation on the lack of an actual first power play, aside from having either Bobby or Charlebois out there on the point, we don't have a first line power play. All of our guys are capable of scoring, Christ our 4th line is pretty good and sometimes are best. Fuck we cannot win, we get our guys to let up and they fall apart like they did against Bulldogs If are guys are not relentless we cannot win, not our fault the results are what they are. Tell me what are we supposed to do?

On the way home forty minutes after the end of the game a discussion with one of the players reveals that they are unaware that tonight, 20 games into the season, they have managed to triple their plus minus when not playing with the man advantage. Prior to the weekend in five on five hockey Chiefs had only scored five more goals than their opponents, it was now at 13. The next night after winning 9-2 against Shamrocks this statistic stands at 16 and there is hope, that after beating a competitive team with .500 record the team has turned the corner.

Monday's practice continues the pace of the weekend. Throughout the practice boards are slapped with sticks and the intensity is evident as they prepare for a big game in Bulldogs tomorrow. The players have added a back check to the flow drill and Joey N. is happy they have done so but disappointed he and his coaching staff did not do this earlier given their concerns about work ethic. While Joey N. and Trottier continue their discussion on whether they have let things slip, other teams have become better, or the players simply have not responded, Gilbert and Chadwick begin to prepare a montage of highlights to be shown as inspiration for the play offs which could begin as early as next week. In what is a rare occurrence Joey N. leaves at approximately 7 while Gilbert and Chadwick continue working on the highlights of the season.

Critical Incident: Systems Failures

It has been a difficult season. We started with process goals of creating 15 scoring chances a game and allowing 5 chances, whether it is our play or the new rules these have been unrealistic. The rules should have helped us as we are a skating team with a good power play and strong pk, but it has kind of hurt us. We are giving up too many chances, as in the NHL, leads are harder to defend, you can't just shut down a team like you used to. Sadly our most talented offensive player is not a great skater and is struggling. Some of our other guys have really benefited from the rules as they can skate but have not traditionally been used in offensive roles and are not the most gifted around the net. You have probably heard the story about the guy who shot the puck into the corner on the breakaway, well these guys are creating lots of chances, drawing penalties but are not scoring consistently. You throw injuries into this mix and we have

struggle with getting the line up we want, adapting to the changes and dealing with expectations.

From the get go it has been a challenge losing Bergeron kind of started things. The worst one is losing Bergeron, who was supposed to be the finisher and strength of our first line. His absence has hurt because we could have relied on him, or at least guys feel they could have relied on him, which is just the same, now they all feel pressure to contribute and they hope if he comes back it will provide the goals and stability that are missing. But truthfully we have to approach the remainder of our season like he is not coming back, if he does it's a bonus, but the waiting is hurting us. I heard the other day he has avoided the dressing room cause some guys keep asking when he will be back. That's disappointing, not simply for him but because guys just have to accept this and then not put pressure on themselves but just make their work play. If they do that the results will be what they should be.

But even before that I can't be certain how many of our injuries stem from last year. Because we were successful our season was an extra month, and we had a lot of guys who got hurt or who played a little injured, and not sure they ever fully recovered. Julien is having trouble recovering from knee surgery, he's been in and out of the line-up and he brings a physical presence we lack. Some of his troubles are bad luck, such the infections that keeps recurring, but some stuff is under his control. He can controls his habits, what eats, his nutrition, how he prepares and how he trains. But he hasn't done these things, and when he doesn't and expects to perform at his best it creates problems. He tries to hard and makes simple things difficult, passes cross ice, when off the boards would do, - and there is no reward when a forward stops a pass off the boards and has to try and get around him again- and becomes more unpredictable, meaning it becomes predictable he we will take an un unnecessary penalty. The less he plays the more upset he becomes and more distracting he can be, sometimes he must think we don't want to play him, but the reality is we need and want him in the line up. Tried to explain this in economic terms and he gets it but we have to see it consistently on the ice.

What is frustrating is the issue with Marcel. Marcel is a little guy who even with his equipment on, does not play at his listed weight, he hurt his knee last year and was told it was alright. He has felt something was wrong, it just didn't feel right, change a guys stick, they get new skates and their game can be impacted. Whenever I got new skates I had to think about skating again, well if your knee is not right, it is going to have an impact. So he is relieved that it has been diagnosed as he was starting to feel a bit crazy and while he probably did not communicate with us about his knee enough for fear he would be thought of as soft, it was a difficult situation. But now we have this strange situation where we realize since he tweaked the knee he has to rest, so not practicing today is fine, but what I don't understand is what has changed. Our therapist is telling us he may have to sit for awhile, and while we are thrilled that he has been diagnosed correctly and we do not want guys to play if they are injured, what I can't figure out is what has changed if his knee is the same as it was yesterday why can't he practice.

I realize they can't catch everything and the concussion thing is kind of a mystery. Some guys don't appear to have syndromes right way, we had Broadshaw who appeared fine on the bench and then takes a shift that goes badly and he finds himself in the penalty box wondering how he got there. Last year we had a guy score a goal while concussed, we were like how, did you see him play he was amazing. That said the concussions are frightening and we have had 4 this year, add these two the two guys who have injured their knee, the broken ankle, sprained ankle, and fracture foot and you wonder if we can ever catch a break. We should have 25 skaters to choose from but instead we have games where we are playing short one guy, and no sooner do we get a guy back than someone else gets hurt, it has been crazy and somewhat of a different look than our ideal roster.

All of this goes to say injuries have created problems and tensions we didn't expect. You could see this in the team meeting; every time a forward spoke about an issue it was defenseman who provided the response. Someone says we have to be big enough to take criticism and a d says criticism is more than just pointing out errors. Or to quote a Paul Simon song, she came back to tell me she has gone as if I didn't know my own

bed. Then a forward comments on the consistency and the defender responds. Our forward who is playing defence has commented that playing d is nice as they are not concerned with ice time but getting the job done.

Some of this is true there are more options at forward and the ice time equates more closely to your contribution. Player gets more ice time gets on the power play, gain confidence but takes time from someone else who loses some confidence. They start thinking about a mistake costing them a shift and it impacts their play and given you can play with 3 lines the amount of time can really vary. For the d most get their expected ice time, sometimes Trottier has caught me looking at him and know he has thought, I'd love to bench a guy for a rotation, but they are all playing bad and we gotta put 2 d out there. It is worse right now with the injury problems, with a forward playing d, a rookie, and a d returning from injury, against one of the tops teams in the country we are potentially in trouble.

Coaches Corner: I don't know have never been in this situation before

As the second portion of the season draws to a close the coaches are increasingly concerned with the consistency of play. From the meeting at Christmas the unpredictability of the team has frustrated the coaches. They have gone from a model of consistency to a team that struggles to play a complete game.

'It is a strange season. When you look at our line-up, you see our scoring is balance, most teams have one or two guys with way more points, the good teams have guys who are in the top twenty in scoring, some of the bad teams to, for most of the season we haven't had anyone in the top twenty of our league, and a lot of our guys could play on a teams top line and would certainly contribute to most teams second line. But we are struggling with expectations, our guys who should be in the top 20 are frustrated, trying to do more than they should and keep piling on pressure and sometimes play poorer. The guys who are scoring more than expected want to be rewarded, the guys who are playing hard want to be rewarded, but there is only so much ice time and you can only play so many people on the power play. There are some guys who want power play

time, and yes it is nice to put them on it every once in a while, but while it serves as good goal for them to try and achieve their skills would be best used somewhere else. You take a guy like Boisvert, he can be incredibly valuable to us, but every year when we meet he wants to get more power play time, but while he has improved his game his hands are not quite soft enough, and the guys sometimes chirp him a bit about the muffin he calls a shot. This stuff is not only a problem here but other have the same issue, spoke to the Metropolitan's coach, and he told me none of his players are happy with ice time, they are winning rolling their lines and players still think not getting enough ice time. What are you gonna do?'

On top of that we have some strange dressing room issues, our rookies are stuck in the corner separated from the team. I have even considered rearranging the dressing room, but assistants thought it was too strong a statement. But there are guys who barely know each other, in my meeting one of the guys, said he has nothing to say to some of our rookies, another who should also be mentoring said he barely knows him! How does a veteran player bring along a guy when he can't talk to him? We have tried different things, guys have spoken about an important event in their lives, we have had different guys room together but at some point it becomes silly and almost like a soap opera, one of our injured guys has almost stopped visiting the room because he is always asked when he might be able to play again.

We have had stuff I've never seen before. Someone asked us to contact the league about getting a point added on the score sheet so his statistics are more impressive to scouts. Now aside from the fact that in our meeting over the years he has never mentioned a desire to play professionally, I have talked to scouts and stats are not what they make their decision on. I spoke to a scout from the Canucks and he told me stats don't matter, there are too many variables, who you are playing with, who you are playing against. Some guys score lots against bad teams but are not so effective against good teams, which is why they often value stats in the playoffs more, when everyone is playing hard, but a lot of what they want is the evaluation of effort and character. But this concern about stats is causing some distress in the room, one of the assistants over heard

players debating, he got involved a little bit, but I do not think the issue has been resolved.

I got our leaders together to discuss the issue, but they would not mention it, or the player's name specifically. Six guys in the office and they do not discuss it. I understand that the dressing room is theirs and that they do not want to be seen as coming to the coach to solve problems. But they have to talk about it, I told them that in the office they have to be able to speak about these issues and confront them because if they cannot do it then we are in trouble. They do not have to agree on everything, the coaches certainly don't, we argue and debate and swear within the office, inside these 4 walls we sort things out, but we have deal things out there, and ideally we find agreement, if not we at least put on a united face, until we discuss the issue again in here. But what has happened here is no one is talking about, and the guys are becoming frustrated, some are really annoyed because they believe it puts too much emphasis on individual stats. This is probably true, but instead of addressing this issue specifically, they are saying nothing about how the player's behavior was seen, they are becoming concerned with a whole bunch of other issues and not confronting the problem.

It is bizarre, now we have a player coming into our office at the end of a game asking to have points taken off the score sheet because the only thing that matters is the team results not personal statistics. So we have a player who cares about his stats, but plays for the team. I can't say I am always happy with this player, and think he could be more aware of how he impacts others, but on the ice he does his best and he speaks positively about the program to other players. Whereas the player giving away his stats, feels, literally believes if his stats are bad the team will struggle so he will play as if looking for stats. In my meetings it is difficult. Some guys are not having fun, not sure if they want to play. This affects his school, his play, but trying to help him manage, as we are a better team with him. Then there are other guys who feel I am not giving them enough responsibility, is this because I am using energy to help others, I don't know. But I had one of the guys actually tell me I disrespected him, that hurt.

Maybe he is right, maybe I have not dealt with him appropriately, maybe I have not given him the respect he deserves. Some of the coaches think the player's assessment is not accurate but the fact of the matter is that this player's perception is reality. Maybe he is correct, maybe my lenses are biased towards him, maybe by focusing on other issues I am giving the impression that I am favouring other players, don't really know, I think his judgement was harsh, but what do I really know. Basically, in this instance one of this player's faults is he can be quite severe with others, but you have to love them as they are, cause if you don't they probably won't be the player you want them to be. For example I had a player who should be our number one centre, but is not comfortable with it, he asked to be removed from the first line, don't think this is true, but his perception is reality, had to accept that, I don't expect him to play differently, the standard for his play is still the same and as a result performs like the first line centre he is. It's tough as mentioned coaching constantly requires confronting reality, but the hard part is finding whose reality.

System Summary

Nov. 17	Cougars	4	Chiefs	5	Loss (OT)	2.5
Nov. 18	Nordiques	0	Chiefs	8	Win	4
Nov. 24	Trolley Leaguers	4	Chiefs	4	Tie (OT)	4
Nov. 25	Dutchmen	4	Chiefs	3	Loss	3
Dec. 1	Chiefs	3	Thistles	3	Tie (OT)	4
Dec. 2	Chiefs	2	Thistles	3	Loss	4
Jan. 5	Chiefs	5	Bulldogs	2	Win	3
Jan. 6 (NC)	Chiefs	2	Tigers	4	Loss	3
Jan. 10	Chiefs	2	Maroons	3	Loss	2
Jan. 12	Wanderers	2	Chiefs	7	Win	3
Jan. 19	Wanderers	2	Chiefs	4	Win	3
Jan. 20	Bulldogs	5	Chiefs	2	Loss	1
Jan. 26	Chiefs	3	Victorias	1	Win	3
Jan. 27	Chiefs	6	Crescents	3	Win	3
Jan. 31	Chiefs	2	Maroons	3	Loss	2
Feb. 2	Wheat Cities	1	Chiefs	11	Win	4
Feb. 3	Shamrocks	2	Chiefs	9	Win	4

East standings

Far east	GP	W	L	T	OTL	GF	GA	+/-	PTS	T
Maroons	26	17	7	2	3	107	61	46	39	
Chiefs	25	15	7	3	1	107	57	25	34	
Bulldogs	26	9	14	3	2	93	88	5	23	
Wanderers	25	7	16	2	1	82	111	-29	17	
Mideast										
Wheat Cities	26	18	8	0	0	97	66	31	36	
Victorias	26	6	15	5	1	72	93	-21	18	
Crescents	26	7	17	2	1	71	120	-49	17	
Shamrocks	26	2	23	1	1	54	167	-113	6	

	Chiefs	Opposition	Cumulative	Change
Avg Shots	38.2	23.9	39.76 / 24.36	
Avg Goals	4.63	2.68	4.28 / 2.28	
Scoring chances				
Powerplay	36/147 (24.49)		50/227 (22.0)	
Penalty Kill	92/102 (90.19)		165/182 (90.65)	
Five on Five	2.2	1.6	2.2 / 1.6	
Conference rank	1 st (d) 5 th (tied)	League ranking	6 th	

Act III Scene III: Guts ‘We stand alone together’

The guts portion of the season begins with the realization that if they hope to finish first in the division, they will have to win the remainder of their games and hope their rivals lose at least one of theirs. If this happens it will set up a big home game against their rivals on the final day of the season. Their first test is against the Bulldogs a team they have struggled against all year. In the past few games they feel they have finally found the ‘right recipe’, and this will help as they close out the season. In the past week it appears as if the struggles they have faced can be put behind them and they are finally going to begin playing as expected.

As it happened: Pushing for Playoff Performances

The game is a disaster and ‘dashed the Chiefs’s hopes for a third straight Conference East regular season title’. The game starts poorly, the Chiefs are outplayed, out hit and out chanced in a first period that ends with them trailing 3-0 despite out shooting the Bulldogs by a margin of 5 shots (17-12). Their chances of home ice advantage and the

easy travel schedule that accompany it are drastically reduced. In the second period the Chiefs close the lead to one on the strength of two power play goals and appear to be coming on strong despite being out shot in the period. However, less than a minute into the third period the Bulldogs score and the Chiefs 'mail in' the rest of the period ultimately losing 6-2. The next day the paper discusses how the Chiefs gave the title away.

BULLDOGS – Daley, scored twice and added an assist as the Bulldogs upset the No.9-ranked Chiefs 6-2, Tuesday. It was the Bulldogs third victory in four meetings with the Chiefs this season and dashed Chiefs's hopes for a third straight Conference East regular-season title. With two games remaining, the second-place Chiefs trail the division-leading Maroons by five points. It marked only the third time that Chiefs has dropped a series out of the last 25 played during the last three years. The Bulldogs connected on 4-of-10 power play chances as Chiefs was called for 32 of the 48 penalty minutes issued.

After the game standing outside the locker room the players and coaches are occupying the same space, but the players pass by as if the coaches were not there. As the coaches continue to review the game the players stand in the foyer talking about the game with friends and the parents who attended. There is a deep sense of frustration amongst the coaches as their hopes for a first round bye have faded away, and with them doubts appear in their ability to challenge for a national title. Watching the players it appears they are somewhat resigned that though this season is not lost in its entirety, it is entirely different from last year.

Driving home in a car with the assistant coaches there is some relief at escaping the bus, as it will be a long, quiet and miserable ride home. The coaches are at a loss as to explain what has happened. They assess the performance of the team by looking for an MVP and explain. 'Last year it was easy it was Bennett, no question and completely unanimous. Other people contributed and were important but he was the guy. When your best player is your goalie, and your goalie is the best in the country you always have a chance. This year we don't really have anyone who stands out. It is not Bennett as for whatever reason he has struggled. Some have suggested it is because he won so much last year, he is not as motivated, not sure that is it, but he has not won us as many

games as last year. It is not any of our forwards, none are found in the scoring leaders. Some of our d our having great personal seasons, but are they really the MVP? Right now we don't have one do we? No one has played consistently well. It is not easy, but if you list all our top players, each is struggling with an aspect of their game. Last year it was easy. By default we gotta have someone. But our best players are not being our best, at times our fourth line is the most dangerous, it is not that they are making mistakes, but that they are doing things that hurt us. Bob will probably get it, as he has consistently been our hardest working player, but some nights he is not our best defenceman and makes some poor decisions. When he tries too hard he can be awful. Even our rookie of the year, who do we give it to. Last year we easily had one or more candidates, it was a debate, they contributed, but we gave it to Mario but could easily have given it to Leo.'

The discussion continues as Trottier drives Stan back home. Neither of them understands what the problem is, but both are unsure if the decision to make tomorrow's practice optional is a wise one. Trottier feels given the injuries and how it looks like we will not get a first round bye that the rest is a good idea. Stan disagrees; he believes it is sending the wrong message that the staff has to be harder on them. 'We don't have to be mean but we cannot go soft'.

The Chiefs finish the season against the Wanderers, a team desperate to keep their 'playoff hopes alive' and an anticlimactic game against the Maroons. They draw with Wanderers, who battle hard to tie the game after conceding 2 goals, and if not for some fabulous stops by Lemieux, the Chiefs may have lost yet another game they were leading. As a result a journalist inquires about the starting goalie in the upcoming playoffs. In the game against the Maroons, Joey N. considers resting some of his players and has written the names of these players he might sit on the board in his office. When players inquire with some concern why their names are on the board, an assistant coach informs them, somewhat reluctantly, that they might not play. They players are insistent about their desire to play. After the game the paper mentions the effort and hard work that went into playing well with three lines, while behind the

scenes Joey N. expresses his frustration 'It is great they enjoyed the game and played without pressure, rolled three lines continuously and they were happy, but if they are going to have a chance at winning they have to play when there are expectations.'

Guts Summary

Feb. 6	Chiefs	2	Bulldogs	6	Loss	3
Feb. 9	Chiefs	2	Wanderers	2	Tie (OT)	3
Feb. 11	Maroons	2	Chiefs	2	Tie (OT)	3

East Conference

Far east	GP	W	L	T	OTL	GF	GA	+/-	PTS	T
Maroons	28	17	8	3	3	110	65	45	40	
Chiefs	28	15	8	5	1	113	67	46	36	
Bulldogs	10	3	6	1	1	38	38	0	8	
Wanderers	10	3	7	0	0	36	45	-9	6	
Mideast										
Wheat Cities	10	7	3	0	0	33	25	8	14	
Victorias	10	1	6	3	1	34	43	-9	6	
Crescents	10	2	7	1	0	23	47	-24	5	
Shamrocks	10	1	9	0	0	19	63	-44	2	

	Chiefs	Opposition	Cumulative	Change
Avg Shots	32.8	29	37.79 /25.48	
Avg Goals	3.13	2.75	4 / 2.39	
Scoring chances				
Powerplay	17/57 (29.0%)		67/284 (23%)	
Penalty Kill	47/6156 (77.05)		218/249 (87.55)	
Five on Five	1.0	1.0	1.97 / .76	
Conference rank	2nd 5th	League ranking 9th		

Playoffs

At the conclusion of the final game of the regular season Joey N. addresses the team in the dressing room, with a sense of relief he announces 'Fuck it is about time, I am happy the season is finally over'. There is a palpable sense of relief that after an up and

⁵⁶ This number is somewhat inflated as in the first round of the playoffs, Chiefs's power play operated at 50% efficiency rating, approximately the same level it performed against the Wanderers all season. As Joey N. expressed after the season opener, our power play was great, but it was effective off passes a contender for the championship would prevent, passes I spent the whole week telling them would not work.

down season the playoffs have finally arrived. Applause follows as this is the part of the season they have been waiting for, they 'have been hungry' for this portion of the season for some time. 'It is not during the season that you win your spot in the Nationals, but in the playoffs and we are finally here'. When the applause ends Joey N. provides details on the upcoming schedule and expectations for the second season.

Behind the scenes under the supervision of Chadwick and Trottier a group of players brainstorm on potential slogans for their run to the championship and the ritual that will follow each victory. These run from elaborate metaphors involving chemistry, where the slogan will invoke the idea that -1 degree more- is the difference between water that is boiling and water that is not. For this theme a cauldron would be placed in the dressing room and at the conclusion of each victory it would boil over while a symbol from the other team will be disintegrated during the ritual. Ultimately a boxing theme is chosen and a review of Muhammad Ali quotes follows and includes a broad discussion on his lasting influence:

The fight is won or lost far away from witnesses - behind the lines,
in the gym, and out there on the road, long before I dance under
those lights.
Wars of nations are fought to change maps. But wars of poverty
are fought to map change.
What keeps me going is goals.
The man who has no imagination has no wings.
If my mind can conceive it; and my heart can believe it — then I
can achieve it.

It is this last quote that is selected and then placed on the backs of t-shirts as the slogan for the post season. In combination with this quote a ritual is conceived where following each victory the player of the game will don boxing gloves and spar with a dummy dressed as the opposition.

Using video from the season Chadwick and Gilbault put together a short montage of highlights from the season. Attempting to show the contributions of each player the clips show the great goals, passes, hits, blocked shots and best saves of the seasons.

They contemplate putting in the hit R. Dunlop took in the Bulldogs game as it was the best hit of the season, but decide, after watching it a couple of times, that although it demonstrates how to take a hit and the dedication required to return to play after being completely devastated, that it was not particularly appropriate for their motivational tape.

When the video is completed Joey N. reviews it and asks that the highlight with the scrum where punches are thrown be removed, as that show a lack of discipline that can be costly. As the assistant coaches return to finishing the video Joey N., while appreciating the importance of the theme and highlight reels, voices some concern about the value of the romantic imagery as at the end of the day every team is using the same approach and it will not be the t-shirt that produces a victory. Joey N. prepares the team by pairing players with scenarios that will be discussed at a team meeting. While it remains true that players ‘focus only on the game at hand’, they also prepare in advance for any possible scenarios so that what is at hand can be made sense of more quickly. Players are to consider how they will react if they face a situation where they score first, lose the first game, win the second etc., as a way to prepare for the possibilities the future holds. Complementing this consistent message is a sports psychologist who visits to discuss the upcoming play off series. Echoing Mercier, he emphasizes how discipline is important and that retaliation penalties are amongst the worst mistakes players can make as these actions are largely selfish and hurt the team. He tells two stories to the team, the first concerns the efforts made by Canada’s Junior Hockey team in the 1990 World championships. Realizing that the refereeing would be different in Europe they encouraged each other not to retaliate on the stick fouls that followed whistles. This discipline helped the team remain composed and stay out of the penalty box. This story was contrasted with that of another Junior National team that was expected to challenge for medal. In this instance two players, took penalties in important moments of key games that were related to personal issues regarding the desire to settle a score or send a message. In this case the penalties resulted in goals and the team ultimately lost the game, and those players who took the penalties had great difficulty facing their team-

mates as they felt they had done their team wrong. Within this context the players are given short phrases to keep them mentally focused during competitive games.

Round One: Wanderers

Game One

The Chiefs win quite easily 6-3, with a score that does not reflect the fact that Wanderers scored two late goals after the game was essentially decided.

Game Two

Defenceman Jones rifled a power play goal at 5:04 of overtime as the Wanderers rallied from a three-goal, third-period deficit to upset the ninth-ranked Chiefs 6-5 before a standing-room only crowd of 705. The win snapped the Chiefs's 10-0-1 undefeated streak against the Wanderers and evened the East Conference best-of-three quarterfinal series at 1-1. The game featured eight power-play goals as the Wanderers went 5-for-11 with the man-advantage, including the overtime winner after a linesman called Chiefs for a disputed too-many-men infraction during a line change at 3:47 of the extra session. The referee dished out 48 penalty minutes, all of them for minor infractions, including 26 to the Chiefs. Alps tallied twice and added an assist for the Wanderers, who appeared all but dead, after the Chiefs led 4-1 after one period and 5-2 after two.

The Chiefs outshot the Wanderers 17-6 in the first period and maintained a 30-16 edge after two periods. But the Wanderers awoke from their slumber and had a 22-5 edge in the third and a 5-2 margin in overtime to outshoot Chiefs 43-37. Wanderers took advantage of four Chiefs penalties in the third, getting power play markers from Goodfield at 7:05 and Simon at 13:52. Jaeger knotted the score at 5-5 when his shot from behind the net appeared to bounce off an unidentified body with just 3:08 remaining.

Chiefs, which went 3-for-9 on the power play, got goals from five different players... Of the Chiefs's 11 playoff goals scored, nine different players have tallied... The Chiefs have now blown leads in seven of their nine league and playoff losses... They frittered away a pair of three-goal advantages, four two-goal leads and a one-goal lead...

After this game the bus arrives late and there is not much happiness. While the presence of the team bus normally allows them to leave quickly, they are now sitting in silence, alone or in small groups taking up far more space than they do before games.

Critical Incident: Why did we let up now they think they can score

Fuck we should have buried them. In the first game we were up 6-1 with 5 minutes left and we gave them momentum. Now they think they can score on Bennett, if they don't think they can score they don't have a chance, now they feel they have a chance! Mercier didn't think it was a big deal because if we skate with them they can't stay with us. But we have not skated consistently all season. In the first game we take our foot off the pedal just a little bit and they score two goals on their last 5 shots. We took a couple of penalties, they weren't bad penalties but we still let up. Fuck, can you tell me what our guy was thinking when he throws a waist high saucer pass to Olgie in the final minutes. Should Olgie have done better, yes, but he's a rookie who has barely played, should Bennett have stopped the shot after the turnover, probably. Fuck. Now they think they can score. If they don't score we are entering the third period of game two up 5-2 with a combined score of 12-3 and I think we won't have to play a third game. We are not playing well, but I think that will be enough, I think Wanderers will play it out. But they think they can come back, I blast our guys saying it has to be better, but we come out in the third just the same, and give up three goals, we can't finish our chances and we lose in overtime. The players from Wanderers can say what they want about the Chiefs being this or that, but they are correct in saying we are not finishing games well. Now what do we do for Game 3.

Game Three

Game three goes much as Mercier surmised, if we skate there is nothing to worry about. The Chiefs win 8-0 and Lemieux gets a shutout in his first start in the playoffs, as it marks the first time in three years that Bennett does not start a play off game. After the game Mercure who received player of the game honours after the first game, awards the player of the game, after some debate, to Jean-Guy, who after a difficult second game of the series responded with a hat trick and a strong performance. The team applauds as

Jean-guy dons the boxing gear and knocks out the Wanderer, while Joey N. observes quietly with a smile and light laughter as Jean-guy does so somewhat uncomfortably.

Coaches Corner: It always comes down to leadership

Our leaders are struggling, we are really trying to help them but it is not easy. The guys who have played with some great players like Toews or Getzlaf will tell you they were great leaders they just gave you a feeling, their focus on the game was exceptional. In games these guys would keep a team focused, even when up and looking at a sure win, if guys started to talk about other stuff during intermissions they kept the concentration on the game, whereas in our meetings guys are saying when we are up, talk is not focusing on finishing the game, but on what to do after, or how well they are playing. We do not have anyone who appears to be standing up to lead the team, no one is doing badly, but there is something missing and it is impacting everything. Our coaches were discussing awards and nominations and it is difficult to determine, no one is distinguishing themselves. Last year it was Bennett but he has struggled, apparently some of our guys who were most concerned about Hanrahan playing are now asking him if he would have stopped it. There is something off in his play, he was not passing the sniff test, so we taped the goalies and his technique was slipping, it has improved but he has come to see me about how he is performing.

Personally, I think he is disappointed with the team leaders, but not sure he would ever say it. Not sure what the cause is, but he has come to see about his play and was concerned as this is the first time he has struggled, but in reality he has struggled before and worked through it. I have asked him, if there is anything he is doing differently have his habits changed. Right now it is important for him to focus on what he can change and accept the things he can't. This is a lot easier said than done and the wisdom to know the difference is not readily available. I think he understands this, but it can be tough for a goalie, tougher when the back-up is playing well, as in general they do not have the most complex position, but the most important one. Every mistake they make is magnified, so once you struggle it can be tough to get the feel back. Other positions can play through it, but for goalies it is tougher.

Bennett will tell you he is not a practice goalie, doesn't always practice well but plays great in games, or he doesn't let poor play in practice impact his performance. Part of this is he is a strong positional goalie, reads the play, but when that is off, it can be hard to get it back in practice, guys take time to shoot, they always have enough time to look for the opening, make a deke or an extra pass and score. As a goalie it has to be frustrating, and if you work harder at stopping the puck in practice, it can actually hurt his strengths, which is positioning. He tells me he is now battling for the second and third saves in practice; even if he gets only one or two extra stops in practice it will be good. But even as he is battling he cannot become a scramble goalie, as it is not who he is and that is what makes him a great goalie. His style is a contrast with Lemieux who has amazing reactions, some of the best I have seen at making stops that shouldn't be made, but he also makes easier stops harder than they should be. Lemieux, might tell you I favour Bennett, and he has never gotten the opportunity to show his stuff, may be he is right, but we are lucky no matter who plays or how poorly we play, both of these goalies can steal a game.

The problem we face is the way we are playing; our goalies may have to do more than that. Everyone is becoming aware of that and it is starting to influence how we play. Last year teams were more likely to give up when we had a lead, as we did not give up goals, this year that is not the case so other teams keep going cause they feel they have a chance to get back in it. Bob is arguably the best d in the league and is probably our MVP, but right now he is trying to do too much, taking on too many roles, at the end of an important game, he takes a swing at someone, if the ref calls that differently he is suspended, your top guys can't lose control of their emotions like that. He tries so hard, tries to take everything in, but when you are trying to make the big hit, the big play every shift you are not making simple plays. All of his effort and determination are what make him great, but it is also his weakness. In some games we have to manage him because he tries to do so much and when you are managing how your top players are playing, you are not doing enough coaching.

Right now, practice should have started, they don't need me on the ice for practice, last year practice would have started, this year they are waiting, and they tell me they are waiting. Fuck they should just begin or come get me and tell me to get on the ice and skate me for being late. But these guys are struggling with it, they appear to need some one to be hard on them, they appear to only play well with a gun to their head. I was talking to a reporter, and he was looking for a reason we were playing poorly and struggling. It is obvious to anyone watching our games that we are not scoring on enough of our chances, not scoring enough 5 on 5, letting in too many soft goals, and reacting poorly to some situations by taking ill-advised penalties. But not sure I can blame the guys, these are reasons we are not winning but not sure they are the cause, not sure what it is, but cannot say it is them until I look a bit at what I have done, it starts by looking in the mirror.

It's tough, how do we react to this is causing some debate between the coaches. After our loss the other day to Bulldogs, I gave them the day off, some of the coaches think, being too soft on them, have to be harder with them and more demanding, not a dictator but drive them harder, even when I blasted them after the Maroons game some guys thought it was not that bad, and had been blasted worse on teams with lower expectations. Maybe I am going soft, but I used to be like that, always having strong reactions, trying to do everything, it got so bad one of my assistants wrote me letter, saying you had to let-up, was difficult to let go and accept, know that some of my old players feel if I had been a better coach then they could have won more often, but it is difficult. It is a lot like driving horses, you can drive them hard, but it is tiring trying to create energy, and not always good for a long time, difficult to sustain. But at the same time is it like working a water pump, if you try and get water from a deep well it is really difficult, you keep pumping, and if you stop the water goes right back to the bottom and you have to begin again, but if you keep going and the water begins to flow it is really easy to keep going.

The other day I asked the players during practice about who would be a volunteer to be blasted (yelled at) if I felt it would get the team going. Four or five guys were whatever

you need coach; I'll be your guy. Some guys need that; something in their unconscious I really believe that. In the old days, I would have guys come into the office and let me know that they would be the guys if I needed to yell. They'd ask, scream at me coach, the team needs it, there is a lot of theatrics behind the bench, some of the stuff that is done, crosses the line but a lot of it is for show. It can be tough to tell what is what though.

Round Two: Wheat Cities

The first game of the semi finals is played at a pace that does not favour the skating game the Chiefs prefers to play. In what is one of the their lowest shot totals of the year Chiefs takes only 21 shots and goes 0 for 8 on the power play. Their opposition only manages 19 shots, but they do a little better on the pp going 1 for 7, as they score a goal that needs a goal mouth scramble and at least one deflection before finding the back of the net. After the game there is little discussion of the game. In fact the post game meeting is the shortest of the year. There is some frustration at the performance, 'But we know their pk was not going to be passive and we would struggle against the pressure. They pk like we do, but the chances were there, there were openings we just didn't take them'.

Games two and three (if necessary) are played away. It has been decided they will leave early and spend Thursday evening in Wheat Cities prior to the game on Friday. Consistent with the theme of the playoffs Ali is watched on the bus. In leaving earlier, it is felt that it is easier to ensure players rest, eat appropriately and avoid distractions; it maximizes the variables the coaches can control. This bus ride is the same as all the others, except with two differences. First, on this trip dinner, instead of eating on the bus, involves stopping at a restaurant for chicken and ribs, and this means the players have to be wearing a jacket and tie, so everyone on the bus who was wearing comfortable and casual clothes for the ride change. Secondly, after dinner the bus stops at a sports store as the coaches are seeking a stick for a player, as the sticks they have been receiving for testing and from suppliers have not been making the player

comfortable. They are hoping a new stick will increase the players confidence and the level he is playing at.

Game Two.

In preparation for the game Joey N. is trying to find something in the media, the university paper or team website, that can be used to motivate the team. He is hoping to find a quote from a Wheat Cities player that can get his team energized as he knows they are using the 11-1 loss as motivation. It is not funny right now, but the realization that one of the Chiefs' best games is making their challenge more difficult is somewhat frustrating.

The second game takes the same amount of time as every other, but seems to end much faster. The Chiefs plays better, they have more scoring chances, but fail to score. Wheat Cities scores on a two on one in the second period to take the lead. Chances are traded and at one point in the second period, R. Dunlop has a great opportunity and if his shot is a question, the goalie provides an easy answer. At the other end Lemieux makes a number of impressive saves including one, where the opposition forward taps his pads, a rare occurrence in play off hockey and an action that is easily contrasted with the drooping shoulders of the Chiefs' shooters. Ultimately the Wheat Cities adds an empty net goal near the end of the game. Like that the season is over, and the media report reads:

After a late season 11-1 romp over the Wheat Cities, the Chiefs were surely salivating at the prospect of mauling the Wheat Cities for a second time, with a spot in the Conference East Finals against perennial rivals the Maroons. Chiefs found out Saturday night in heartbreaking fashion, however, that everyone starts the playoffs off with a fresh slate. Despite firing 54 total shots at the Wheat Cities' goalie over the two game series, the ninth-ranked Chiefs could not find the back of the net, posting 1-0 and 2-0 losses in a pair of embarrassing upsets, eliminating the squad from the postseason. Chiefs's snipers were shut down by the acrobatic goaltender and a corps of defencemen who blocked shots with reckless abandon as the Chiefs fired blanks on 14 power-plays in the two contests.

‘We tried to make adjustments on our power-play,’ said a visibly disappointed Head Coach Joey N.. ‘I thought we moved the puck a lot better on the man advantage but weren't getting shots through. If we don't score on our power-play, we don't score, because our five-on-five play has not been impressive this year.’ In game one, the Wheat Cities got the lone goal late in the third when left-winger Smail banked a shot from the goal line off a mass of humanity in front of netminder Lemieux for a power-play marker. Like two prizefighters in the opening rounds of a title fight, neither team seemed to want to make the first mistake. The result was a relatively low intensity game that saw few quality scoring chances at either end of the ice.

Unlike the Wanderers series, the Chiefs struggled on the power-play, going 0-for-8 in the game, including 30 seconds in the offensive zone with a 5-on-3 advantage. ‘It's tough to win a game when you don't score a goal. We need to capitalize more on our chances,’ Joey N. said. ‘If anything this hockey club likes to have a gun to it's head; it's been like that all year.’ Although they may enjoy the pressure, the Chiefs failed to respond. The Chiefs threw everything they had at the Wheat Cities and benefited from six power-plays but simply couldn't solve the goaltender, who kicked aside 33 shots including numerous quality scoring chances on his way to his second consecutive shutout. ‘Coming off the 11-1 loss it was a matter of pride for us,’ said the standout keeper. ‘We knew it wasn't our best game but they kept rubbing it in our faces by keeping their top players out when it was 10-1. That was a bit of a motivator for these last two games. It definitely feels good now.’

The coaches have set up shop in one of the locker rooms and are dissecting the game. After words they wonder ‘What can we do, we didn't score, the players were on the pp, and we had chances and didn't score. Their best players were their best players and they played better than our best players.’

Playoff Summary

Feb 14-18	Conference		Quarters		(Best of 3)	
Feb. 14	Wanderers	3	Chiefs	6	Win	3
Feb. 16	Chiefs	5	Wanderers	6	Loss (OT)	2
Feb. 18	Wanderers	0	Chiefs	8	Win	4
Feb 21-25	Conference		Semis		(Best of 3)	
Feb. 21	Wheat Cities	1	Chiefs	0	Loss	4
Feb. 24	Chiefs	0	Wheat Cities	2	Loss (ENG)	4

	Chiefs	Opposition	Cumulative	Change
Avg Shots	32.8	29	37.79 /25.48	
Avg Goals	3.13	2.75	4 / 2.39	
Scoring chances				
Powerplay	17/57 (29.0%)		67/284 (23%)	
Penalty Kill	47/6157 (77.05)		218/249 (87.55)	
Five on Five	1.0	1.0	1.97 / .76	
Conference rank d	2nd			
Conference rank o	5th			
League ranking	9th			

Players Comments

The whole season it felt like we were spinning our wheels.

I am happy with my performance; it was good year for me.

We might say publicly it was injuries that hurt us, but we all know differently. You take our exhibition game against Cubs; not playing Bennett hurt us, winning a game like that could have helped us.

If someone told me I'd have a goals against average under 1 and end up losing 2 of 3 games I wouldn't have believed it. In this series we didn't score, can you believe it.

Have been on teams with injuries and they get it done, if Joey N. had known what was going on in the room it would have surprised him.

Joey N. apologized to us at the end of the year, not certain he can take the blame it was us who played.

Its funny when you study business, there is always a cause, a change in the market, you can point to something and explain why, but when we lose we can only really look at ourselves.

⁵⁷ This number is somewhat inflated as in the first round of the playoffs, Chiefs power play operated at 50% efficiency rating, approximately the same level is performed against the Wanderers all season. As Joey N. expressed after the season opener, our power play was great but it was effective off passes a National contender would prevent.

Coaches Corner: What do we need to do now?

It's funny, up until August we had LB coming here, I worked really hard recruiting him, thought it was unlikely, but his marks were close so we kept pestering admissions for an answer and finally they let him in. Then he goes and signs a contract with an NHL team and played in the AHL, but when a couple of guys got hurt he played some games in the big league. Fuck if we have him, hell of a pp, he'd have been the best d in the league by far. We lost another d who was accepted because we didn't have the type of degree he wanted. Those guys and we have some d and a great transition game. We started this season the year thinking our team was better than the previous season, maybe we were wrong as last year our 4th line centre was Mario and he was often 1a. At the end of the day their best players were better than our best players.

Truthfully, I think they were relieved when we lost. I think that is why they appeared happy on the bus, not sure I had to accuse them as I did, but in the heat of the moment... I know some of the assistants were frustrated by the reactions as they take it has not showing respect for the work that is put into the program. I can't say I am happy with the results, I feel we should have done better, but the results do reflect the quality of our performance. We probably could have done better, but we were not good enough to achieve the goals we set at the beginning of the season, goals that included winning our league and the national championship. I think the guys knew that and it was why they felt like they did after the loss. As coaches we were a bit pissed as they seemed a bit too happy, but they are smart guys, the realized what their chances were.

One of the challenges will be the leaders. Last year we struggled with the process. We thought Bob could be our captain, but felt that because of the presence of more veterans it would have been difficult to place that responsibility on him. In the previous year, Bob was an alternate, and some guys were upset as they felt they or other veterans were more deserving, but he was our best defenceman, and because almost all the other d were rookies he was the veteran. There have been guys who have complained because we have had a captain whose marks were not high enough... Can you believe it, on a hockey team. Traditionally I have favoured veterans, but as I have said if we recruit a player who can centre our top line he will centre the top line. This is going to make

some things difficult as we recruit better players, some may not progress past the 3rd line. This is going to be a challenge as some guys coming back may not move up and if they return they will have to accept a reduced role. As you know some of the guys have not been happy about their yearend meeting but when you are playing with multiple braces, no matter how hard you compete and I love the guy for wanting to, you have to wonder and be honest about his capacity and your expectations. This is going to change the dynamics of the team as players tend to want more.

We are only losing one player for certain, but of our 5 leaders only one is guaranteed to assume the role next year for the others it is going to change. Next year we are going to have some tough decisions. Even before the end of the season some of the assistant coaches were asking difficult questions. When you are asking yourself if you want some of your veterans and leaders back you have problems. We have guys who did not play as expected and other guys whose potential may not be high enough for the role they expect. The hardest thing will be the players who struggled with the leadership role. I think some guys in retrospect feel bad about actions they took, when people are looking to you and you publicly inquire about ice time, everyone can do it. When I look at the teams I have had that played to their potential guy's weren't concerned with that stuff, weren't worried about PP and PK, if they could PP but were on the PK they worked to make it go and were not concerned with PP time and vice versa.

Mario was frustrated and didn't think he was fairly rewarded for his offensive contribution with power play time as I put too much energy into managing Jean-guy. This impacted his effort and he should be a leader next year, but you can't do that. Then again maybe Mario is right, his decreased effort reflect his disappointment in my decisions, so perhaps I didn't react well to the situation. But what was I to do, how much choice did I have with Jean-guy, he had a poor season, did not deal well with the pressure and struggled with the added responsibilities and pressure of leadership. We needed his grit and he could have handled himself better. But you cannot take away the fact that, rightly or wrongly, he feels if he doesn't score or produce and the team loses, that he feels it is his fault says something. Does he react poorly to this and take poor decisions, long shifts yes, but his honest intention is to help the team, even though his actions did not always do so.

Take a guy like Jones, he should be valuable to our team but he can become a distraction when he wants power play time. As a coach you certainly want to reward players with some power play time, but realistically speaking if he is on the power play we have issues. Even though Francois would be a veteran, but for him to play next year will require a reduced role as the work rate is not always there. Julien and Olgie frustrated some of the guys and coaches, but they were bit players and focusing on their mistakes or shortcomings doesn't resolve the issues we faced.

There will be some challenges, as Roger wants to be a leader. Roger is smart, dedicated and hard working, but not sure he is accepted as a leader, he can be very judgemental of people and make them feel quite small. Have asked him to read emotional intelligence, but not sure he has taken it seriously. Of course it is important to remember that the issues I am talking about, are simply that, issues, each of these players does tremendous things for the team. Roger and I have our differences, but he helps recruit, will gladly call players and tell them how great the program is. So I can make all of them out to be horrific but truthfully, for the most part they are good people. With all the drama, I can't say the issues in the room were all that different than other years. Talking to Hull he said many of these issues, ice time, power play, were in the room last year, the difference being that the captains dealt with it. I'd kind of know about them, but the players would resolve them. But as last year's captain was an assistant coach the tendency was for me to expend energy on it and not let players sort it out. It was a tough transition for Chadwick, he was such a good captain but being a coach is different and his presence contributed a great deal, but this probably inhibited some of our captains from growing into effective leaders.

Section 3: Findings, Interpretation and Management

Implications

'Nothing passes through most player's minds whilst making a play. Through Pelé's passes a whole film'.

Nilton Santos

Chapter 7

Hope: A Prehensile and Elusive Phenomena

Abstract⁵⁸

Coaches most important responsibility is to ensure hope floats. In arguing that Coaching is a practice that revolves around hope this chapter reviews the different perspective taken on hope within myth, religion and philosophy, and how hope is related to our particular physiology. What this historical overview does is trace how hope has moved downward from being divine to an increasingly grounded concept involving imagination that looks up words towards potential. In particular it emphasizes what coaching shares with practitioners in the health sciences, as both require an intimate relationships with hope, but how Coaches are required not simply to manage the hopes of others, but their own, if not entire communities as well.

'Daring arises from the hope of victory and fear arises from the despair of overcoming' (Where despair arises from some evil that is in the way of obtaining the good)

Thomas Aquinas, Summa theological: Article 3

⁵⁸ I would like to acknowledge the contributions of The Rev. Dr James Siemens, an Honorary Research Fellow in the School of History, Archaeology, and Religion at Cardiff University for providing helpful resources and continuing a conversation that began a long time ago.

Hope an Elusive and Prehensile Phenomena

'Truth be told, we knew this might happen, didn't expect it to happen like this, and we hoped it wouldn't, but I don't think we can say we are surprised'.

Introduction

There are multiple answers to what is a Coach and what the popularity of this phenomena means to management. After spending a season following a Coach, discussing performances with members of the organization and reviewing media reports within a media environment where sport is over represented, there are an endless number of themes and possible explanations for why a concept like coaching is so popular. One athlete studying management described coaching as being 'an excellent manager but also more'. From all of this, it appears the more is hope, a concept, like play, that has received relatively little formal academic attention (Godfrey, 1984; Elliott, 2005). For hope, as with play, what Vygotsky (1978) described as imagination without action, shares a strong association with false realities, and thus they stand in frequent opposition to sciences' traditional goal of presenting reality as it really is (Spariosu, 1989). Stating that Coaching is a form of management that revolves around hope is likely to strike some as being potentially obvious or as a conclusion that is lacking depth, but as noted hope is not a subject discussed within OMT⁵⁹. This suggests management has not taken hope, what Bloch (1965), because of its ability to imagine what is possible, describes as a 'basic feature of human consciousness' (p.7) and our 'most authentic emotion' (p.75), seriously.

The importance of stating it about Coaching is based on the fact that when coaching, hope is central and unavoidable. When Coaching you develop an intimate relationship with hopes that are both one's own and those of others. The nature of this position forces one to develop different ways of ordering information as they confront hopes while simultaneously maintaining them as one strives to attain goals that are possible,

⁵⁹ During the last ten years hope is a keyword supplied by the author on only one occasion, it is found only 4 times in the abstracts of author supplied articles and is never once considered the subject within the literature published by the Academy of Management. During this period there are 1191 documents where hope is mentioned; usually this appears to involve a statement about an author's hopes to either contribute to knowledge or improve practice.

but not certain. What this chapter does is introduce the concept of hope by outlining the different ways hope, what Thomas Aquinas described as habit of the mind and an organ of apprehension⁶⁰, has been represented in human history. Therefore the first part of the chapter examines how hope has retained some common features, even as it was transformed from a divine gift to a subject of philosophical reflection and scientific attention. This review provides an overview of what, regardless of the era, appears to be shared when discussing hope, as it has always had positive and negative implications.

The second part of the chapter looks at how hope has been transformed during different historical periods. It begins by reviewing the classical discussions involving hope and begins, as with many discussions of hope, by examining its role in myth and as a religious virtue (Pieper, 1969). This follows with an examination of how discussions of hope were impacted by the Scientific Revolution as hope is increasingly treated as a passion by influential thinkers including Spinoza, Hume and Descartes. The third section looks at how our notions of hope have been transformed in a contemporary secular society increasingly based on science. Here hope is discussed from the perspective of philosophy (Marcel, 1962; Bloch, 1965; Day, 1969; Godfrey, 1987; Waterworth, 2004) and psychology (Fromm, 1968; Stotland, 1969), and what this means for thinking about hope as an emotion or type of cognition. After discussing these dilemmas it tackles hope from the perspective of the human sciences, particularly those based on physiology, of which the most prestigious practitioner is the physician. These professions, especially nurses and physicians, take a most pragmatic view of hope as they must routinely deal with the hope of patients and their significant others as they navigate turbulent waters involving the tension between providing an appropriate level of hope that respects the autonomy of the patient and remains honest about probabilities (e.g. Ruddick, 1999; Elliott, 2005; Simpson, 2004; Miller, 2007).

Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion on the presence of hope within sportish activities and what makes Coaching somewhat unique in discussions of hope. Unlike

⁶⁰ In everyday French and English apprehension/apprehensive, has some connotation of anxiety or nervousness, Aquinas uses it in a discussion involving cognition, where it has to do with awareness and learning, something reflected in the root.

these professions where the hope that is most important is not their own, and hope represents a type of emotional labour that health care professionals must manage within a context of uncertainty, for Coaches hope is simultaneously individual and collective, and multiple and shared. When Coaching, their own hope is important, and these hopes have to be aligned with the hopes of the team and the individuals, to say nothing of parents at the most amateur level and entire communities, if not nations, at the most elite level. Articulating how hope is the central aspect of coaching might appear superficial, yet at the most basic level Coaches grapple with the realization that to attain what they hope for, they must reduce its presence, but ensure its existence. With these ideas in mind it concludes by discussing hope as a sentiment, something that transcends the traditional categories of cognition and emotion, while retaining some connection to virtue.

Conceiving of Hope

Over the past two thousand years, despite having modified how we have constructed the concept of hope, certain features have remained. It is a feature of being human, it is significant, and it is consistently seen as being important in facing challenges, while also being something of a burdensome capacity. This tension is present in the opinions of the Auschwitz survivors who passed through gates declaring 'Hard work will set you free' as Frankl felt it was hope that was vital to survival as 'the state of mind of a man – his courage and hope, or lack of them – and the state of immunity of his body' were such that 'the sudden loss of hope and courage can have a deadly effect' (1962; p 75). Giving up hope could lead to death. Contrasted with this, the survivor Tadeusz Borowski found hope to be dangerous as 'We were never taught to rid ourselves of hope, and that is why we are dying in the gas chambers' a point Frankl would concede given his discussion of misplaced hopes that led many to succumb to the horrific conditions imposed upon them in the name of purity. Regardless of whether hope is conceived of in a classical sense, including its role in myth, as virtue or emotion, or in a more contemporary sense, where it is discussed as an object of science that can be

modified through intervention, this tension has remained and is highlighted in Table VII.I

Table VII.I Historical Implications of Hope

Perspective	Description	Positive Implications	Negative Implications
Myth	A gift from the God Zeus, enclosed in Pandora's box, that serves as a trick for it contains evils for humans (greed, envy) and hope serves as a curse by alleviating the despair associated with the reality of the new gifts from the Olympus gods.	Highlights how hope is not necessarily a positive phenomena	Was seen as problematic as the future was seen as controlled by fate and thus hope was to some extent always false or not required
Theology	The targets of one's hope is God and being hopeful is a virtue that helps secure rewards in the kingdom of heaven	Virtues are central to living appropriately	As a virtue hope involved the future or afterlife and discouraged action taken to make better one's day to day situation by accepting their life as it was
Philosophy	Hope becomes an object for study, it retains its connections to virtue as Kant's third question, 'What may I hope for?', has strong moral implications.	Makes hope an object that can serve as a subject for study	Hope is blended and not a distinct property easily defined, especially problematic when definitions do not take into account evidence based definitions
Science	Transform hope from being an empty vehicle in the treatment of social and medical issues into a subject for study that allows hopes to be modified using the knowledge of science.	Is often an expression of our hopes	Theoretically speaking, science has no need of hope as with the perfection of knowledge hope is not required as there is fact, calculation and rational decision-making.
Psychology	Experiments focus on the responses to anticipation about a future event or events within controlled environments.	Demonstrates the importance of hope with studies on learned helplessness, develops interventions to improve outlooks	Many of the studies show the same results with animals
Health Practices	Becomes focal point of practice, as health care providers must manage the tension between respecting patient autonomy and providing the appropriate level of care that provides patients with the highest level of autonomy.	Hope becomes multi-dimensional and dynamic.	Focused on outcomes and begins almost always with a negative event (sickness) and the difference remains between those with knowledge (practitioner) and those with hopes (the patient)

Dimensions of hope

The difficulty hope has posed to humans is evidenced by how the topic has traditionally received little academic attention (Menninger, 1958; Dufault and Martocchio, 1985; Godfrey 1987; Elliot; 2004). In speaking of hope Godfrey (1987), in his *A Philosophy of Human Hope*, concludes with a rather consistent theme that 'I'd rather have hope than define it', while in medicine, physicians often abide Ambroise Paré's maxim 'Always give the patient hope, even when death seems at hand' (Ruddick, 1999). Just as Chapter 1 highlighted the difficulty in defining sport and related concepts, this chapter wishes to encourage a deeper understanding of hope. It will explore hope and discuss the connection to coaching and sport. It does not wish to focus on definition, but explore implications. It does not wish to go as far as practitioners of Taoism who state if you speak of the Tao you cannot know it, but more like Joseph Pieper (1969), a theologian philosopher, who observes that many Christians know Christianity while being somehow less Christian than atheists and critics of Christianity.

Discussing this notion when practicing in a health context Simpson (2004) observes how the overemphasising of frameworks for analysing hope, tends to increase the gap between practice and theory. Doing so does not privilege the experience of hope and this is vital in a health care context. It would appear that attempts to define, measure, and influence hope exactly might miss the essential aspects of hope. This point is consistent with Day's (1969) analysis of hope, which cautions that instruments measuring hope are certainly beneficial, but increasing their accuracy undermines what is significant about hope. The more accurate the measure, the more it misses the mark. Therefore this discussion begins with the broadest descriptions of hope and then looks at the different perspectives taken on hope as it perceived within myth, religion, philosophy, as a scientific object, as a focus of practice within the health professions and its relationship to sport.

Regardless of the perspective taken on hope, discussions of it tend to invoke notions involving an expectation about a potential future state that is uncertain. In various forms it has been defined as:

Both a noun and verb ‘expectation and desire combined, e.g. for a certain thing to occur’ Oxford English Dictionary

‘what is agreeable, future, arduous, and possible of attainment’ Thomas Aquinas (Summa Theologiae, 1a 2ae.40,2)

‘the enduring belief in the attainability of fervent wishes, in spite of the dark urges and rages which mark the beginning of existence’ (Erikson, 1964; p. 118)

‘Hope is a positive motivational state that is based on an interactively derived sense of successful (a) agency (goal directed energy) and (b) pathways (planning to meet goals)’ (Snyder, Irving and Anderson, 1991; p. 287)

‘multidimensional dynamic life force characterized by a confident yet uncertain expectation of achieving a future good which, to the hoping person, is realistically possible and personally significant’ Dufault and Martocchio (1985; p. 380)

Even when taking a social constructionist perspective Elliott (2005) outlines how, though it has been modified over time, it retains certain qualities that simultaneously express its ongoing significance as something that is universally human, but also potentially problematic. In this fashion she concurs with Bloch (1986) that, regardless of the activity, being associated with hope is seen as a requirement for success, it is an effective aspect of rhetoric. In other words, there is a positive, joyous or desiring part that is seen as constituting an important aspect of hope (Waterworth, 2004), though this desire may be misplaced, and what is desired may not be recognized by others as good.

In addition it is important to highlight that although expectancy is frequently used in definitions of hope, it is just as important to emphasize the potential and anticipatory component. Expectations have connotations of probability, where the results are somewhat predefined and the uncertainty is limited. For example when playing dice hoping for sevens has a probable expectation of .1667 (approximately 1 in 6) and developing formal tools to state expectations with statistics has played an important role in decreasing the amount of uncertainty we face. As Waterforth (2004) remarks discussions of expectancy can be misleading, not only because of the implicit

calculability, but also because there are many things we expect (bills for example) that do not involve hoping. Expectancy might have a hope like feel, but hope involves a more nuanced description. For this reason Waterworth (2004), building upon Bloch's (1986) discussion of hope as involving anticipatory consciousness, feels hope is better described as involving apprehension and desire for something in the future. Apprehension retains components of expectation but its etymological roots involve a 'seizing or taking possession beforehand (OED); something that connects the agent who is hoping to their objective and gives a connotation of action and uncertainty.

Linked with this distinction between expectations and potential is the tendency to distinguish between hoping for in the multiple, and hoping that in the singular. In French this difference is denoted by the words *espoir* and *espérance*, with *espoir* being multiple and *espérance* reflecting the singular, the meaning of life, what is the most important object. This has traditionally had religious implications (Pieper, 1969). In other languages this distinction is not as clear, but there remains a difference between hopes that have some connotation with the divine and those that don't. Interestingly, broadly speaking, hoping for (*espoir*) involves the desire that their be food available at dinner, something that while open to being evaluated objectively is subjective when quality is assessed. This can be contrasted with hoping that (*espérance*), which has a more elusive, qualitative, subjective, but also a religious a priori connotation, where the object of hope is to be one with God. This is typically seen as a more worthy objective of hope. This hope, when fulfilled is seen as providing an intense subjective experience, something Martin Luther, in a discussion of music described as 'reminding us of a heavenly dance, where all meet in a spirit of friendliness, caress and embrace' (Cited in Benzon, 2001). Table VII.II presents a summary of the different approaches taken to examining hope from the perspective of myth, religion, philosophy, and by practicing physiologists, be they nurses or doctors, in dealing with this dilemma that is associated with hoping.

Table VII.II The Subjective and Objective Dimensions of Hope

Person	Field	Perspective	Term for Subjective	Term for Objective
Aquinas	Theology	‘what is agreeable, future, arduous, and possible of attainment’		GOD
Pieper	Theology	‘the disappointment of a hope which was directed towards something attainable within the world, possibly conceals within it the chance that hope per se –without resignation – can not turn towards its true object, that a process of liberation will take place and a far wider breathing space within existence will be thrown open for the first time’. What Plugge described as ‘self realization in the future	Fundamental existential hope, ‘the aim of which is self realization in the future’	Object oriented hope
Bloch	Philosophy	Hope is a significant component of anticipatory consciousness where emotions help determine expectancy within playful possibilities of our imagination ideal future.	Really possible, what can be grasped	Utopia (ultimate full hope)
Waterworth	Philosophy	Hope is a multifaceted phenomena that is an integral component of agency, where hopes may be agent, mutual, other, or worldly orchestrated, and involves anticipation about an uncertain future state that promotes action	Indirect hopes supports direct hope, Living in light of hope	Direct hopes (a goal) Living in hope
Godfrey	Philosophy	Hoping the process (cosmic) hope towards objective (aimed)	Hoping (fundamental)	Hope that ‘ultimate aimed hope
Marcel	Philosophy	I hope in you (trust) ‘The only genuine hope is that which is directed towards something not dependant on ourselves’ Real hope always strives to go beyond all the objects which initially kindled it	Hope in	Hope for desire
Ruddick	Health Sciences	Examines the difficulty of protecting a patient’s autonomy under conditions of conflict between probable and possible hopes, especially when evidence (probable) may harm a patient’s autonomy, what is seen as their ability to embrace and lead a full life	Possibility (imagined)	Probability (fact based)
Simpson	Health Sciences	Hope involves for aspects, the role of desires, connection to goals, the role of imagination and its connection to uncertainty, and action, and may be seen as an emotional attitude in that it salience-determining in a manner that directs action.	Possible and imagined	Object of hope as probable

Classical Interpretations

From a classical perspective there are two main vantage points on hope. It is either divine or seen as an emotion linked to a direct passion, something often perceived as beyond our control. When discussing it as something divine it is usually discussed in the context of myth (or an ancient religion), or as a Christian virtue, in both instances the description of hope indicates the collective attitude towards the concept of hope. Likewise, the discussion of hope as an emotion is not mutually exclusive from its discussion as divine. Hope was linked to certain type of feelings within Greek mythology and Thomas Aquinas considered hope both a virtue and a passion (what is also sometimes called an emotion). The increasing discussion of hope as an emotion reflects the waning, albeit quite slowly and not equally in all parts of the world, influence of religion in all spheres, as science made everything an object of study.

Myth and Hope

The complexity of our relationship to hope is evident in the relevance of Greek mythology to discussions of this subject. Hope is associated with a variety of myths involving Pandora's box, each of which emphasizes a different view of hope. In the simplest myth, a young girl named Pandora is given a box (technically more of a jar), which, because she is endowed with curiosity, she opens. In doing so she releases all of the previously unknown evils into the world, later she reopens the box to discover one thing had not escaped. This thing failed to escape because it was weak and this thing was *elpis*, what we call hope. Of course, though it is represented as weakly leaving the box, its effects are quite potent, for without hope humanity would be filled with despair (Godfrey, 1987).

In an a more extended version, prior to Pandora, there were two brothers, Epimetheus (Greek: $\epsilon\pi\iota\mu\eta\theta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$) ('hindsight', or second thoughts) and Prometheus ('foresight', literally 'fore-thought'), a pair of Titans who 'acted as representatives of mankind' (Kerenyi 1951, p 207). Prometheus, characterized as ingenious and clever, and Epimetheus, depicted as foolish, were directed by Zeus to create the world and

entrusted with distributing the traits among the newly created animals. Epimetheus was responsible for giving a positive trait to every animal, but when it was time to give man a positive trait, lacking foresight he found that there was none left. Therefore his brother bestowed upon man the image and stature of the gods, an act that challenged Zeus and the authority of the Gods. To express his displeasure Zeus then denied Man fire, only to have Prometheus respond by stealing fire, an action that is symbolically seen as giving the light that comes with the consciousness of self-knowledge and knowledge of the self. This further angered Zeus. As this act of defiance encroached upon the territory of the Gods, Zeus punished Prometheus by chaining him to a mountaintop where he was visited by an eagle that would dine daily on his continually regenerated liver (Hesiod and Athanassakis, 2004).

Fearing more reprisals Prometheus warned his brother not to accept any gifts from the Olympian Gods, with whom the primordial Titans were ever at odds. Realizing Epimetheus lacked foresight, Zeus ordered Hephaestus to create the woman Pandora as part of the punishment for mankind. Pandora was given many seductive gifts from Aphrodite, Hermes, Charites, and Horae for Zeus believed that Epimetheus would fall in love with Pandora despite the warnings of his brother. Finally, Zeus gave Pandora a box that contained all the evils of mankind—greed, vanity, slander, lies, envy, pining—and hope, and is instructed by Zeus to keep it closed. But Zeus, knowing she had also been given the gift of curiosity believes she will ultimately open it. Ultimately she does and the evils are released, though Pandora is quick enough to close it, thereby keeping one value inside, Hope (Hesiod and Athanassakis, 2004).

Though the myths are varied, it does appear that the Greeks considered hope to be as dangerous as all the world's evils. As to why this is so, two explanations have been given. First, there is the role that fate played within this society, where transgression of the fates, and the established order that is implicit in them, requires the seeking of retribution (Visser, 2000). Under these conditions hope was seen as unwise and illusory as it involved false notions regarding the ability to change fate (Menninger, 1959). Secondly, within the Greek philosophical system the ideals that were promoted

involved seeking constants associated with the unchanging nature of universality. One of the best representations of this idea is the triangle, something that would always exist as such, for it existed before we had an idea of it; perfection precedes form. As a result hope was looked down upon, as it was associated with the future and potential change, and these that were not seen as especially relevant to their philosophical system (Moltman, 1968).

Religion and Hope

Without a doubt hope is a central aspect of Judeo Christian theology, and has been a theological virtue, though the least studied of love, charity and hope, since the 13th century. Usually it is this relationship to religion that is amongst the most common reasons given for neglecting of hope within our scientific world. As Josef Pieper (1969), the Catholic philosopher notes with some irony that upon publication of Ernest Bloch's *The Principle of Hope*, orthodox Marxist critics from the Leipzig Communist Party observed 'The philosophy of hope is religion' and Marxism can have no place for any religious problems' (p.17). The notion of virtue can be traced to Plato but its explicit connection to ethics can be traced to Aristotle (384-322 BC) who is generally considered to be the founder of virtue ethics. In Greek society these contemporaries would have agreed that temperance (practicing self control and moderation), fortitude (demonstrating courage), endurance and the ability to control fear, prudence (taking appropriate action), and justice (moderating the rights and needs of others against ones own), were important character traits that encouraged moderation and prevented vice. Aristotle developed these ideas fully in the *Nichomean Ethics* and believed the virtues represented formative attitudes creating habits of action. These habits would facilitate the development of character and allow one to live better, at least what people think is better, where the good might be seen as the ultimate goal (Watt, 1996).

For Aristotle virtue was its own reward and the benefits of being virtuous were more important than obtaining objects or wealth. In this view virtues facilitated moderation between our desires and beliefs. With the assistance of Muslim scholars who ensured his texts did not disappear, Augustine of Hippo (354-430) began the transformation of

hope from a divine gift/curse to a concept that was intrinsic to the notion of the good, where good, given Augustine's Christian faith, can be taken to mean 'in accord with the will of God in Christ' (Nunn, 2005). Importantly the emphasis on hope changed from something that was mainly negative to something that was primarily positive (Elliott, 2005). The idea that hope was a virtue was cemented by Thomas Aquinas in *Summa Theologica* who built upon the ideas of Aristotle and Augustine by adding faith, love (charity) and hope, what are the theological virtues, to the traditional Greek virtues that are described as cardinal virtues. The central difference between these virtues is cardinal virtues prevented the vice associated with sin, whereas the object of theological virtues was the Good that was attributed to the one object that is God.

For Aquinas hope was a habit of the mind, where concerning 'the object of hope' we may observe four conditions:

First, that it is something good; since, properly speaking, hope regards only the good; in this respect, hope differs from fear, which regards evil. Secondly, that it is future; for hope does not regard that which is present and already possessed: in this respect, hope differs from joy which regards a present good. Thirdly, that it must be something arduous and difficult to obtain, for we do not speak of any one hoping for trifles, which are in one's power to have at any time: in this respect, hope differs from desire or cupidity, which regards the future good absolutely: wherefore it belongs to the concupiscible⁶¹, while hope belongs to the irascible faculty. Fourthly, that this difficult thing is something possible to obtain: for one does not hope for that which one cannot get at all: and, in this respect, hope differs from despair. It is therefore evident that hope differs from desire, as the irascible passions differ from the concupiscible. For this reason, moreover, hope presupposes desire: just as all irascible passions presuppose the passions of the concupiscible faculty, as stated above (Q[25], A[1]).

In his discussion of hope Aquinas takes hope and elevates it from a passion that is classified as part of the sensitive appetite, what involves the power of the corporal organ (desire for food), and transforms it into a theological virtue more associated with the sensitive apprehensive, what involves the power of the non-material soul. He does not

⁶¹ Concupiscible refers to desire that is strongly sexual, and irascible passions, are hot and would include anger.

remove hope entirely from its more bodily aspects, but distinguishes hope that is not virtuous from the Hope that is. Hope in its more corporal form is still seen as potentially positive as it could, by mastering it, contribute to strengthening an individual's ability to withstand vice and attain the object of Hope that is God. In a great many ways the changing nature of our attitudes towards hope represented a positive, as hope increased our agency in the world by giving individuals the capacity to partake in a positive future (even if this did require waiting for the afterlife). If the object of hope was God, Aquinas discussed God's subjects' activity of hoping as a passion that strengthened an individual's ability to withstand vice.

Of course, God's promise of certainty required humans to act in accordance with his will. Failing to do so raised the possibility of a not so pleasant afterlife, and raised the question of one's deservedness of receiving this promise (Elliot, 2005). In addition, at the extreme limits this virtue was also criticised for encouraging Christians, especially the poor and unfortunate, to accept unjust conditions on the promise of a secure and blessed afterlife (Dutney, 2005). In *Wealth of Nations*, Adam Smith provides two examples of this issue. The first involves how the production of goods created a wide variety of opportunities and options for representatives of the Church to choose from when spending money to honour God. They could, in lieu of spending on providing services to the poor in their parish area, buy fine cloth and other trappings of wealth. This resulted in their supporting legislation that often worked to forbid the movement of the poor (who then, as now moved from poor regions to more affluent ones) from one parish to another. Secondly, and perhaps ironically given hopes relation to virtue, is the influence of the Church on teaching on moral philosophy as this 'species of instruction of which the object is not so much to render the people good citizens in this world, as to prepare them for another and a better world in a life to come' (1997, p.375). Consequently the emphasis placed on Aristotle's living the good life, and its association with the practical actions involving particulars was minimized, as attention was given to the one best way to attain the objective of the institution of being one with God. Given the changes that were occurring in society, the Church's failure at fulfilling its purpose, and the fact that Aquinas's discussion of hope involved the corporal form we inhabit, as

our bodies increasingly became the objects of science our impressions of hope were modified once more.

Hope and the Scientific Revolution

The scientific revolution is considered to have begun with Nicolaus Copernicus's (1473-1543) publication of *On the Revolution of Heavenly Spheres* (1543). Notably his Introduction is dedicated to the Pope as Copernicus feels he must explain his concerns about publishing truths that are contrary to Church Doctrines. Within a hundred years Rembrandt's (1606-1669) painting, *The anatomy lesson of Dr. Nicolaus Tulp*, captures some of this same tension. This portrait shows a dramatic change in the attitude towards our bodies. Increasingly they are less sacred and divine, especially if they are criminals such as Aris Kindy whose body, having been hanged earlier that day in January of 1632, is on display for the paying public. Displayed in the theatrical form that was popular among the curious and well to do, Kindy is just a body that has become an object of study for an audience which might include René Descartes. Here, one year before Galileo is convicted and placed under house arrest, and William Harvey publishes his notion that transforms our understanding of the heart from a furnace that warms our spirit, to a pump, we see Dr. Tulp demonstrating with some awe and discomfort how moving the tendons, as a puppeteer would strings, creates the movement that allows us to grasp objects; just like Dr. Tulp is doing in the painting. Related to this, is the transformation of hope once more, as it is modified from being a virtue first, to being increasingly discussed as a passion.

Evidence of this change is available as despite contrasting and often fierce debates among the different ways of representing reality within science, many of which continue to this day, there was agreement that hope could be discussed without reference to virtues. Descartes (1590-1650), Spinoza (1632-1677) and Hume (1711-1776) all spoke of hope as a passion or emotion⁶². Despite being associated with

⁶² For this section hope will be discussed as a passion, for though emotions and affect are occasionally used interchangeably in texts and translations of these influential thinkers the words emotions and affect have slightly different connotation to the contemporary reader. Today emotions are seen as the active component of the body and affect is the feeling of the emotion. Spinoza did make a reference to this

different philosophical positions, there is much in common with Descartes, Hume, and Spinoza when they discuss hope, which they see as being involved in a system of passions. Traditionally, Spinoza is seen as a material rationalist, while Descartes and Hume are generally, and for good reason, held in opposition, with the latter emphasising empiricism and the former a type of rationalism associated with a dualism of body and spirit. By and large, each of these philosophers discuss fundamental primitive passions (unreflexive and largely automatic) and how they mix together to form all other passions as they discuss hope in the following manner:

‘We are prompted to desire the acquisition of a good or the avoidance of an evil simple if we think it possible to acquire the good or avoid the evil. But when we go beyond this and consider whether there is much or little prospect of our getting what we desire, then whatever points to the former excites hope in us, and whatever points to the latter excites anxiety [...] When hope is extreme, it changes its nature and is called ‘confidence’ or ‘assurance’ just as, on the other hand, extreme anxiety becomes despair.’ (Descartes, 1985; p. 350-351)

‘Hope is a disposition of the soul to be convinced that what it desires will come about. It is caused by a particular movement of the spirits, consisting of the movement of joy mixed with that of desire. And anxiety is another disposition of the soul, which convinces it that its desires will not be fulfilled. It should be noted that these two passions, although opposed, may nevertheless occur together, namely when we think of reasons for regarding the fulfilment of the desire as easy, and at the same time we think of other reasons which make it seem difficult.’ (Descartes, Descartes; 1985; p.389)

XII. Hope is an inconstant pleasure, arising from the idea of something past or future, whereof we to a certain extent doubt the issue.

XIII. Fear on the contrary, is an inconstant pain which has also arisen from the image of a thing that is doubtful’ (Spinoza, 2000, p. 179)

Explanation. – From these definitions it follows, that there is no hope unmingled with fear, and no fear unmingled with hope. For he, who depends on hope and doubts concerning the issue of anything, is assumed to conceive something, which excludes the existence of the said

distinction by referring to intentionally produced states as emotions, where ‘emotion is an activity’, while reserving passions for states ‘wherein the mind is passive’.

thing in the future; therefore he, to this extent, feels pain (cf.III.xix.); consequently, while dependant on hope, he fears for the issue. Contrariwise, he, who fears, in other words doubts, concerning the issue of something which he hates, also conceives something which excludes the existence of the thing in question; to this extent he feels pleasure, and consequently to this extent he hopes that it will turn out as he desires (III.xx.)

‘None of the direct affections seem to merit our particular attention, except hope and fear, which we shall here endeavour to account for. ‘Tis evident that the very same event, which by its certainty wou’d produce grief or joy, gives always rise to fear or hope, when only probable and uncertain.’ (Hume, 1978 p. 438)

‘Probability is of two kinds, either when the object is really in itself uncertain, and to be determin’d by chance; or when, tho’ the object be already certain, yet ‘tis uncertain to our judgement, which finds a number of proofs on each side of the question. Both these kinds of probabilities cause fear and hope; which can only proceed from that property, in which they agree, viz. the uncertainty and fluctuation they bestow on the imagination by that contrariety of views, which is common to both’ and ‘When either good or evil is uncertain, it gives rise to fear or hope, according to the degrees of uncertainty on the one side or the other’ (Hume, 1978 p. 439 - 444)

Though there are some differences in their lists and the relationships they propose within each system, there is much in common with their perspectives on hope. Spinoza’s passions include desire (an appetite we are conscious of having) joy and sadness, from which love, hate, hope, and fear among others can be derived. Descarte’s lists the primitive passions as including wonder, desire, love, hatred, joy and sadness, while Hume lists ‘desire and aversion, grief and joy, hope and fear, along with volition’, among his direct passions. Significantly, desire, joy and sadness, though Hume labels it grief are on each list, and hope is paired with fear by both Spinoza and Hume, while Descartes pairs hope with anxiety⁶³. In that way they all see hope and fear as interdependent. What is different between these philosophers is that hope is a direct passion for Hume, which is why hope is often discussed as an emotion (Day, 1969; Waterworth, 2004); while for Spinoza and Descartes hope is a compound of the

⁶³ Anxiety shares certain properties with fear, as fear is typically considered a basic emotion (Panksepp 1998 ; Eckman ; Ledoux, 1996 ; Damasio, 1994) while anxiety is often described as a fearful disposition ‘that some label as unresolved fear’ (Ledoux, 1996; p.228).

primitive passions, though for Hume, hope is a direct passion resulting from the mixing of other direct passions.

In addition, and more importantly, what is different about these philosophers is their attitudes towards hope. Descartes treats hope as a passion along a continuum, where as what we desire becomes more certain, hope grows and 'when hope is extreme it changes its nature and is called 'confidence' or assurance'. Spinoza approaches hope with some disdain, it is not a preferred state as he is concerned more with what really is, than what may be; it is a passion that should be overcome.

'For although confidence and delight are emotions of pleasure, yet the presuppose... hope and fear... have proceed them. So the more we endeavour to live in accordance with the guidance of reason, the more we endeavour to depend less on hope and to free ourselves from fear, to control fortune as much as we can, and to direct our action by the sure counsel of reason' Spinoza, 2000, p. 262)

Hume's influence is the largest, as hope, as an emotion is given some value in imagining possibilities when facing uncertain probabilities. Notwithstanding these contributions Day (1969) states 'the estimation of probability is plainly not an emotion', though Hume's incorporation of uncertainty, imagination and desire constitute important characteristics of hope (Waterworth, 2004).

Of course determining exactly what they thought of hope is difficult given they were writing at a time when the influence of religion was still very high. For Descartes's system of thought to be coherent and consistent with the Church the pineal gland became responsible for linking the immaterial soul to the material body where the heart would ensure the spirit would be warmed in the blood. Spinoza's thoughts were controversial and his writings were frowned upon by the Church, who held hope to be a theological virtue, which quite possibly influenced his negative view of hope. Likewise Hume's career was also hindered by charges he had committed heresy (Morris, 2009).

Into this ambiguous arena entered Immanuel Kant and his *Critique of Pure Reason*, which sought to answer three central questions: 'What can I know? What ought I do?'

and ‘For what may I hope?’. His first question arises from the domain of the theoretical use of reason, his second from that of its practical use, the third is the one upon which Kant thinks that both uses of reason must eventually converge (Waterworth, 2004). The question of hope — and the notion of moral faith that Kant takes to be the proper response of human reason to that question — are thus centrally important to the unity of Kant's critical project (Neiman 1994). For Kant virtue is one thing and happiness is another, but the highest good, what we may hope for is the deserved happiness that comes to the one who is virtuous and actualizes the highest good. If Hume provoked Kant from his slumber because of his general scepticism and by ultimately placing the basis for our judgement within the emotions (Denis, 2009), Kant reverses this relationship as happiness will happen as a result of the virtue associated with the continual application of reason.

The Kingdom of god, our ethical common wealth, our universal republic based on laws of virtue, would appear as society works to fulfil its duty in a fashion that ensures progress. Though the religious overtones are substantial, hope is not defined but left for religion (Pieper, 1969), though clearly Kant's hope is future oriented and cognitive, and it is not entirely divine as it involves an agent working on a collective project (Godfrey, 1984). Interestingly the critique of this reason, that reasoning by logical calculation alone will promote progress eventually comes from the Catholic philosopher Joseph Pieper. In *Leisure: The Basis of Culture* (1952) and *Hope and History* (1969) Pieper observes that working to fully apply reason has not ensured continual progress, something all too clear following World War II, and that the treating everything as work, where everything required effort, was the opposite of the Aristotelian idea that we worked so we could have leisure. To a large extent Pieper's concerns reflect the beginning of a contemporary period, where science has doubters and religion revises its attitudes towards many of its doctrines, a renewed emphasis on the role of hope begins to appear.

Contemporary Interpretations of Hope and the Human Sciences

In our contemporary society hope has, as noted earlier, generally escaped significant academic attention (Godfrey, 1984; Waterworth; 2004). When looking at the history of Hope, Elliot (2005) found few references to the subject of hope during the early part of the 20th century. For the most part discussions of hope were in passing, they were either not subjected to an analysis or they referenced such places as Cape Hope in South Africa. On one hand the renewed emphasis on hope is linked to concerns with the challenges such as those raised by Pieper (1952; 1969), regarding the unquestioned notions of continued progress that Kant made in the shadow of the French Revolution. In a similar vein, Erich Fromm (1968), in his *The Revolution of Hope*, stresses the dangers created by our scientific-technological-bureaucratic society as epitomized by the resulting alienation this type of living produces and risks associated with nuclear proliferation. Whereas, on the other hand, the emphasis involves the changing attitudes towards hope within the scientific community itself, something that is seen as beginning in earnest with Karl Menninger's lecture in 1959 to the American Psychiatric Association entitled *Hope*. Affirming this renewed emphasis on hope, was the successful 1960 Presidential campaign of John F. Kennedy. Kennedy selected *High Hopes*, the popular 1958 Oscar winning song sung by Frank Sinatra, as his theme song in a election where they planned to get America moving again and help the many immigrants who moved to America in hope of a better life attain their potential in the 'land of unlimited possibilities'.

Consistent with the usual tensions associated with hope, this idea was criticised as encouraging the belief that anything was possible and neglected the difficulties faced by African Americans in the land of opportunity. In addition, despite the increasing attention given to hope, as with the communist critique of Bloch's influential *Principle of Hope*, it did not take long for science to supercede hope. Within a decade some practitioners of medicine declared that scientific medicine had progressed 'from an era when all we had was faith and hope until today when we have specific chemical treatments (Hoffer, 1964; p.264). So while having hope and faith can be justified, they

are not needed, as the orders dispensed by practitioners of medicine, ‘the grandfather of all the sciences’ (p.264), will work where there is ‘no faith and hope whatever’ (p.273). Of course, today, the limits of science and what it is capable of are better understood, and discussions of hope within the health sciences emphasize traumatic events, frequently involving serious illness and death.

In outlining how our conception of hope has changed within an increasingly secular world this section describes the changes that occurred as discussions of hope were transformed from being influenced, if not limited to theology, to attempting to discuss hope in a more secular fashion (e.g. Bloch 1959; Marcel, 1951 Godfrey 1987; Waterworth, 2004). For though theology’s traditional perspective is certainly enriching, it is not seen as a requirement for comprehending hope. As attention focuses on the relationship hope has with emotion, cognition and its role within consciousness hope becomes more grounded as it can be used for daily living. In fact hope is essential to the person and their interactions with other persons. What all of these perspectives share is that humans share some sense of hoping, though there is not agreement on the role of cognition and emotions, or even if emotions are relevant, there is an idea that hope has not an object but some objective (a future state) meaning it is attached to something and is essentially a hybrid. What this section would like to do is discuss some of the implications for thinking about the prerequisites for hoping, the relationship with emotions and cognitions, the question of whether humans are the only animals who possess this capacity and how this relates to practicing within the human sciences.

Philosophy and Hope

In the background of Menninger’s emphasis on hope significant contributions to renewing the philosophical interest in hope include Ernest Bloch (1959) and his three volume *The Principle of Hope*, and Gabriel Marcel’s (1951), *A Metaphysic of Hope*, both of which, like Menninger, attempt to situate hope in a somewhat more secular manner. Although, unlike Menninger, where the idea is to move beyond religion by incorporating hope into science, Bloch attempts to assimilate religion, and Marcel strives to accommodate secular perspectives while being influenced as a Christian. In

the most contemporary sense Waterworth (2004) appreciates religion but does not feel that it is required a priori for discussions of hope, though she certainly accommodates this history. Though there is much in common regarding these discussions of hope, they move in different directions as they attempt to treat the subject of hope within a secular society.

Bloch's (Godfrey, 1987) work, though community oriented is focused on agency, and is considered an extension of Kant's philosophy, as it contains both a political (agent driven) and transcendental aspect of hope. Here our hopes, across a wide array of sectors, medicine, art, politics, science, are utopian in nature, as it is utopia that is the principle of hope. His work is impressive in cataloguing the immense amount of energy that has gone into producing utopian thought from Greek philosophers up until what was the present day. In doing so hope is linked to being a productive force in fostering artistic, intellectual and scientific innovation by bringing the not yet conscious into the real possible by venturing beyond what is. However, Bloch was also a Marxist who believed the one way to the ideal was implementing Marxism, and as with medicine's hopes to supercede hope, there is a danger when one becomes too certain in seeking the objective of hope.

Marcel, on the other hand is identified with a hope that exists between subjects (Godfrey, 1987), an inter-subjective hope where the highest form of hope is putting hope in others. Significantly Marcel's emphasis is on the community of hoppers, where it is the community that supercedes the attainment of hope's objective. What is not important is achieving hopes' objectives, but of putting my hope in you, in a fashion that builds trust. Within Marcel's essay *Homo Viator*, the objective of hope is never spelled out, and though the French title is presented as *espérance*, here, although Christian undertones are present, it is not the one, but the many. It is a hope best expressed by Michael J. Fox regarding his life and the discovery of a cure for Parkinsons, 'I have no expectations, only hope' (Fox, 2009)

Most recently, Waterworth has undertaken an analysis of hope, her purpose is to outline the characteristics of hope in a fashion that give it a foundation that does not rest

upon theology. Her thesis on hope emphasizes three concerns; first, hope is better understood as involving anticipation rather than expectation, as the former better captures the uncertainty involved in hope. Secondly, hope is multifaceted and should not be discussed as an emotion. Third, measurement of hope is difficult as by its nature it involves uncertainty and, it appears, accurately measuring it is inversely related to its relevance in any situation. The more hope becomes expectation the less hope is fully involved. For her hope is a human doing, a stance that modifies perception and action, as it concerns not only the what of hope, but also how the objectives of hope may be attained, something that is most important when facing difficulty (death, trauma, rape). As a result, she stresses that character is important in both the what and the how of hopes. In doing so she draws something of a middle ground between Bloch's focus on agents aspiring for the ultimate hope and the heavy inter-subjectivity of Marcel's analysis. For her, agency is an aspect of hope, however the objective is no longer singular or pre-ordained. As a result her outlook incorporates the inter-subjectiveness of hopes and lists 4 situations where hope can be conceived as occurring, these include:

If I can, I do (try) agent-orchestrated hope,
 Or if, we can, we do, (try) mutual-orchestrated hope
 But if I cannot, you may other orchestrated hope
 And if you cannot, the world may world orchestrated hope (p. 19-20)

The first instance involves an agent's hopes, and how these, along with consideration of their possibility and desirability lead an individual to actions they can imagine taking, as they are largely responsible for the outcome. Alternatively, there are situations, where an agent's hopes are not dependant upon their actions alone, as achieving the objective involves reciprocity. In this instance individuals place their hopes in each other, such as occurs in many team settings. Third, there is a situation where an individual may not be able to attain their objective, such as when lost, in this case hope is placed in others who might be looking for them. Finally, there are instances where hope may be out of the hands of agents, such as occurs when we hope for sunny days or rain for crops, or if lost we hope the weather will hold. These distinctions are not mutually exclusive, as

something like buying a lottery ticket involves the agent taking action to achieve their hope, but once the ticket is purchased the hope is world orchestrated, however, they do outline how a hoper is related to other hopers within futures they can anticipate (Waterworth, 2004).

Hope as involving Emotion

Discussing hope as an emotion is common as it has long been described as a passion (Day, 1969). Beginning with Day, and increasingly given contemporary thinking in both neurology and philosophy, discussing hope as an emotion becomes increasingly problematic (Waterworth, 2004). Today emotions are seen as involving the body's response to an object, and not necessarily a condition indicating consciousness, thus the idea of hope being an emotion is increasingly contested. This is most evident in the work of Damasio (1994; 1999; 2003) who has observed it is possible to have emotions and not feelings within the emotional infrastructure we share with a great many species. While lamenting the tendency of cognitive research to avoid the influence of evolution there is a growing consensus that because the basic emotions are consistent across many animals it is difficult to think of an affect that would be a standard response to a stimulus; as a result hope cannot truly be conceived of as an emotion⁶⁴.

As Damasio (1994) observes, an emotion is the response of the body, while feeling is our conscious awareness of feeling the affect of the emotion. In this sense emotions are the body's response to stimulus, like James' bear that provokes us to run with fear (1894). In using Damasio's more nuanced theory, the somatic marker hypothesis, an emotion is the body's response to a stimulus, this includes the as if response (imagining a bear) that can be generated by a somewhat unique human cognitive ability to create, retain, recall, and rehearse events as if they were really occurring, what Damasio describes as a film on the mind. In this sense hope may not be an emotion proper, such

⁶⁴ Technically though, emotion is in everything, as we are constantly adjusting to a stream of background, primary and secondary emotions that we are aware of because we feel them. The consequence of not having feelings of these emotions are behaviours that are often described as abnormal, if we begin with a biological framework, emotions are with us 24/7, week in week out.

as fear, but can certainly be a secondary emotion, these emotions create feelings that are produced by the images we create.

Hope as involving Cognition

The idea that hope involves cognition is evident by the fact that it involves a notion of the future and expectation. Bloch while describing hope as an emotion also gives it a cognitive aspect by focusing on the future. If hope, was not conceived of as divine, and emotions were considered something largely beyond our control, hope was now discussed within a framework, where its development, measurement, and subsequent clinical interventions were paramount in developing hope. Significant contributions were made by Erza Stotland whose success in demonstrating that ‘ a subjective term like hope can be treated meaningfully in scientific psychology’ (p.246) and his definition, ‘expectation of success in attaining goals’ (p.15) closely resembles the OED definition of hope.

With his heavy behaviourist orientation, he selected aspects of hope that fit his philosophy. In doing so he was effective in demonstrating how hopefulness was a mediating factor that connects antecedent and consequent events in a fashion that can explain ‘why a given antecedent event led to a given behavioural outcome’ (p. 3). In addition this was to be done across a ‘wide range of organisms, from human to rat, in an equally wide range of situations’ (p.3). Effectively, hope became a moderating variable involving behaviours and outcomes as humans were transformed into organisms in a fashion that avoided collective issues of hoping, the associated conflicts between different hopes, and all theological concerns. In doing so Stotland contributed to discussions and our understanding of hopes in three important ways.

First, from this type of research came a very deep understanding of hopelessness, and related research by Seligman produced the concept of learned helplessness and an improved understanding of despair⁶⁵. In simplifying hope we developed a sense of the

⁶⁵ The distinction between hopelessness and learned helplessness is one of degrees, Stotland discusses Lazurus’s (1966) research involving humans where hopelessness involves not responding in the face of a threat, whereas when discussing Seligman’s concept of learned helplessness it involves taking no

behaviours that go with despair. Secondly, it contributed to the existing feeling that hope was important and that interventions to increase hope were of value (Elliott, 2005). Related to this were a variety of hope scales that facilitated the measurement of hope and tended to demonstrate being hopeful indicated a better probability of success (Cheaven, Michael, and Snyder, 2005b). These include Hope theory (Snyder, Cheavens and Michael, 2005a) the Hope analysis content scale (Gottschalk, Bechtel, Buchman, and Ray, 2005), the Trait Hope Scale (Snyder, Harris, et al., 1991) and the State Hope Scale (Snyder, Simpson, et al., 1996). Third, in response to the measurement of hope there was a renewed emphasis on Marcel's assertion (1944) that it is hopes defiance of probabilities that gives it its essential characteristics. As already discussed, the underlying assumption of expectation is certainty (Waterworth, 2004) and that linking hope with what can be calculated may not be correct, and perhaps, if important things cannot be calculated, potentially misleading. Even Snyder, whose prolific work has been influential in developing a psychology of hope, appears to implicitly acknowledge the problems of measuring it. For while the hope scale is promoted, it is the goal scale that is administered, because when it was called the hope scale individuals 'became sufficiently interested in the fact hope could be measured that they wanted to discuss this rather than taking the scale' (Lopez, Snyder, Pedrotti, 2003, p. 105), a problem that vanished when the scale was given a mundane title.

Hope in Practice

It is not surprising that hope is viewed as central to practice in the health sciences (Simpson, 2005; Elliott, 2005; Ruddick, 1999), for serious philosophical discussions of hope grapple with the issues of life and death (e.g. Waterworth, 2004; Bloch, 1986; Godfrey, 1984) In addition, as hope is believed to have a positive impact on health outcomes (Simpson, 2005; Ruddick, 1999), the attention paid to the role hope plays has

defensive action when encountering a threat and is based on experiments with animals. In a series of experiments, dog's receiving an electric shock, having been confined previously and having no choice but to accept the shock, took no corrective action when having the freedom to do so. This remained true even after having received the shock on more than one occasion, as the dog had learned, somewhat erroneously, that it could take no corrective action. It is also probably that the helplessness term became somewhat stickier as it was easier to accept when applied to animals, while hope would have been contested quite regularly.

increased dramatically when compared to other disciplines (Elliott, 2005). In nursing it is a concept that is central to practice (Miller, 2007), something, though the approaches and roles certainly differ, they share with medicine where, since Ambroise Paré, giving hope is seen as part of the professional responsibility (Ruddick, 1999). The role of hope is seen as a particularly important process when dealing with health, especially when it involves the quality of life and issues related to death. Amongst the central issues in dealing with these health issues is assessing the coherence of available information, what are typically seen as rational, factual and expectancy based, to the accuracy of an individuals thoughts on future outcomes. Within this context, having some hope, a belief about a possible outcome is preferred to complete and utter despair, as hope is seen as impacting the desires of the individuals, influences the goals that will be selected, engages the imagination as it relates to uncertainty and encourages action seen as consistent with meeting the desired goals in the future (Simpson, 2004).

What is difficult about these situations is the interactions concerning hopes are almost never of equals and it is the professional who possesses the knowledge. It is what Waterworth (2004) describes as an asymmetrical relationship, where I the patient put my hope in you with specialized knowledge of the domain. Further complicating matters is the patient's belief about the available knowledge within the domain does not often contain the patently obvious limitations that health practitioners are aware of. Notwithstanding the gap in this knowledge, there has been a substantial effort in producing intervention strategies, as practitioners not only must give hope, but, in what is certainly a type of emotional labour, they as Miller (2007) writes in an article must inspire the life force that is hope. As a consequence, because hope requires imagination and is linked with possible false realities, inspiring hope creates some tension with central principles of biomedical ethics (Ruddick, 1999). This conflict occurs between the principle of beneficence, taking action to help others (Beauchamp, 2008) and the principle of autonomy, taking actions on one's own that are not induced by manipulative external forces (Christman, 2009). Generally within biomedical ethics, autonomy is seen as superior, and thus it trumps beneficence (Ruddick, 1999)

In Ruddick's examination of the issue this distinction is not clear cut, as while the benefits of hope may be overstated, not providing hope, even if it is arguably false, may impinge upon, as opposed to support, the principle of autonomy. Effectively he describes two instances; first he outlines the problem of promoting false hopes as it encourages people to anticipate an outcome that is unlikely. This can be especially problematic if the situation dramatically changes and a possible outcome is suddenly snatched. In these circumstances individuals appear quite susceptible to despair. In addition this can cause issue with those who were in cahoots with actively promoting false hopes, and in these situations the principle of autonomy is certainly infringed upon. In this respect the traditional maxim of medicine to always give hope may not be a best practice. It appears logical that some individuals would adapt and feel healthier, if they accepted they would not fully recover from an illness when compared to individuals who are holding on to hope for a full recovery.

In the second example, there is the idea that false hope can actually promote autonomy. Here, autonomy is linked with beneficence, as an aspect of beneficence is self-determination (Beauchamp, 2008). If false hope can prevent an individual from falling into despair, it contributes to the autonomy of an individual defined broadly as the capacity to lead a chosen or embraced life, as hope provides a choice the individual might feel they would not otherwise have (Ruddick, 1999). Ultimately Ruddick (1999) and Waterfworth (2004) observe practicing hope involves uncertainty as one individual (or their entourage) may require false hope to maintain autonomy, whereas another does not, but discovering this involves each individual's reality. As we all engage in some self-deception, this relates to a personal interpretation of the possible and probable as they pertain to ours and other individuals fundamental and ultimate hopes. Notwithstanding the benefits of modifying hopes, gauging the intersection between the possible and probable represents a challenge. This involves assessing the necessity of having hope, even if false, and the issues of losing that hope, especially when it occurs rapidly, with how hope can contribute to autonomy: something that represents a very difficult and dynamic balancing act.

Conditions for Hoping

From the perspective of the human sciences hope, in addition to being linked with the concepts of emotion and cognition, is seen as being related to imagination, memory and knowledge, as each of these are seen as providing the necessary conditions for hoping. To imagine this future state, requires that this thing, what is 'envisioned' to borrow a term used by Phil Jackson, remains in the mind for an extended period, and that what is hoped for has some connection to some knowledge of what might be possible. Of the traits that have been discussed emotion is usually seen as negative because it is a property we share with animals, while imagination is problematic as it is associated with the illusory and therefore it has the potential to mislead us. Fortunately, cognition, with its rational powers of logic and reason, when trained appropriately can facilitate our understanding of reality, but provides little indication of where hope comes from. While Godfrey (1984) has described hope as somehow prehensile, Waterforth states

'Memory and imagination are necessary conditions for the possibility of hope. In turn, memory, imagination, and hope constitute a nexus of conditions of possibility in thinking and acting... Memory and imagination are considered to be specific faculties, whereas hope is not. However, given the difficulty of ascribing hope to an existing category like those faculties, or the emotions, attitudes, desires, thought, will and so on, I propose that hope be viewed as a primitive phenomenon in a class of its own. Situating hope in one category or another seems to obscure some aspect (s) of its multifaceted nature from view...' (p. 31-32)

Viewing hope as a primitive phenomenon is appropriate, as hope has often been discussed and studied as something that can be analysed without language. Accepting the role of emotions and cognitions as being featured when hoping, but also as concepts that can be attributed to other animals invites the question, if hope is not divine, what makes us capable of hoping? Much of Stotland's work involved animal experiments, and these experiments on rats provided much of the theoretical framework for discussing hope. For Stotland (1969) rats were given the capacity to hope, and while experiments on rats have revealed a neural play circuit (Panksepp, 1998), produced the concepts of cognitive maps (Tolman, 1948) and learned helplessness (Seligman, 1990),

they, despite possessing a remarkably similar genome, do not appear able to have the potential to perform actions involving the characteristics of hope. As discussed in Chapter 1 (Stec, 2009), Donald (1991) argues that for humans to have developed the symbolic thought processes associated with abstraction and language, we would have previously had to evolve a capacity for the voluntary external representation of internal states, and it is the voluntary ability that other animals lack.

Voluntary access to memory, what he labels kinematic imagination, is a capacity that emerged in early hominoids and a condition that makes hope possible. This ability to rehearse motor patterns using what Damasio (1994) labels as the ‘as if’ mode of mental models allows us to use, create and edit the ‘movie in our brain’. Borrowing heavily from Merlin Donald, Kieran Egan (1998) calls this somatic understanding, a non-language way of relating to the world. To state that this way of relating to the world involved hope, is consistent with the idea that hope is ‘primitive’. Turner (2000), using the notion of blending emotions found in the works of Descartes, Spinoza and Hume, is explicit in stating that as a species *homo erectus* would have had access to new emotional states. These states, hope, guilt, shame and anticipation, were viewed as more complex than those possessed by our ancestors. Whether this ancestor could hope, cannot be answered fully, but the conditions permitting hope appear to have existed, and the capacity for kinematic imagination was central to the ability of *homo erectus*, ‘a nearly naked and relatively small creature’ to emerge from Africa and migrate to Europe and Asia. As the next section discusses many of our metaphors of hope invoke the skills that facilitated this migration.

Philosophy, Hope and Sportish activities

Despite our long-standing, and rather complicated, relationship with hope, sport, though it has been given little formal attention within the academy, has a surprising presence in academic discussions of hope. Philosophical discussions of hope tend to make a distinction between the impossible, what is imaginary and in no sense real, and the really possible. By no means is sport the only example given by authors wishing to distinguish these features of hope, but it is a surprisingly popular method of discussing

the really possible. Waterworth discusses, the notion of racing and training to be an Olympic athlete, whereas McDowell (2006), a Scottish author comments there is something wrong with the use of the word hope, when someone says they hope Scotland will win the 2006 World Cup, for they did not qualify for participation.

In addition to serving as a way to frame discussions of when one can speak accurately about hopes, there is a tremendous physicality to discussions of hope. In an article on the synergy between sport and OMT Wolfe et al., (2005) draw attention to the incredible number of verbs that are present when speaking of sports. Discussions of hope appear to share this property, Aquinas 'speaks of how hope denotes a movement of stretching forth of the appetite towards an arduous goal'. For Marcel (1951) it involves a kind of an endurance and strengthening, it 'is the casting of a positive glow' as 'Hope keeps me going' (Dufault and Martuchio 1985; p.380) and hope 'is called upon in adversity' (Waterworth, 2004; p.4). In Simpson (2004) the challenges of hope are discussed in terms of a long shot and involve that notion of wrestling with hopes that might not be realised. Godfrey (1984) describes Bloch's hope as something that 'is active and comes to grips' for by 'going beyond the limited' it is 'aimed at a social objective'. Broadly speaking there is much striving (e.g. Bloch, 1986; Godfrey, 1984; Waterworth, 2004; Webb, 2007; Webb, 2008), grasping (e.g. Bloch, 1986; Godfrey, 1984; Waterworth, 2004; Webb, 2007) and aiming (e.g. Bloch, 1986; Godfrey, 1984; Waterworth, 2004) in discussions of hope. Agents take action; 'I hope not simply that there be a target, but that I hit it' (Godfrey, 1984; p.11). Not all references are specific to sport, but the examples share some commonality in their emphasis on physicality and movement. Verbs and adverbs provide the imagery in sport and the backdrop to philosophical discussions of hope. The most eloquent among these is perhaps Marcel who speaks of the tensions inherent in hope, for :

'in hope there is something which goes infinitely further than acceptance, or one might say more exactly that it is a non-acceptance, but positive and hence distinguishable from revolt. Non acceptance can indeed be a mere stiffening or contraction. When it is this it is powerless and can be, in the same way as its opposite, abdication, a manner of working out one's own defeat, of relinquishing control. The important

question for us to know how it can take on the positive character. How if I do not accept can I avoid tightening myself up, and instead relax in my very non-acceptance. We might compare this with the supple movements of the swimmer or the practised skier. But our difficulty is that it is very hard to conceive how there can be a suppleness and grace in something which, on the face of it, appears to be a negation. We can begin to see the solution of this strange problem by reflecting that tightening up or stiffening, on whatever physical or spiritual level we may be considering it, always suggest the presence of the same physical factor, which, if not exactly fear, is at any rate of the same order, a concentration of the self on the self, the essence of which is probably a certain impatience. If we introduce the element of patience into non acceptance we at once come very much nearer to hope... That means do not force the personal rhythm, the proper cadence of your reflection, or even of your memory, for if you do you will spoil your chances'

What is significant about all these metaphors involving physical actions is how many of these actions contributed to the development of the form we embody. The most important of these is the aiming involved with throwing. As discussed in Chapter 1 the grasping involved in these skills represents a prehensile gripping action that permitted the development of a fundamental human motor skill that is seen as contributing to our form (Young, 2003), to our ability to stand upright (Fifer, 1987), our kinematic imagination (Donald, 1999), our expanded memory (Donald, 1999; Calvin, 1993) and even our ability to talk (Calvin, 1993). Oswath and Gärdenfors (2005) argue that anticipatory cognition, the ability to mentally time travel and plan for possible events, is linked with the development and refinement of our ability to throw powerfully and accurately. This cognitive ability is seen as commencing with *Homo Habilis* and increasingly relevant to *Homo Erectus* during the transformations of our ancestors over a period that required a million years and began some 2.5 million years ago. Thus in addition to the consistent presence of action metaphors that predate our capacity for speech in discussions of hope, our ideas of hoping also appear to be influenced by the cognitive abilities we evolved, as anticipation is a central aspect of Waterforth's (2004) and Bloch's (1986) assessment of hope and hoping.

What hope is

Situating hope within the realm of human experience is not an easy task, as Webb (2007; 2008) has observed there is unanimity in hope being an integral aspect of being human, but that conversations between hope tend to occur within disciplines, rather than between them. Hope can be emotional, affective, cognitive, utopian, a life force, a mystery, or multifaceted. Each makes a contribution to our understanding of hope, but because each of these concepts have their own intellectual history, and readers have a conception of hope that reflects their own background. Within this thesis hope will be called a sentiment. Calling hope a sentiment, not only captures the hybrid nature of hope, but also places hope within an intellectual tradition that has not been dogmatic about separating things like experience, emotions, cognitions and rationality.

Most significant is the pragmatic-physiologist-psychologist-philosopher William James (1842-1910), whose immense insights into our worlds makes three contributions to taking this perspective on hope. First, regarding theology, few thinkers in our secular world who, while making no claims about God's existence, have expended as much energy and effort justifying and explaining the potential of religion as he does in *Varieties of Religious Experience*. Secondly, he has discussed rationality as a sentiment. In this sense rationality has a qualitative component to it, an aesthetic component something like a skill, in that it provides a certain feeling when done correctly. Third, it is James' (1884) theory of emotion that has been particularly influential/inspiring in the development of the contemporary theories, such as Damasio's somatic marker hypothesis. In this theory emotions play a role, not always to our benefit, but frequently complementary and usually positive, especially when contrasted to decisions taken by people lacking a feeling of their emotional responses (Damasio, 1994). What is significantly new about the contemporary theories is the addition of the 'as if' component. The ability to visualize, or perhaps more accurately feel them (Damasio, 1994; p. 232) and subsequently review them with the 'movie-in-the-brain', becomes important. While, Waterworth (2004) describes why hope is not an emotion, it would appear fair to suggest she means an emotion proper, as opposed to hope not producing the feeling of emotion. This it should be stressed is quite a new conception of the link between our cognitive abilities and emotional infrastructure, as it only recently that the

cognitive sciences started paying attention to evolution (Damasio, 1999) as Darwin's view had largely 'vanished from sight' (p.39). As Eckman (2002) observes he, like Margaret Mead and many other social scientists held that evolutionary theory would not hold, but discovered, regardless of culture, humans have the same facial expressions when we are happy, angry, and these, as Darwin observed, are quite similar to the response of animals⁶⁶.

Linked with this is Damasio's (2003) acknowledgement that his somatic marker hypothesis shares similar principles with David Hume's *A Treatise of Human Nature*, and Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. In addition, calling it a sentiment draws upon Smith's notion that sentiments are complicated feelings and that the understanding of them might lead to a more accurate conception of morality and justice, and these are relevant to playing fair. Traditionally, Adam Smith is known for *Wealth of Nations*, though he gave for more emphasis to morality than is apparent within mainstream discussions of economics (Saul, 1995) and, when his other work is discussed, it is seen as inferior to Hume or an extension of his former teacher Hutcheson. However, there is a unique aspect to Smith's interpretation of sentiments and it involves imagining the state of the other and then experiencing this state as if it were our own, something that produces sympathy (Stewart, 1982; Broadie, 2009). It is this sympathy that motivates our moral action. In this way Smith is close to the aspects of sympathy that Ruddick (1999) eludes to when discussing the difficulties of being a physician when facing issues involving hope, and to the very important link that imagination has to hope.

In addition sentiments, both as a word in the English and French language, have the same basic meaning, in it refers broadly to the ensemble of affective dispositions and underlying moral dispositions. Sentiments are what permit us to know what affects us by being aware of our bodies emotional response, the emoting, and the feeling of this response. In this sense, sentiment is given a broader role in consciousness than affect, which is commonly discussed simply as involving either being negative or positive, and this difference can be traced to its Latin root *sentir*. Given this heritage, discussing hope

⁶⁶ It must be stressed there remains a great amount of diversity in the stimulus than can produce these responses, the interaction may be culturally specific, but happy is happy.

as a sentiment gives it both its prehensile quality and places it broadly within sense making traditions, where sense making broadly means bracketing information as we try to make our way in the world, that includes Egan (1998) in education, Donald (1991, 2001) in cognitive science, and Weick (2003) in management. These perspectives tend to see our past as always present in our actions. Further to this, in a popular sense, when facing difficult decisions, it is common for people to say ‘does it pass the sniff test’, in French, unlike in English, *sentir* also refers to smell, giving sentiment a strong connection to our awareness, where some options are better than others, as Searle (1990) observes in questions of philosophy it is important to begin by following our sense of smell. Finally in French, *sentir* can also be used as synonym for anticipate, something that occurred during the final of 2009 US Open between Roger Federer and Juan Martín del Potro. Here watching a replay of Federer, whose tennis has been described as metaphysical, quasi-religious experience (Wallace, 2006), a French commentator on RDS said ‘c’est comme il le sentit’.

None of this means that the hopes involved in this significant cultural domain are more important than hopes in other communities of practice, politics or the issues of life and death that arise when facing a health issue. Simply that looking at the centrality of hope within this field and the role it plays in coaching can deepen our understanding of this phenomena in a number of ways.

1. Notwithstanding the low value often given to hope’s objectives within sport, there appears no reason to think that the process is different, especially as it relates to leading people.
2. As highlighted in Chapters 1 and 2, discussing hope in relation to Coaching is both historically and evolutionary consistent. Coaches emerged within a context where uncertainty is unavoidable, and involves our ability for kinematic imagination. This unique cognitive ability remains connected to the motor skills that are central in sports today, but also made a significant contribution to the form we embody.

3. Despite being consistently used as an example in discussions of hope, much of the literature on hope emphasizes a health context, which is largely an example par excellence of Waterworth's I cannot but you may. In these environments knowledge, skill and understanding are more or less situated in the hands of professionals. This does not preclude the role of the patient as an active hoper, simply that within the health care system the emphasis is on what medicine can do.
4. Waterworth outlines 4 aspects of looking at the performances in sport, all 4 are present in a very reciprocal way. In addition, given the collective passion surrounding sport, saying 'We cannot, but you may', might represent a fifth circumstance involving hoping, where collectively we hope in others. There is discussion on our hopes, but little discussion on what it is to be an agent of other peoples' hopes.
5. Despite the trend towards agency as a focal aspect of hope, there is, outside the context of health issues, little discussion on the attaining of, or failing to attain hopes. Notably, Waterworth (2004) characterises hope as having elements of anticipation and desire with an orientation to a future objective, but declares that 'anticipation, taken in the sense of seizing or uniting is not a variable component to hope' (p.11). However, in the context of the performance of the hoper, anticipation would appear to be an important variable, as we can do little with regard to time, it is possible, and likely, that our desire frequently stays constant, but as our objective of hope approaches, our experience of anticipation is likely to be modified.

Summary

What this chapter has attempted to express is an outline of hope by presenting an overview of the many perspectives on hope. In doing so it has attempted to outline the underlying characteristics of hoping, the tensions linked with these states, and why sport may offer us an understanding about the process of hoping. Perhaps what is most significant about hope is that Kant did not define it. When he asked his three central questions, hope is an assumed human feature, it is something of an a priori concept, as

Godfrey observes 'Hope is somehow prehensile, enabling a persons to in some sense know what would, without hope, be beyond that person's grasp' (1987; p. XI). Given Kant's religious connotation, and how he left hope as a religious question (Pieper, 1969) this is not surprising, but nonetheless in the dominant discourse today, language and speaking, are emphasised as the most important indicators of conscious thought. They are certainly important aspects of achieving what one hopes for, but as Wittgenstein states 'One might observe a child and wait until one day he manifests a hope; and then one could say 'Today he hoped for the first time.' But surely that sounds queer! Although it would be quite natural to say 'Today he said 'I hope' for the first time' (Cited in Waterforth, 2004.) When our ancestors hoped for the first time is likely to remain uncertain, but it is probable a culture grounded in somatic understanding is likely to have been sentimental.

For the purposes of this discussion, hope is more verb than noun and has been labelled a sentiment to reflect its hybrid nature as involving the feeling of an emotional state that is cognitively complex. It requires the voluntary recall and holding of an idea that cannot be performed by just any animal. Hope is the result of a peculiar biological process that is unique to humans, while we grant that animals have emotions, feelings, and a sense of self (Damasio, 1999), it is difficult to conceive of an animal hoping (Waterforth, 2004). From this perspective hope is dynamic, it rises and falls, and while ultimate hopes may remain constant (happiness, health, the good) the objects of our hopes will fluctuate with time, sometimes these multiple hopes will be aligned, but frequently they will not. Consequently, the management of hope, what is literally trying to hold things together, is in practice process oriented, and this process of making sense, as it pertains to this field research is outlined in Chapter 8.

Obviously hope is, especially since Barack Obama's historic victory, a very popular concept, but even the popularity Obama brings to this concept can be linked to sport as his victory was described as a Brown Bomber moment (e.g. Louis Gates Junior, 2008; Rhoden, 2008; Younge, 2008; O'Connor, 2008). This moment references the victory in 1938 at Yankee Stadium, by Joe Louis, a black American, who Maya Angelou

described as ‘the strongest man in the world’ when he won the world heavy weight championship by knocking out the German, Max Schmeling. In a similar vein the point has been made by Frank Deford, a senior writer at *Sports Illustrated*, who credits the visible success of black athletes in leading their teams to victory, and ‘that black coaches were, as a group, just as smart and just as dumb as white coaches. Vivid equality... ... Look, maybe Obama would be the Democratic nominee if there had never been a Frank Robinson and a Jordan and a Tony Dungy and a Derek Jeter. But I really don't think so’. Importantly, and unfortunately, these tensions appear as old as athletic competitions, whether it be the professionals from poor rural regions in the Hellenic festivals (Gardiner, 1936), the lower classes of England (Birley, 1993), participation has routinely caused issues within the social order, it also highlights the significance of other marginalized groups, women, aboriginals or those individuals with easily quantifiable hindrances being accepted on the playing field.

None of this is to say that coaches have the influence or importance that leaders of states and nations do, and nor should they; simply, that unlike other sectors that comprise our cultures, hope is not particularly audacious in sport, but front and centre; a necessary, important, integral, and given how we evolved, something of an unavoidable component. What is significant is how hope and play share a connection to imagination and that coaches, unlike the health professions, do not simply manage the hopes of others, but also their own, and frequently the hopes of far greater range of individuals who vest a portion of their identity in the results of their team. Being a coach requires a particularly intimate and significant relationship that revolves around hopes, in this sense the Coach may be an emblematic figure involved in managing hopes within the world we construct collectively. It should be clear from we discuss sport on a daily basis that it shares much in common with perspectives taken on hope throughout history. With myth they share the notion of the double-edged sword. With religious perspectives they share the desire for the Promised Land, that glorious victory or perfect game that is just out of reach, but contains markers or commandments that acts as guides on this path. Unlike fanatics in both fields, they must accept failure, even if tolerating it is difficult, and this is the one area of management research where coaches

have routinely served as a focal point. The impact of succession is often studied in sport, for when there is no longer hope the team will achieve its goals, coaches are frequently dismissed.

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Chapter 8

Managing Hopes and Navigating Performance Loops: Articulating the Possible, Facing a Reality, and Accepting Potential Truths

Abstract

Coaching now provides services and solutions in numerous domains, but remains a poorly understood concept. This field study looks at Coaching within sport and finds multiple perspectives on making sense within this environment. This form of leading revolves around hope and involves three distinct ways of ordering information as they strive to attain their goals. From this perspective coaching revolves around three distinct orientations: preparation, involving practices and training, performance, involving public displays of determination, and wondering and bewilderment, often in a private office. These orientations each involve a persona with a distinct way of thinking and produce an intimate relationship with hope⁶⁷.

The man of system, on the contrary, is apt to be very wise in his own conceit, and is often so enamoured with the supposed beauty of his own ideal plan of government, that he cannot suffer the smallest deviation from any part of it. He goes on to establish it completely and in all its parts, without any regard either to the great interests or to the strong prejudices which may oppose it: he seems to imagine that he can arrange the different members of a great society with as much ease as the hand arranges the different pieces upon a chess-board; he does not consider that the pieces upon the chess-board have no other principle of motion besides that which the hand impresses upon them; but that, in the great chess-board of human society, every single piece has a principle of motion of its own, altogether different from that which the legislature might choose to impress upon it. If those two principles coincide and act in the same direction, the game of human society will go on easily and harmoniously, and is very likely to be happy and successful. If they are opposite or different, the game will go on miserably, and the society must be at all times in the highest degree of disorder.

Adam Smith Theory of Moral Sentiments (p. 343)

⁶⁷ I would like to acknowledge the helpful contributions of the members of the Administrative Sciences Association of Canada's Tourism and Sport Division, and the anonymous reviewers for their comments on an earlier draft.

Managing Hopes and Navigating Performance Loops:

Articulating the Possible, Facing a Reality, and Accepting Potential Truths

'Yeah, it might be true I have to confront reality, but the question is whose.' A coach responding to a confused researcher who is watching him deal with any number of issues, phone calls, emails or players at different periods of the day, evening or late at night.

What this chapter does is link discussions in previous chapters, where Coaches are described as being a composite of three personas (Chapter 5) engaged in the management of hope (Chapter 7) with the navigation of performance cycles that are frequently alluded to in discussions of sensemaking (e.g. Weick 1993, Bougon, Weick and Binkhorst, 1977). What seeing Coaching as being grounded in hope allows is the development of a model that facilitates acting sensibly within the context of the various feedback loops that impact a team's performance (Hackman and Wageman, 2005). In doing so it builds upon Eisenberg's (2006) comment regarding how the sensemaking of Weick brings to mind the psychology of Vygotsky. Expanding on this notion, this chapter incorporates Vygotsky's (1978) increasingly popular idea (Donald, 1991; Egan, 1997; Gardner, 2004) that how we mediate our relations with the world is dependant on the tools that are present within our culture, and expands our conception of sensemaking. As a result sensemaking incorporates multiple tools for creating order and meaning in way that is consistent with William James' notion that there are many selves.

Effectively this chapter has three parts. The first part of the chapter discusses sensemaking and reviews its contribution to the idea of organizing. In doing so it outlines why sensemaking is especially pertinent to coaching and how focusing on coaching can improve our understanding of performance cycles. The notion of performance cycles is an important one for while their existence is widely acknowledged (e.g. Hackman and Wageman, 2005; Weick 1993, Bougon, Weick and Binkhorst, 1977) little attention is given to their actual management. Their importance is particularly apparent in Weick's (1993) exploration of the disaster that occurred during a forest fire at Mann Gulch. In this instance frames of reference are suddenly lost

and the world makes no sense. In this analysis he seeks information on why organizations unravel and how they could be made more resilient. Continuing a theme that is present in much of his research he discusses how feedback mechanisms can cause a deviation-amplifying loop, which can enhance or inhibit the chance of success (or survival) depending on the feedback given. Navigating these feedback loops, which can weaken performance when they produce a process loss (Steiner, 1972), something associated with vicious circles (Eden, Jones, Sims, 1983 in Eden, Ackerman, Cropper, 1992), or strengthen a performance when they encourage a process gain that enhances synergy (Hackman, 1987; Hackman and Wageman, 2005), something associated with promoting virtuous loops (Eden, Jones, Sims, 1983 in Eden, Ackerman, Cropper, 1992).

The second part of the chapter discusses the field where the research occurred and presents the findings after an intense period in the field. Essentially, after following a hockey team as they pursued their goal of winning the Championship, coaching came to be viewed as being grounded in hope, where coaches consisted of three distinct personas. Each of these personas had a specific relationship with hope and can be viewed as being representative of Vygotsky's notion of cognitive tools, or what William James in his discussion of the sentiment of rationality described as 'modes of conceiving the cosmos' (James, 1879), though, in the field, athletes described them as having something of a split personality. Each persona, what came to be named the Romantic, the Hedgehog and the Fox, focuses on a particular component of their responsibilities and tends to be associated with a space of operation. The Romantic is often found recounting stories about what is possible, the Hedgehog is concerned with facts as they pertain to performance, while the Fox is often left wondering what happened to reality. Significantly though these ways of creating order and meaning are distinct, they are not mutually exclusive and each play a complementary role in organizing the performance.

The third part of the chapter discusses the limitations of this model, examines how it may be verified and how research that accepts William James' notion that there are many selves may be enhanced. In the process it situates these findings with other

research making similar claims and examines the possibility for future research. Doing so has the potential to do two things, first it can address some of the criticisms that have been directed towards sensemaking, and more broadly the cognitive tradition in management, especially in a context where there are few studies emphasising sensemaking (Weick, Sutcliffe, Obstfeld, 2005). Secondly, it has the potential to improve our understanding of and thus contribute to the desire of the research community to prevent disasters (when performance collapses) and encourage success. This is an important conversation for while the complexity of the performance loops has made them difficult to study (Bougon, Weick and Binkhorst, 1977), they are inherent in sport and a central aspect of coaching.

For this reason Coaches make an interesting contribution to discussions of management. They are seen as universal in sport (Weick and Westley, 1996), extremely influential (Wolfe et al., 2005), an example of team leaders (Mintzberg, 1973), a type of leadership focused on development (Goleman, 1998; Dery, 2009) and a helping practice that is associated with learning (Feldman and Lankau, 2005). In addition Coaches are often studied to determine the impact of succession (Allen, Panian & Lotz, 1979; Brown, 1982; Fizel & D'Itri, 1999; Pfeffer & Davis Blake, 1986), have been examined in an attempt to understand contingency factors as they pertain to human resources and strategy (Wright, Smart, McMahan, 1995), and have been used as an example of transformational leadership (Fagenson-Eland, 2001). What makes coaching especially interesting is that in recent years Coaches of sport increasingly share this moniker with an increasingly broad range of disciplines, activities and domains, as coaching has become a macrosocial phenomena. What makes looking at how they manage performance cycles so unique is that sport is often used an example of complex systems (e.g. Maguire, 2002; Schultz, 2002), and there is little direct research on individuals dealing with complex situations (Drummond, 1995). Even when sport scientists study Coaches they are rarely treated as existing within a complex environment (Gilbert and Trudel, 2004).

Sensemaking and Coaching

Using sensemaking as a frame to discuss coaching is deemed appropriate for three reasons. First, like sensemaking, Coaching occurs after act, and this is when coaching appears to be most effective (Hackman and Wageman, 2005). Effectively as with sensemaking, coaching shares a preoccupation with retrospection, in fact it may be fair to say that a Coach's lament involves the realization -That I thought I saw the perfect game and then I watched the tape-. Importantly this ability for retrospection involves the ability for voluntary recall of an experience, it is this ability that is central to mimesis, our ability to use the body as instrument that can reproduce events from the past and project our imagination into the future (Donald, 1991; Donald, 1999).

Secondly, being a Coach involves the issues of identity. In Weick's (1993) analysis of the Mann Gulch Disaster, he references Mintzberg's (1983, Cited in Weick, 1993) definition of a simple organization to justify the lessons he seeks from the crew of five members. These five criteria include coordination by a direct supervisor, strategy planned from the top (though there is not a huge drop to the bottom), little formalized behaviour or roles, organic structure, and the person in charge often formulates plan intuitively; traditionally structures like these are found most often in entrepreneurial firms and independent work teams, where Mintzberg (1973) describes team leaders as something like the coach of a hockey team. Typically, in organizations such as these, theories about future success are generally a direct extension of the leaders personality, a belief that appeared to be shared in the field given Coaches comments that 'teams reflect the personality of the coach' or 'having met him (a coach) I understand why the team plays the way it does'.

Third, the idea of performance cycles involves the navigation of the various feedback loops that comprise collective action. The presence of these cycles has been discussed extensively, but little attention has been given to them because of their complexity (e.g. Hackman and Wageman, 2005; Weick 1993, Bougon, Weick and Binkhorst, 1977). Despite this they are inherent in much organizational life, and effectively navigating them is important. Nowhere is this more apparent than in Weick's (1993) analysis of the Munn Gulch disaster, where tragedy strikes during the response to what was thought to

be a routine forest fire as the responders, individually and collectively, are increasingly unable to make adequate sense of their situation:

‘As the fire gains on them, Dodge says, ‘Drop your tools,’ but if the people in the crew do that, then who are they? Firefighters? With no tools?... and then, to everyone’s astonishment, he lit a fire in front of them and then lie down in the area it had burned. No one did, and they all ran for the ridge. Two people, Sallee and Rumsey, made it through a crevice in the ridge unburned, Hellman made it over the ridge burned horribly and died at noon the next day, Dodge lived by lying down in the ashes of his escape fire, and one other person, Joseph Silvia, lived for a short while and then dies. The hands on Harrison’s watch melted at 5:56 (p.90), which has been treated officially as the time the 13 people died...’ (p. 635 and 629)

Ultimately the success and failure of this collection of individuals to achieve their own, and the team’s goals, propelled the team throughout the ups and downs of any season. During this season, a season with substantial negative performance loops, one might find themselves standing together and feeling somewhat alone while wondering: How does one organize this mess?

Performance Cycles

Assessing the management of performance cycles has been remarkably difficult as there is an abundance of variables involving multiple relationships, many of which combine to create feedback loops (Walsh, 1995; Bougon, Weick and Binkhorst 1977; Cossette, 2004). In addition attempts to study performance has been impacted by the difficulty researchers have faced when comparing relationships between fields, as Bougon, Weick and Binkhorst (1977) were unable to design their study on the Utrecht Jazz Orchestra in a manner that was comparable to previous studies. This study has been well cited, but what the development of these relationships in numerous different situations have found is that individuals are complex and filled with a variety of feedback loops (Walsh, 1995). There has certainly been a benefit to this discovery, but as Walsh commented in his 1995 article: *Managerial and organizational cognition: notes from a trip down memory lane*, that cognitive maps, what are often used to represent these loops, are important but given the tendency for maps to be complex and full of feedback loops a

moratorium may might be required and attention should be focused on other aspects. Adding to the complexity of this problem is Posner's (1993)⁶⁸ observation that, 'If the neural systems used for a given task can change with 15 minutes of practice...how can we any longer separate organic structures from their experience in the organism's history?' Essentially the maps that guide our actions are for more complex and dynamic than we imagined.

This problem of navigating these loops is further complicated by the tendency to stress either the subjective or objective aspects of performance. In Hackman and Wageman (2005) they stress objective criteria for success in their discussion of a controlled laboratory environment. In contrast, Bougon, Weick and Binkhorst (1977) emphasise the subjective aspects of orchestra members on the jazz performance. To do so, while the authors waver on the notions of distinguishing between organization and environment, they acknowledge how the successful execution of this study required a closed and relatively stable environment that experienced little external pressure, used a stable technology, and no objective performance measures. In this context they find that the more you stress certainty, in an attempt to avoid logical inconsistency, the less things made sense, that there was difference between the perceptions of the performers and the researcher, and that the patterns of relationships involved in performing are more important than the variables (Bougon, Weick and Binkhorst, 1977).

Assuming that participants in sports assess multiple reciprocal variables while playing, and that sports can serve as an example of a complex system (e.g. Maguire, 2002; Schults, 2002) the emphasis during the research was on understanding patterns, as opposed to listing variables⁶⁹, ensuring participants can give feedback, and expecting the results to be plausible, as accuracy would fail to fully capture all of the factors that are relevant to performance. This makes looking at the performance cycles in sport a

⁶⁸ Posner's work is integral to the foundations of the cognitive school of management (Walsh, 1995), however his theories of learning and performance are also prominent in Motor Behavior, the study of skill acquisition, though they appear to given less attention in the OMT literature devoted to learning.

⁶⁹ During the course work for my PhD., an attempt was made to capture what would constitute a good game. Using Decision Explorer, a computer model, the listing of the variables and relationships caused the program to freeze repeatedly as it consisted of multiple feedback loops between multiple variables.

worthwhile endeavour because there are objective results⁷⁰, as Latour (2005) observes, goals may be constructed, but own goals have real implications. There is constant external pressure, and these external pressures impact particular performances in important ways; some environments are quite hostile, some present challenging offensives, others great defences or particularly effective special teams. Linked with this is an ever-present subjective component. Arguing about the best, even in a sport such as baseball, an activity that is imbued with a remarkable amount of quantitative data, invariably enters the realm of the subjective. For the performers this involves the most difficult components of the situations they face, while for other participants this creates some of the most fascinating debates and discussions around accomplishments in sport. Who really is the best?

Making Sense of a Coach's Sensemaking

This research occurred during an entire season of hockey with a university team. Pragmatically speaking in the field, the experience of the Coaches was lived and absorbed, as the season spanned more than six months, over 20 games, countless practices, hours of meetings and almost 10 000 kilometres on the bus, and occurred the year after they had completed one of their best seasons. Given they had previously come close to winning the league (Season 1), had finished the previous season ranked and qualified for the Championships (Season 2), they believed they could achieve the same result and hoped to improve their finish to season that ended by losing to the eventual champions in the semi-finals. At the beginning of the season (Season 3) there was desire, feeling and belief, that given the team had only lost a couple of players and had gained valuable experience, they would be a better team, especially as all of the players were now a year older. As a result of their success the team set higher goals for the upcoming season, in the previous season their goal was to qualify for the Championships, whereas this year they wanted to do more than participate, they hoped they would win it.

⁷⁰ This challenge became clear in a discussion with a classical pianist regarding how to respond to questions regarding what I thought of the game. Similar to the approach used studying Jazz, where objective criteria were lacking, the pianist informed me that after watching a poor performance, he would simply say congratulations.

The Coach of the team had been with the organization for over a decade⁷¹, but this was the first time as a favourite, and only his 3rd season where he had a team that was considered a truly consistent contending team. As he would say just before the opening of the season after looking at the comments in a new story: ‘so it begins again, wonderful our opposition (their arch rivals who had been dominant for much of the past decade), has just put more pressure on us by declaring they have no expectations of winning. Just what we need’. The teams before had been good, they were teams that were capable of beating great teams, but it had taken almost a decade to secure a consistently good team. In this period, the team gained a reputation as a determined hard working team, that, even when less skilled, provided a competitive and difficult game for their opponents. They were a hard team to play against; they were not soft, though they sometimes had a hard time winning, for they often lacked a soft touch around the net. Speaking to alumni and the coaches there was a general agreement, that there were seasons they could have performed better, some of this involved not having the talent and some involved becoming a consistent coach. After over ten years with the program the head coach, players, alumni, school staff, and experts generally agreed that the program had become successful and possessed the coaching staff and the talent to defend their division title and challenge for the Championship. Players who might be drafted by the NHL would now take and return phone calls from the program.

Previous to the field research the team first appeared in the rankings near the end of Season 0 (the first time they had been ranked in almost a decade) and moved consistently up the rankings over the next season, and remained high in the rankings during the first half of the season of Season 2, only to slowly drop and ultimately disappear from the rankings during the second half of the season. Their season ended when they failed to score a goal in a play-off series. It was in this difficult period that the research occurred, so while coaches and players tried to attain their goals, they did so while having an observer with them trying to make sense of coaching as they simultaneously tried to make sense of their season that was not, and ultimately did not go as they hoped or expected. The notion of creating order is an important one during a

⁷¹ This, and all comments referencing events before Season 1 are represented as Season 0.

season of hockey, with its many performance cycles, the ways of creating meaning, a shared sense of order, are multiple. Fortunately understanding coaching as grounded in hope offers a perspective on this problem as it provides a framework to navigate changes in performances.

Hope

The previous chapter discussed hope and its relationship to coaching. Of significance is the difficulty we have in discussing hope without using action metaphors or invoking imagery that are continuously present within sport and whose development is guided by coaching. Actions that, as outlined in Chapter 1 and discussed in Chapter 7, played a role in our evolution. In addition, though conversations about hope tend to be contained within disciplines and separate (Webb, 2007; Webb, 2008), they tend to use athletic imagery, something that suggests Coaches experience what Webb describes as modes of hoping and develop an intimate relationship with hope, a concept like play that has strong connection to imagination. More pragmatically and most pertinent to the process of sensemaking provoked by performance cycles, is how hope transcends traditional distinctions between the subjective and objective. Contrasted with traditional results, where one is either successful or not successful (e.g. Hackman and Wageman, 2005), hope involves multiple orientations, each of which produces a different orientation when making sense, for regardless of the discipline, discussions of hope routinely involve a distinction between hoping for in the multiple, which is often described as subjective, and hoping that in the singular, which is often labelled objective (Chapter 6)⁷².

What became evident during this process is how Coaches' navigate numerous contradictions as they constantly make sense of soft data, the subjective aspect of hope, as they take hard decisions concerning who plays, who doesn't and what must be done by each individual if objective hopes are to be realized. In sport this distinction involves

⁷² Examples include the differentiation between hoping for (*espère*) and hoping that (*espérance*) in religion (Pieper, 1969), separating hoping the process (fundamental), and ultimate aimed hope (Godfrey, 1987); hope in and hope for (Marcel, 1962); the indirect hopes that sustain and their relation to direct hopes (Waterforth, 2004). In the health sciences this distinction typically occurs between possible and probable (Simpson, 2004; Ruddick, 1999), what Webb (2007, 2008) might distinguish as open and goal directed.

a discussion of process goals, what are often linked to executing the fundamentals, and objective goals, which are often represented by winning the ultimate prize. Process goals tend to be indicators of quality, of playing well, where if they occur it is increasingly plausible the ultimate objective goals will be attained. Notwithstanding the relationship between goals and performance objectives, as they are not necessarily mutually exclusive, the difference is as follows for this discussion. Attaining a performance objective involves a matter of fact, it cannot be disputed, one can believe it is wrong, should not have happened, but it did occur, whereas process goals involve more subjective elements that are always subject to debate and some revision. Figures 8.1 and 8.2 represent the games of Season 2 and Season 3 using a simple matrix where the objective result comprises the binary of the vertical axis and the horizontal axis involving playing well (the process goals).⁷³

Figure 8.1 Evaluation of Performances Season 2

Evaluating Performances S2

		Objective (Hard) Measurement (Win)	
		+	-
Subjective (Soft) Measurement (Process & Aesthetics)	+	S2G31 S2G27 S2G26 S2G29 S2AG S2G17 S2G23 S4AG S2G28 S2G22 S2G14 S2G20 S2G9 S2G2 S2G10 S1AG S2G32 S2G13 S2G3 S2G1 S2G16 S2G4 S2G18 S2G1 S2G5	
	-	S2G21 S2G6 S2G12 S2G7 S2G9 S3AG S2G25 S2G30 S2G15	

⁷³ For the purposes of this discussion winning is taken as the ultimate objective, though clearly this is not always the case. Take for example the English Premier League, for only a few teams is the objective to win, for others it is to qualify for the Champions League and for others still it is not to be relegated, while for some it is to impact the title hopes of others.

Figure 8.2 Evaluation of Performances Season 3

Evaluating Performances S3

		Objective (Hard) Measurement (Win)	
		+	-
Subjective (Soft) Measurement (Process & Aesthetics)		S3G33 S3G34 S3G19 S3G40 S2AG S3G10 S3G42 S3G38 S3G4 S3G5 S3G6 S3G20 S3G24 S3G15 S3G16 S3G17 S3G2 S3G13 S3G12 S3G17 S3G2 S3G27 S3G28 S3G30 S3G31 S3G37 S3G14 S3G36	S3G41 S3G23 S3G2 S3G3 S3G25 S3G6
	+		
	-		S3G18 S3G26 S3AG S3G11 S3G32 S3G39 S3G29 S3G35

Cognitive Tools and Constellations of Meaning

Cognitive tools are defined as aids that facilitate the representation of actors thinking (Cossette, 2000; p. 15). Frequently we think of things like expert systems and cognitive maps, but when defined broadly, cognitive tools may also include particular modes of thinking that emphasise a way of making sense of our environment (Egan, 1997), these modes of thinking allow cognitive aids to facilitate the deployment of a cognitive tool. Within this context, Eisenberg's observation that the sensemaking of Weick brings to mind Vygotsky is explored. Specifically Vygotsky (1978) views the process of how we make sense of the world as being impacted by the types of cognitive tools that are available. These tools impact the type of sense we make. This contrasts somewhat sharply with certain aspects of sensemaking. Frequently sensemaking is represented as a socially linguistic process of transforming sense into a situation 'that is comprehended explicitly in words' (Weick, Sutcliffe and Obstfeld, 2005, p. 409). From this perspective sensemaking is quite monolithic when compared with Vygotsky (1978). Vygotsky

certainly emphasised language, however, in working with children he clearly acknowledged non linguistic ways of making sense, as it is this ability that allows the learning of language, and his notion of language as 'the tools of tools' seems to indicate a more pluralistic perspective on the meaning of words. For Vygotsky (1978) there would appear to be multiple ways of creating meaning and order in our universe.

In this field, these multiple ways of making sense became apparent as constellations formed to create personas that are associated with a mode of dress, space, activities and a particular kind of way of providing sense, order and meaning to the world. So despite the diversity of the situations a Coach faces, life involves a regular rhythm, and each component involves a particular view of the world. Regardless of whether they were winning or losing (objective results), playing well or poorly, where the 'sniff test' might be performed, Coaches were preparing, involving articulating expectations through stories and practices, performing, involving public displays of determination, and wondering, often bewildered within the privacy of their office, and each habitat emphasised a different manner of ordering information that tended to involve not only a different venue and a modified outfit, but also quite literally a physical transformation. Moving from preparation to moderating involved an intense amount of staring, the transformation from moderating to wondering required more than a little swearing while going from wondering to preparing involves some interaction between the realization about the uncertainty about what is known ('what do I really know') and a significant amount of laughter. Each persona that emerged involved a set of beliefs, which, while often contradictory, served a complimentary purpose in efforts to enhance performance over the course of the season. In a routine where the coaching staff hoped to transform the team from good to great, the team goes from preparing to perform, to moderating their performance, to wondering about their performance with an eye to how to prepare for the next performance. Each of these ways of ordering information represents a cognitive tool, and each encourages a certain outlook and a limitation that involves some tensions with other personas.

Romantic

The romantic persona is often present in preparation and involves setting the stage for the performance. This includes the development of a wide array of tools, ranging from team logos that are not to be stepped on, to team slogans, plaques, customs, and narratives that are told each year about how it is an honour to play. Broadly speaking this persona is interested in the extremes of possibility, focuses on connecting stories that play a significant role in generating hope that is connected to a possible reality. They embody what Webb (2007, 2008) would classify as a utopian orientation to hope. In a traditional sense this persona shares much in common with perspectives that emphasize the management of meaning⁷⁴ (Hardy, 1994; Cossette, 2004), or symbolic interaction, as many of the actions taken by the romantic persona involve the ceremonies, settings, rituals and symbolic actions associated with this perspective (Pfeffers, 1981). Within this field setting, and sports in general, the stories are based on real events. They represent extreme accomplishments, but they are very real; as Margaret Visser notes in her Massey Lecture, *Beyond Fate*, ‘sport can seem, on some TV nights, almost the only reality available’ (p. 112, Visser, 2002). Examples of this include Mark Messier, guaranteed that the New York Rangers would win the Stanley Cup, and then scored a hat-trick as he delivered the victory.

In this setting, much of the Romantic aspect focuses on events that either have happened, and thus represent matters of fact, or are deemed possible, and linking facts with the appropriate story is an important skill. In the words of one coach ‘it is what helps make lemonade from lemons’. Of course, as with any representation of order, it is much easier to create a romantic setting, than it is to articulate these expectations in a believable manner that is not just talk. The limits of this persona were also evident as actions, what you do, counts more than what you say. This limitation was highlighted by the Coach’s comments near the end of the season as assistant coaches and players,

⁷⁴ There is one very important distinction, Pfeffer (1992) defines symbolic action as operating ‘fundamentally on the principle of illusion, in that using political language, settings, and ceremonies effectively elicits powerful emotions in people, and these emotions interfere with or cloud rational analysis’ (p. 279; Pfeffer, 1992). In a similar discussion, Hardy (1994), while acknowledging that the oppressed have access to symbolic power, largely focuses on negative issues and portrays the management of meaning as largely manipulative for it prevents access to understanding reality.

the playoff theme team committee, spent a great deal of time and energy putting together a video with highlights from the season, ‘as those things are nice, but they will not win us a playoff game’.

Hedgehog

The hedgehog persona is central to the public performance and requires determination and ‘dogged persistence’, what Webb (2007, 2008) would describe as resolute, in the pursuit of attaining a goal. This persona is largely responsible for confronting hopes and the real results that occurring during performance. Doing so involves setting and enforcing the standards resulting in the transformation of the possible to the more probable realities. This orientation involves what Webb (2007, 2008) describes as estimative as it involves calculating. The hedgehog persona facilitates thinking about what is best, and helps to determine strategies and question the general theories of others. It involves the development of a system of action involving rules and consequences designed to enhance performance, late for the bus means being benched, preparation for performance involves certain steps. ‘You are always preaching to do the same thing in preparation, so I stayed and watched the entire warm-up, I did not want to as that guy would not stop talking to me, it was distracting, but did not want to change my routine’.

During the season facts, execution of systems, and determination were always relevant. The ordering of information associated with the hedgehog involves the ability to create general theories that guide actions and is exemplified by the following comment: ‘7 seconds, the research says after seven seconds of trying to get the puck out, breakdowns occur. So after 7 seconds ice the puck, I will never get mad if you ice the puck after 7 seconds’. These beliefs create the structure that governs how the team plays and the decisions coaches take. Associated with this persona is a temptation for certainty about the one best way, and how the temptation for the comfort provided by a certain routine to be balanced by anomalies, as these situations are inevitable. Consequently, linked with this persona is the problem of change captured by a player’s comment on

unforeseen developments, 'must be freaking out, warm-up late, game starting late, refs are not on the ice yet, he hates it when the routines are disrupted'.

Fox

The fox represents the persona that is largely off scene and deals primarily with the aftermath of performance, especially those components that are not easily explained by the frameworks of the Hedgehog or the stories of the Romantic. What distinguishes this persona is while the Romantic contrasts heroic performances from those that are not and the hedgehog addresses reasons for winning or losing, the Fox address issues that are not as easily categorised. This is most apparent when winning but playing poorly 'these passes worked today but we're not gonna win a big game with them' and losing when playing well, 'it is not as if we are playing poorly, how many more chances can we create?'. In doing so they deal with the limitations of the stories and the issues that arrive when the facts do not match the truth. Often this search involves patience, 'it will pass', but importantly this persona deals with the difficulty of finding a cause 'Yes, it was a great effort, at a blocked shot, but back up the tape, there is a mistake there, preceded by the mistake there, then there, and the effort was great but was a result of 5 or 6 poor decisions. And if the shot is stopped we are not talking about this'. In this sense their orientation towards hope might be considered what Webb (2007, 2008) described as patient but critical as they seek potential ways forward.

Fortunately the difficulty in finding the cause, is somewhat balanced by the humour that is present in these situations, ' I have a theory, I think every time we lose the opening face off we play poorly (laughter), look I did not say it was a good one'. It is the Fox who encourages individuals to play and not worry about the results. The strength of this persona involves accepting the number of factors that are out one's control and what cannot be changed. The flip side to this is too much acceptance and not enough effort at improving. Together the relationships between these personas are summarized in Table VIII.I.

Table VIII.I Summary of Personas

Persona	Oriented to	Strength	Limitation	Question	Requires	Image	Hope
Romantic	Preparing for Performance	Motivation	Disconnected from reality	Why?	Narrative (Synthesis)	'gets lemonade from lemons'	Giving hope
Hedgehog	Monitoring Performance	Determination	Each problem one solution	How?	Reduction Simplification Facts	'do this and it doesn't work, it's my fault, if you do it your way it is your fault and will have consequences'	Confronting hope
Fox	Reflecting upon Performance	Awareness	Too Accepting	What?	Speculation	What do I know? It's like in the lion king. 'It passes'	Seeking hope

Navigating Performance Cycles

In research on teams and performance Hackman and Wageman (2005) has found that after both victories and losses it is important to pause, reflect, and wallow or enjoy before proceeding to the next game or season. As mentioned earlier, this research occurred following the best season the team has ever had. The season started with players and Coaches being very determined to return to the Nationals. They believed they had a more mature, more skilled and overall better team than the previous year. Obviously the resources available to a team are seen as a significant contributor to success, as they say in basketball you can't teach height, however Coaches do influence performance cycles. Notwithstanding the unpredictability of the results, the interactions between emphasising a particular way of ordering information and the impact on performance can be examined. This becomes apparent when you look back at the games and compare how games were evaluated with the degree of satisfaction associated with performance. Figure 8.3 captures this relationship in a way that allows the development of a series of travelling tips that can serve as a potential guide for understanding the relationship between deploying a persona and performance.

Figure 8.3 Reflecting on Performances

Performances in Retrospect

	Romantic	Hedgehog	Fox
Satisfied	S2G32 S3G8_ S1AG S221 S213 S214 S223 S228 S231 S3G22 S3G34 S3G15 S3G20 S216 S224 S3G12 S3G11 S211 S224 S3G33 S3G19 S3G40 S2G36 S3G21 S2G18 S3G13 S22 S3G30 S3G43 S3G38	S0AG	S4AG S2AG
Not Satisfied	S3AG S3G29 S3G7_ S3G5_	S3AG S2G19 S2G19	S3G26 S3G32 S211 S3G11

Looking retrospectively at seasons certain things become apparent and these, in combination with how performances were evaluated earlier (Figure 8.1 and 8.2), allow, what might be called travelling tips to be developed. What Figure 8.3 shows is the 'relationship' between the orientation during the season and the level of satisfaction. This is supported by various games in different seasons, plus various discussions on the types of mistakes that were made. It is important to understand that though one might assume that a game-by-game analysis is more valuable and pertinent than the season, which is an aggregate of the games, the opposite might be true. As Hackman and Wageman (2005) it is far from easy to capture the variable that impacts performance, as these include the coaches, the team, the individuals, and the opposition, plus the randomness that occurs within each game. During this research the sense of the season provides a backdrop that is consistent and impacts each game, and this is truer when not all the games are equally challenging. In addition to analyse it by game, while each game would be influenced by the season, it would also, and far more importantly, be impacted by the reactions to specific plays and players during the game. Getting at this level of interaction was not possible, not simply because what is presented is what emerged in exploring the management of performance cycles, but also because the

amount of data and collecting it would require different approach that ensured both the team and coach were monitored closely. Nonetheless, the lessons drawn from this research may enhance the navigation of performance loops and improve the overall performance:

Tip 1. When dealing with situations where it is possible that process goals might not be achieved, while it remains probable objective goals can be achieved, skilfully deploying the hedgehog is more likely to promote virtuous loops and inhibit negative spirals.

Or it is better to say, ‘these passes might work against a weaker team, but won’t be effective against a top team,’ than to celebrate, or have players celebrate about how well they play against certain teams. In addition, the other common way of evaluating performances presents plenty of games where the team plays well and achieves process goals but fails to achieve the objective goal and loses. During these circumstances the romantic was seen as improving future performances, and can provide the following travelling tip.

Tip 2. When dealing with situations where there is the potential that process goals may not be attained but it is possible that an objective goal can be attained, skilfully deploying the romantic is more likely to promote virtuous loops and inhibit negative spirals.

During this season, a far greater percentage of games involved playing poorly and failing to win. In attempting to make sense of this situation, the fox was perpetually present. Complicating the presence of the fox, was the increased suspicion that performances in the past may not have been accurately evaluated. While it appears to be difficult to modify objectives during a season, the role of the fox was seen as essential in modifying the performance cycle in a positive way. In difficult times emphasising the bounces will come our way, be patient and it will come, is more effective than outlining how perfection is required if objectives are to be attained⁷⁵. This travelling tip can be described in this way.

⁷⁵ I hesitate to make this comment but I, as others with some familiarity with sports would as well, observe it. When a team has to be perfect to achieve a goal, generally speaking they face a situation with an improbably goal. Once more in fairness, the coaches and players were aware of this issue, albeit

Tip 3. When dealing with a situation where it is possible that process goals might not be attained and probable that an objective goal cannot be attained, skilfully deploying the fox is more likely to promote virtuous loops and inhibit negative spirals.

As mentioned this season occurred after their best season, where they won and played well with great consistency. They had had an awesome season before losing to the eventual National Champions to end their season, in what was described as an awesome game. They desperately wanted to get back to Nationals, they believed, that having only lost two team members they would be better. As the Coaches said while reflecting on the season, ‘Don’t think I took a break I just wanted to get back to Nationals’ and ‘We didn’t start at Step 1, thought we could skip some steps and it cost us’. Similar comments emphasised this attitude in the papers. There were discussions about being hungry for the end of the season, and then, following the end of the regular season, there was relief, ‘Thank god the season is over and the real season begins’ (applause). Comparing the seasons, if Season 2 began with play well and the results will follow (fox), Season 3 began with a focus on results, and an early concern by some players, that the rules of play were being enforced more than the style was being encouraged; if we do this we will win. In a the form of a travel tip this might read:

Tip 4. When dealing with a situation where there is potential for achieving process goals but it is possible that an objective goal cannot be attained, skilfully deploying the fox is more likely to promote virtuous loops and inhibit negative spirals.

Or, it is better to say, ‘that we have worked hard for this and enjoy it as there is no pressure on us, and we simply have to play our game’ than ‘if we are to win this, all of you have to dump it in, except Hawerchuck, he’s good enough to carry it in’ or declaring ‘this is our year, we have the better team and we should win’. This is especially true when talking to journalist prior to a playoff elimination game when you are hoping to defeat the defending champions. Graphically this navigational guide is expressed in Figure 8.4.

probably a bit later than they would have desired, and I suspect that they cringed upon reading this comment.

Figure 8.4 Personas and Performance

<i>Personas and Performance</i>			
		Objective (Hard) Measurement (Win)	
Subjective (Soft) Measurement (Process & Aesthetics)		+	-
	+	Fox	Romantic
	-	Hedgehog	Fox

Limitations, Verifiability and Representing Sensemaking

The findings, conclusions and argument contained in this chapter are based on the experience and data generated during one long period of participant observation over the course of an entire season, that occurred *within and during the management of performance cycles*. This period was also supported by an awareness and access to the team during 5 other seasons and the incredible amount of media coverage on sports in general. As with any fieldwork it can be difficult to generalize from particular cases, and these generalizations can, and most certainly are influenced by the experiences and ability of the author. Further complicating matters is the difficulty of validating tips in an institution such as sport, for it promotes uncertainty and empirically almost all participants are unsuccessful. By its nature sport is an institutional field that seeks and thrives upon uncertainty, meaning success is not guaranteed. For this reason making accurate predictions is difficult in this field, however within a complex and uncertain world, it does offer a window into approaching these situations, as unlike traditional organizations augmenting uncertainty is seen as good for competition and the industry (Fort, 2003). In addition sport is intensely resourced based, and teams with more skill,

all things being equal, are more likely to enact an environment that involves winning conditions. Weighed against these challenges and limitations there are three ways of looking at the contribution and validity of these travelling tips as tool to facilitate the more effective navigation of performance cycles. These included how this perspective, when contrasted with the leadership perspective that influenced participants during this season explains performance, how it relates to conversations in other fields, the reactions of the participants and what all of these might mean for future research.

Coaching and Leadership

Alternatively the value of these tips can be contrasted with the ideas of leadership that influenced the participants in this study, specifically the ideas Collin's (2001) promotes in *Good to Great*. When Collin's commenced, what was to become one of best selling and most influential business books, his research he did not expect to find leaders and leadership to be important. In fact he was explicit that he did not want to contribute to the romantic notion of charismatic and larger than life leadership, but in the end he found leadership contributed to greatness and was a variable he could not ignore. Basically *Good to Great* discusses three types of leaders, the hedgehog, the fox, and the charismatic leader (romantic). Collin's wished to avoid promoting the romantic aspects of leadership as it encouraged seeking a type of leader who is as likely to be present at a successful company as at an unsuccessful one. He observed that, when contrasted with leaders of his great companies, romantic leaders in his comparison companies were found more frequently in the media being heralded for their ability. In addition Collins discusses how charisma hinders leadership, (p.72) as the leaders can become the 'defacto reality driving the company' where they are responsible for success in a fashion that potentially inhibits the sustainability of success. Similarly the romantic leader may also be challenged as individuals become more concerned about the leader's reality, than they do about the real issues the organization faces. As he notes there is nothing more demotivating, and misplaced, than expending energy promoting false hope, whereas the existence of the hedgehog concept produces the motivation required (p.74).

Easily contrasted with the traditional romantic notions of leaders, Collin's also discusses the hedgehog and the fox. Where hedgehog leaders were determined and focused, foxes were the opposite and described as scattered, diffused and inconsistent. Collins' example is the effective Presidency of Ronald Reagan, who is described as a hedgehog, whereas Jimmy Carter, who started many projects, but was largely seen as a disappointing President, notwithstanding his legacy as a humanitarian, is described as a fox. Hedgehogs were able to successfully implement the hedgehog concept that focused their organization at what it could be best at in fashion that created passion and could be measured accurately. This ability was contrasted with the leaders Collins described as foxes because they were constantly changing plans and focusing on different unrelated projects. Essentially Collin's found 'Those who built the good-to-great companies were, to one degree or another, hedgehogs' (2001; p.92).

Critics of Collins (e.g. Resnick and Smunt, 2008) have argued that he has failed to capture what had made these companies great, and few of these companies continue to meet the standards he outlined. Others observe his measurement of performance is inappropriate (Niendorf and Beck, 2008), though broadly speaking few dispute his prescriptions, which are not seen as particularly negative. There is simply some concern that he did not use the appropriate type of analysis in selecting companies; what he says might be true, but his demonstration of the cause might be faulty (Niendorf and Beck, 2008). Conducting a study within an environment influenced by *Good to Great*, does highlight some of these concerns, as there is much that Collins says that appears to be true, and much that appears to suggest that following these guidelines can make you good as opposed to great. What does seem to be lacking within Collin's proposal is the interaction and dynamism that is required when faced with the changes involved in leading, managing and coaching. Significantly only one of the 11 companies are still successful (Resnick and Smunt, 2008), and though Collin's promotes determination, there does appear a substantial amount of evidence suggesting that sometimes hitting a target involves becoming less determined not more. None of this means the hedgehog concept is not useful, only that perhaps the concept should be uncoupled from the idea that the leaders he found to be the most successful should be classified as hedgehogs.

Unlike Collins, this case does not show preference for any of the leaders *Good to Great* characterizes, as benefits, like faults, would appear to be associated with each type. In addition it would appear that in each of us there is something of a hedgehog, a fox, and a romantic, though not equally skilled or comfortable during required performances. In this case the coach was first and foremost a hedgehog, he was determined to improve the team's chances of winning a championship. In the past he was also heavily invested in being a romantic, as players will mention, and he will readily admit, he did some pretty strange things to try and motivate the team. 'I used to try all sorts of things, had a binder of gimmicks, but it is tiring creating energy, I am not the on playing the game'. He was also a fox, dealing with any number of particular issues 'coaches job description, water boy plumber and .. (laughter), involving specific players and challenges, each of which involved going in a different direction. As he will mention to a player who has had success in hockey because of his determination, 'Don't try and hit the target, don't think about it, just let it happen.... See funny how that works sometimes.' The key word is sometimes. To paraphrase some Eastern Wisdom sometimes you suppress the object, sometimes the subject⁷⁶ (Cited in Dufour, 1985).

The decision to try harder and become more determined commenced after a season where the team had exceeded the expectations and prior to the field research. Why this decision was taken is not obvious, nor is it evident that doing so actually caused the team to struggle. Whether the decision was taken because it reflected the Coach's character or was influenced by Collin's description of going from *Good to Great* is difficult to assess. Simply, in retrospect a different emphasis would have perhaps produced a different result, especially as one of the key contributors to the success of the previous year had played a role that was associated with the fox. Of course, this lesson was learned and in the following years a more dynamic approach to leading was initiated, as this Coach, while remaining determined, increasingly realized that greater determination did not always produce more efficient determination or produce superior results. This does not mean determination, structure and facts are not important, only

⁷⁶ Parfois supprimer l'homme sans supprimer l'objet. Parfois supprimer l'objet sans supprimer l'homme. Parfois supprimer a la fois l'homme et l'objet. Parfois ne supprimer ni l'homme ni l'objet.

that there appears to be few coaches who reflect upon their career and say what ultimately made me better was being more determined, as many appear to admit that determination, while important for success was also a flaw, and they became more adept at being truly determined at the appropriate time.

Other fields

Finally, the terms used to describe the personas of the Coach, while reflecting the language in the field, are not entirely neutral as Collins' is not alone in discussing foxes and hedgehogs. Most famously it has been used by Isaiah Berlin in his essay on Leo Tolstoy (1986), and is based upon a fragment by the Greek poet Archilochus. In the myth it is argued that the fox knows a great many things while the hedgehog knows one big thing. Because of this one big thing, how to defend itself by rolling into a ball, the fox, despite being wise and crafty, is unable to successfully attack the hedgehog, who, by shutting itself out from most of what happens around it, has taken a position that cannot be penetrated. As summarized by De Rond (2002), for Berlin, the hedgehog encapsulates the Western philosophical assumptions that (1) all questions have only one true answer and other answers are deviations from the truth; (2) true answers are in fact knowable and can be accessed by the application of the scientific/rational method regardless of the field or question; and (3) that true answers cannot be in conflict with one another, in combination they might form perfect and complete knowledge allowing prediction and control.

In Berlin's essay, thinkers like Dante, Plato, Spinoza, Dostoevsky, and Kafka represent the hedgehogs, whereas the foxes include Shakespeare, Aristotle, Erasmus, Moliere, and Joyce. For Berlin, Tolstoy represents a complicated case, as he is described very much as a fox who hopes to be a hedgehog. His epic novels are an attempt to develop a hedgehog concept, to reduce an unknowable world into a unifying theory of history⁷⁷,

⁷⁷ There is also much about Tolstoy that involves hope, as science may discover what it can, but the important things are 'the presence of intention, the cause that comes from within: hope, dream, goal, ideal, plan, motive, purpose, project, end in view' (Walzer, in Berlin, 1986; p.v.). Discussions of hope are prominent in his work, it is common to find Tolstoy's cited discussions of hope and death (e.g. Waterforth, 2004), and William James (1902) uses Tolstoy himself as an example of the despair that can occur when one loses hope.

but ultimately succeed in highlighting the immense variety of experience within a great narrative. Tolstoy is seen as containing elements of the fox and of the hedgehog. At lengths Tolstoy criticizes the Romantic idea of the great leader, though he also describes in vivid detail the very real effects a battle scene, where Prince Bagration provides a calming force as he appears to be central and in command, but truly has little impact on the outcome. He is critical of the experts and scientists who make claims about knowledge, the hedgehogs who believe in finding true explanations, though he seeks them himself and cannot help but find the infinite, and ‘infinitesimally small elements’, and endless particulars that truly make up the stuff of life. This truth is celebrated by the heroes of *War and Peace*, Prince Andre, Pierre Bezukov, Karavel, all of whom are relatively humble and free from the hubris associated with rationalistic blindness that causes one to believe one’s greatness is the cause of success. Interestingly, unlike his other heroes, who are fictional, the Russian General, Kutozov is not. Despite his attention to detail and fact, the general is portrayed in a more heroic and romantic fashion than he is, for he is transformed from a feeble and corrupt individual into an unforgettable symbol of the Russian people representing the simple and intuitively wise (Berlin, 1986). Within the novel there are characters that represent foxes, hedgehogs, and romantics, all of whom contain traces of Tolstoy’s thinking. This is important as though it is usual to treat the Fox and Hedgehog as a strict typology, Berlin presents his analysis of Tolstoy as involving multiple orientations (Walzer, in Berlin, 1986), Tolstoy is not a monolithic persona but a pluralistic one, and this is what makes his stories so fascinating.

Rond (2002) also uses the Hedgehog and the Fox in a discussion of management theory. Concerned with the traditional hedgehog nature of management research that emphasizes reductionist principles and develops models based on averages, he worries that we might be developing theories for the wrong type of world. He asks if management would be better off beginning with the assumption that the world is pluralistic and heterogeneous, and that by adequately describing these challenges we might contribute to more successful organizing and potentially more relevant theory. Some empirical support for Derond’s argument is provided by Tetlock whose work on

expertise has contributed to our understanding of the complexity of cognitive maps (Walsh, 1995). Recently Tetlock (2005) in a book on *Political Judgement*, has concluded that what is important when facing ill defined problems is not so much what people think, but how they think. Over a wide range of issues, he found foxes, those with a more pluralistic approach at looking towards the future, were more successful than hedgehogs who applied an overarching model towards all problems. He found hedgehogs were successful, but that they frequently made bigger mistakes than foxes who were often less certain. Further to this the individuals he described as being a hybrid of the fox and hedgehogs performed the best. While academics are more concerned with issues of ontology and epistemology than Coaches, accepting differences, tolerating ambiguity, acknowledging lack of control, realizing the limits of one's knowledge and skill, and using one's imagination make finding common ground substantially easier in the collective efforts organizing requires.

Participant Reactions

It would not be fair to say that the presentation of this material, especially early ideas and drafts, were accepted enthusiastically, though broadly speaking the response was positive. This project presented a different perspective on the challenges they faced as Coaches and a different way of talking about the challenges of leading. In addition this feedback contributed to the refining of this representation of reality into a potentially relevant contribution to the dialogue on sensemaking. What is most interesting about this process is the difference in reactions to earlier drafts of the paper, as participants certainly reacted more positively than reviewers to an earlier draft of the chapter, when presented with the findings. Participants, having lived the experience, were more capable of seeing the interaction of these personas than a reviewer who may or may not have had similar experiences or may have different assumptions about order in the world. Effectively, they saw how the coach and themselves would deploy different personas and they could see how discussing coaching in this manner could contribute to their growth and development as a coach.

In addition, they also saw how particular individuals within their team setting were seen as more skilled performers of certain ways of ordering information. Consequently it would appear that finding the appropriate balance between members of the staff, team, and captains had the potential to enhance, and also inhibit the effective management of performance loops. As is evident in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, there were issues that existed between the coaches and the leaders of the team, within the leaders of the team, between coaches and players, and between players and the leaders of the team. Essentially attempts to classify performances, the responses to it, the antecedents and consequences of it are quite complicated. In brief this study focused on coaching and evaluated team performance, but this evaluation is an aggregate of the performance of the 27 skaters, 19 of whom perform in each game team. Each of these skaters can have their performance assessed in a similar manner. Generally speaking there is agreement about the objective goal, but even here, some want more ice time, an increased role on the power play, not always at the expense of the team's goals, but not necessarily in a manner that contributes to them. All things being equal the success of a team is dependant on the appropriate mix skill, both within and in between individuals, that is exemplified by these personas. An effective blend should facilitate a dynamic balance that helps minimize the impact of vicious cycles, encourages consistent and sustainable performance, and augment the chance and frequency of exceptional performance by encouraging virtuous loops. Future research that takes this perspective might potentially enhance how teams are constructed.

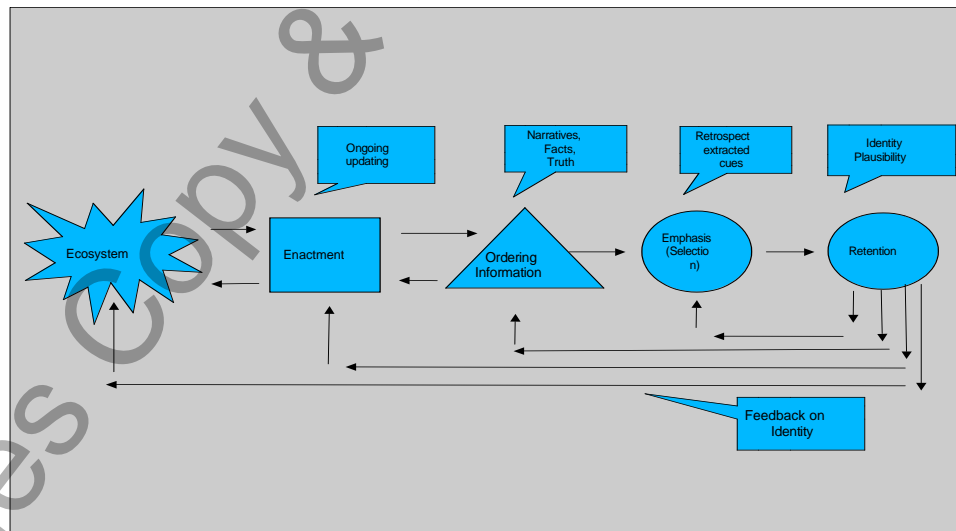
Finally, what is also interesting when assessing the value of these tips is that there is a tendency to view them as more helpful in preventing the deterioration of the performance than enhancing it. Often we wish to promote one factor that contributes to success, but during good performances success appears to be attributed to how many things came together to produce this result, something that appears consistent with how little we understand about performing at our highest levels. Whereas seeing this guide as helping to prevent a decline in the performance appears more readily accepted. In retrospect this is not surprising for sport teams are similar to high reliability organizations in that consistency is valued and avoiding drops in performance is

encouraged (Weick and Roberts, 1993). Under these circumstances you would expect participants to have a better understanding and have retained what causes failure. Obviously as a travel guide these tips do not guarantee success; though they do outline a way of navigating a journey.

Representing the Sensemaking of Coaching

Incorporating this perspective into sensemaking allows it be visualized in a manner that is consistent with Weick, Sutcliffe and Obstfeld's (2005) desire for sensemaking to be more action oriented, more sentimental, more behaviourally defined and more concerned with the future. Explicitly incorporating the idea of multiple methods of ordering information that were observed in this field modifies the traditional representation of the sensemaking-enactment process in important ways. Graphically, this is presented in Figure 8.5, and it looks like a traditional representation of the sensemaking and enactment, except that there have been changes to the symbols and language in an attempt to show it as more pluralistic.

Figure 8.5 Acting Sensibly and Ordering Information



First the traditional representation of enactment, like many academic representations tends to use boxes, a symbol that implies a certainty uniformity in information; it implies it can be captured, produced at regular intervals, stored and then piled efficiently. For this reason the environment appears fuzzier with boundaries that are less well defined. Enactment is left as a box, but it is far more of a black box, as how we perform actions remains something of a mystery. That action is so central to so many discussions is not surprising, as the motor cortex of our species is far more developed than it is any other species. As Michael Gazzinga (2009) writes in *Human*, if you ‘knock out the motor cortex of a rat... you may not notice any changes, but knock it out in a human and the result is paralysis... (which is why) Michael Jordan needed his neocortex to become the king of basketball’ (Gazzinga, 2009; p. 370).

This is an important point as in cognitive science, motor control, which involves how we take purposeful actions skilfully, actions ranging from writing, talking, walking to those that produce plays of the day, is understudied, as there is a historical tendency to study the outputs, language and texts, over the actions required in their performance (MacNeilage, 1999). This neglect of action as a cognitive act has led Jordan and Rosenbaum (1991) to observe that for those interested in cognition must, if perception is regarded as a core problem, ‘Cannot afford to ignore action... For cognitions to be communicated, they must be physically enacted’ (p.727). Modifying this within the context of sport seems obviousness enough, given there are so many complex actions taken without words. Doing so would also appear to be consistent with the studies on sensemaking that involve skill in complex situations where text and sometimes talk is not available. These studies frequently reference jazz, aboriginal cultures, fire fighting and pilots. Each of these situations would appear to privilege skill over knowledge, as in the thick of action texts are not present and may not be relevant. An obvious example is given by Weick (1995) in his observation of Dodge lighting the fire to save his life, here Dodge effectively made sense, and it is unlikely that the thought processes involved language. Representing sensemaking in this way appears increasingly appropriate given the discovery of spears, designed and weighted to maximise flight in the Paleolithic era

some 400,000 years ago, that our ancestors used to successfully hunt game in an organized fashion without language (Thieme, 2005).

The idea of ordering information is placed in a triangle to emphasise the tension between the different perspectives taken on creating meaning. Associated with this is how the process of sensemaking expands to incorporate the different ways of ordering information that were performed during this field study. Within sport, romantic stories, and hedgehog execution, and fox like awareness will always be required, but not in equal doses at all times. Each offers a different way of making a world sensible, but just as all goals are counted the same, some goals are far timelier than others. Under certain conditions some ways of making sense can make rendering the world sensible more difficult. The key word remains sometimes. In the field this was evident as Coaches tried to step away and have the players focus on playing without concentrating on results. However, at the same time the Coach still invested a tremendous amount of time searching media reports hoping to find a comment from the opposition that could be used to motivate the team to a superior performance.

Evidence of these orientations are available in the immense amount of coverage given to sport. Following his poor performance in Game 7 of the 2010 NBA Finals, Kobe Bryant, noted for his determination and work ethic, observed how his desire to play well impeded his performance (Adande, 2010). Whereas Martin Brodeur, the famous goalie of the New Jersey Devils, recounts sitting in the coach's office talking amiably with Pat Burns, his coach, before being told 'you should go and sit in the (dressing) room, I have to go in there and blow a fuse now.' (Brodeur, quoted in Gordon, 2010). As Burns performed some destruction in the dressing room Brodeur attempted not to laugh and admired his coach who had figured out what he felt was needed to boost his team's chances at winning the Stanley Cup (Gordon, 2010). In a different way Joe Montana did the same thing on a big drive during SuperBowl XXIII. In the match-up between the San Francisco 49ers and the Cincinnati Bengals, he asked his teammates if that was John Candy in the stands (Simmons, 2010), it worked as he successfully enacted an environment where despite the stakes it somehow mattered less. These examples can be

contrasted with England's 1990 World Cup semi-final against Germany. Here, prior to the shoot out, England's manager, Sir Bobby Robson, announced to his players waiting around nervously for the shoot out to begin 'Don't let me down lads, and remember there are 30 million people back home watching this' (Lineker, 2007). As any England fan knows this was not a successful approach, as it enacted an environment that suddenly became more challenging than necessary. There are many ways to say 'play hard, if you believe it, it can happen and remember to have fun'.

Linked with this emphasis and retention are in circles to represent that there are always spaces left between them, and when they are combined and used, rarely does what is used match exactly what was retained. In addition the word emphasised has been used instead of selection. Sensemaking emerged amongst the issues associated with rational decision-making, as in contrast to decision making where people rationally confronted a decision, sensemaking took into account that many actions were justified retrospectively, explanations came after, not before the action. Decisions involved making a choice that selected the best option amongst discrete and weighted criteria, whereas sensemaking stressed retrospection and interpretation. Traditionally there has been a divide between these approaches, though it is possible to view both them as representing different modes of interpreting, where they are not mutually exclusive but complementary, as effective sensemaking is guided by knowledge associated with facts linked to rational models (Rudolph, Morrison, and Carroll, 2009). In the language of sensemaking rational models have been retained as they provide plausible solutions that are consistent with identities within a cultural context where rationality is important. Discussing emphasis acknowledges the multiple orientations that exist and how they all play a role in successful action and problem solving.

What is most important about this connection is the notion that how you perceive the situation impacts the situation that is attended to and plays a role in approaching performance. As Ansoff (1965) noted long ago, in a discussion of Simon's four stages of decision, (Perception or Attention; Formulation; Evaluation and Choice), the majority of our management science models assume sensing the need take place prior to

and are outside our frameworks for analysis, even though our methods must account for 'all four, rather than the last two, steps of the generalized problem solving sequence. Emphasis must be placed on the first two steps.' (p. 15-19). Sensemaking incorporates the first two, and though we are unsure about how we enact cognition, the focus on attention does explain the emphasis on high reliability where attention to change is constantly required. For this reason another feedback loop is traced from the notion of retention to the ecosystem, as both what is retained and what is dropped remains in the dynamics of the ecosystem.

With the emphasis on action Czarniawska (in Weick, 2003) has commented that enactment is the action of ontologizing an epistemology, something that brings to mind Winnicott's idea that in playing we bring about reality. If these things are true, then sensemaking as a concept has to remain fluid with our biology and history. It needs to attempt not to privilege, especially in advance of a situation, one manner of making sense over another and ensure individuals are not excluded from the sensemaking process. In this vein, when discussing the sensemaking recipe or another version of it, 'I can only see what I have already done' (Weick, 1995), sight is referenced far more than other senses. Just like the emphasis on writing excludes children, sight excludes the visual impaired. Certainly this oversight was not intentional, but it tends to obscure the fact that when making sense, our movie on the mind involves recreation of an 'image' that permits us to reproduce the emotions and corresponding feelings of a past or potential action; it is as correct to talk about feeling an image (Damasio, 1994; p.232) as seeing an image. These things have been somewhat present in discussions of sensemaking, but in observing sensemaking in action, this chapter has attempted to make them more explicit in a management context, which sometimes exudes an aura that it exists without bodies (Heaphy and Dutton, 2008). Implicit in this is the potential that there are different methods for providing meanings, and that some methods are more appropriate in certain situations. The results of this research project bring us no closer to understanding how we enact cognition, but by focusing on the physicality of speech as part of a performance, it does broaden our conception of sensemaking and the different skills that are involved.

Summary

In contrast to the amazing growth of coaching, sensemaking, while being an influential concept within discussions of management theory, has struggled to become a mainstream theory that is retained by practising managers. This difficulty can in part be traced to some of the issues that have been raised during discussions of sensemaking. These include its dismal nature (Mintzberg, Lampel and Ahlstrand, 1998), its avoidance of sentiments in favour of cognition (Weick, Sutcliffe, and Obstfeld, 2005; Eisenberg, 2006), its tendency to remain neutral on issues of ethics and power (Weick, Sutcliffe, and Obstfeld, 2005; Eisenberg, 2006), and its neglect of prescription (Weick, Sutcliffe, and Obstfeld, 2005). By identifying the sensemaking of Coaches as concentrated in the managing the many highs and lows involved when hoping to go from good to great, this chapter takes a step to addressing these perceived issues. In doing so it enhances the scope of sensemaking and contributes to our understanding of the type of leading that is involved in Coaching.

In the book *Strategy Safari* (Mintzberg, Lampel and Ahlstrand, 1998) the work of Weick and sensemaking is linked with the cognitive and learning schools. The cognitive school is described as taking a dismal look on human abilities, as it focuses on our limitations, while the learning school is seen as problematic because learning is playful but not goal oriented. This can be sharply contrasted with the sensemaking involved with Coaching. Coaching has traditionally emphasised what can be done, not the limitations of cognitive performance but peak performance. In a similar fashion learning in a sport environment is frequently playful, though there is no shortage of goals, simply that focusing on the goals can make them more difficult to achieve. As Latham and Stewart (1981) discovered in their study of NFL franchises, those that won more were less focused on winning. In this sense Coaching is consistent with the renewed emphasis on our abilities that is a bi-product of the increased attention given to positive psychology (Seligman, 1990; Seligman, 2002; Dutton, 2003; Haidt, 2006), and Flyvbjerg's (2002) development of Aristotle's concept of phronesis (practical wisdom), what Novak (1976; p.73) describes as hitting the mark consistently. Significantly, Flyvbjerg's conception of phronesis is heavily reliant upon a theory of performance that

is not only grounded in the playing of games (Dreyfus and Dreyfus, 2005), but also relevant to the wisdom that is valued within the sensemaking tradition (Weick and Putnam, 2006).

Secondly, sensemaking has been criticized for taking a neutral ethical stance and for its failure to integrate sentiments (Eisenberg, 2006). By discussing the sensemaking of coaching as involving an intimate relationship with hope, what was discussed as a sentiment in Chapter 7 because of its affective-cognitive dimension, these concerns are partially addressed. Placing the sentiment of hope as a central component of an interpretive system does not ensure that the issue of who has power will be resolved, but it does begin to incorporate these issues. If sensemaking is triggered by a different result than was expected, asking, not what did I do, or what did you expect, but what did I, we or you hope for, will expand the issues that are considered when attempting to make sense. This is not simply because hope has long been considered a virtue, as virtue in humans cannot be guaranteed, but, as a sentiment, it does bring the body and its imagination into the equation in a way where feelings of sympathy feature more prominently. Obviously sport is a domain that is filled with ethical issues, and these failures are well documented, yet the issues of ethics have featured prominently in athletics since the Hellenic festivals (Feezell, 2004; Foucault, 1990; Gardiner, 1930; McGinn, 2008)⁷⁸. There is a right way to play, this right way to play might not be universal, but, within sport, the identity of participants is linked with what they perceive as the right way to play, and this involves an ethical stance.

Third, influencing managers is an integral (Wolfe et al., 2005) though an underdeveloped aspect of management research (Bartunek and Rynes, 2010). To do so requires that prescriptions be made, and all theories that promote process, by their very nature, often neglect to provide answers practitioners' desire. The advantage of research in this arena involves the acceptance that it was and is a process; success is not guaranteed but that there are also better and worse ways of navigating. This research has intentionally provided a prescriptive guide that will hopefully contribute to staying

⁷⁸ This is also why athletics was required for a Rhodes scholar and gives credibility to the Coach K Centre on Leadership and Ethics where Duke's Mike Krzyzewski, Coach K, is an executive resident.

afloat when faced with turbulent waters. Of course, it is easy to offer prescriptions where the most certain outcome is that your final performance will probably be failure. It is even argued by Berri and Schmidt (2009) in a book on the NBA called, *Stumbling upon Wins*, that coaches make no difference at all. However, the framework does permit a guide, and a way of developing an approach to better understanding team dynamics and the chemistry that exists between different individuals striving to make sense of complex situations as they strive to attain difficult and often extreme goals.

Effectively what this chapter had argued is that the Coaches' relationship with hope is manifested via the interaction of three distinct personas, the Romantic, the Fox and the Hedgehog, each involves a different manner of ordering information that simultaneously limit and complement the understanding of the challenges they face. In doing so it has discussed skills, what are technically defined as goal oriented actions, and encouraged a renewed emphasis on the body as a component of sensemaking. From this perspective the coach is viewed as a conflicted character that is simultaneously responsible for creating, confronting and seeking hope while being aware that success requires reducing its contribution. It has played particular attention to the modes of thinking that bind these personas together and how they revolve around hope. Importantly these skills are complementary, it does not require a choice between cold cognitive scripts or hot emotional attitudes and values, but simply more or less warmth. In combination these personas exist and attempt to find a balance that represents a position that is coherent with the potential of the team. Or, the sensemaking of coaches involves the notion that order is an ongoing accomplishment that emerges from efforts to create shared meanings and make sense of what has, what might, and what could occur.

Chapter 9

Final Thoughts: And if they call me Coach....

'In boxing everything is the opposite.' Eddie Dupris

Morgan Freeman in his Oscar winning performance as wise janitor cum philosopher in Million Dollar Baby (Best Picture, 2004)

Abstract

This chapter reviews the conclusions of the thesis, discusses the limitations of the methodology that was taken and the implication of coaching for contemporary management and management education. With this in mind it discusses what coaching means to playing well at organizations and management by highlighting the implications for leading, especially decisions and responsibility, and learning and expertise. It concludes by contrasting the logic of coaching with that of management.

Final Thoughts: And if they call us coach

'There will always be something'

Ann Marie Macdonald opens her novel, *The Way the Crow Flies*, in the following manner 'The sun came out after the war and our world went Technicolor. Everyone had the same idea. Let's get married. Let's have kids. Let's be the ones who do it right.' For the most part doing it right, regardless of the craft or institution, centred on applying the products of science. Although it is difficult to contest the success of this method there is an increasing concern that things have not worked according to plan and that the workings of science have become invisible and something of a mystery (Latour, 1999). Worse yet, in many cases, those things that have worked, Viagra, to take a particularly uplifting example, have not been the result of a plan, and it is within this context that the subject of this thesis, coaching, a phenomenon whose inner workings are no more visible than those of science, has become a popular management concept linked to an industry whose value is estimated to be in excess of 2 billion dollars within the United States of America. In their *Harvard Business Review* article Sherman and Freas (2004) attribute this popularity to the failure of management science, this must be tempered with the fact that, given the reliance of athletes' on science for their performances, it is probably an exaggeration to suggest the issue is either strictly science or management.

In this sense the research was initiated by a very simple observation; one of the most popular management concepts was linked to a domain that is outside the traditional boundaries of management research. This makes dealing with Sommer's (2006) assertion that the attitudes towards this boundary may reflect an ideological as opposed to an empirical issue somewhat unavoidable. In the same vein it is also difficult to avoid the large number of debates that are going on within our domain (e.g. Bennis and O'Toole, 2005; Ghoshal, 2005; Mintzberg, 2004; Whittington et al., 2003; Cossette, 2004; Chanlat, 1994; Lapierre, 2005). Just recently in the *Academy of Management Journal* (December, 2007) these themes were discussed within a dialogue focusing on the problems associated with the success of management research (Rynes, 2007a). A

prominent theme involves the concern that methodology emphasising stringent research standards has excelled in the production of knowledge, but its success has produced the fear that this approach is suited to one type of problem. Specifically Rynes (2007b) is concerned that in continuing to promote our success we may be inhibiting understanding of other issues integral to management, preventing the research community from attending to problems that interest managers, and failing academics who wish to contribute to managers' understanding of organizations. All of these issues impact coaching, especially as it seeks academic legitimacy as a practice grounded in scientific theory. Coaching, in the wide world of sports emerged to help coordinate reciprocal interaction between reciprocal interdependent bodies, often performing near their limits and it spread to help managers deal with their environments (Stec, 2010; Chapter 2). It remains a poorly understood and ill-defined phenomena to management researchers. So while an immense amount of effort has gone into exploring our issues little attention has been given to what we might gain by understanding the domain that produces so many of our metaphors.

Effectively what this chapter wants to do is explore what calling us Coach means to management by addressing three issues. First, it begins by revisiting the long-standing connection between sport and hope, and discusses how sport may be viewed as a hope based business. In this context it is natural to view coaching as being intimately related with the management of hope. In effect, the most dramatic difference concerning Coaches and their relationship to management is the role of hope, with its connection to false realities, while, in contrast, management has traditionally sought the really real, though there has been a growing discomfort that this reality was perhaps less real than originally thought. What this thesis has argued is that Coaching necessitates a deep and intimate relationship with hope, as it involves all the aspects of this complex phenomena as they are implicated in the hopes of participants, spectators, to say nothing of their own hopes as they stand on the sideline hoping their collective efforts result in playing well. In addition to sharing a connection to imagination and false realities, both are viewed as involving a relationship with, and often the overcoming of fear, (hope e.g. Aquinas, 2006; Descartes, 1985; Spinoza, 1876; Hume, 2009; play e.g. Burghardt,

2005; Panksepp, 1998), something that suggests a better working understanding of these concepts is integral to our efforts at collective projects.

Secondly it discusses the challenges of qualitative fieldwork, and why, although there are limitations to this research, this conclusion represents good science. In doing so it draws attention to the purpose of the project and how it might be evaluated. What is significant about the perspective taken in this project is that it provides a different perspective on the skills involved when leading, and thus also on the role of cognitive diversity when managing performance cycles. Obviously, as with any thesis, there are points, and often many, that can be contested, but hopefully there will be little argument that, regardless of one's opinion on sport and coaching, if sport was treated as a primary form of organization, as opposed to a non traditional form of organization, that OMT would be different, at a minimum concepts like coaching, play and games, and the hopes that are involved with them, would be central, and not novel and unusual concepts within management theory.

With this in mind it looks at some of the costs of science's historical tendency to exclude or look down upon the organizing of play as, as despite the significance of play and the passions we devote to its organizing, it has been given little scholarly attention (McGinn, 2008; Burghardt, 2005). More directly related to management of organizations, while play is considered a central feature in what some have described as the weightless economy (English, 2005), relatively few management studies focus on sectors where play is central (Simon, 2002; Defillipi, Grabher, and Jones, 2007). This aversion to play is most apparent when looking at the place given to sport, a very organized form of play that is performed or observed in every neighbourhood of the global village. Obviously equating sport and art will cause discomfort among many, but this connection is explored by artists⁷⁹ (e.g. Stec and Stec, 2006; Gordon and Parreno, 2003) and, as discussed in Chapter 2 (Stec, 2010), the emergence of the Coach, that one great instrument of music, is not only a technological phenomena but also a cultural one where performances are seen as theatre (Morris, 1981). In this respect Coaching is

⁷⁹ 'The athlete is the artist' Mathew Barney Drawing Restraint #9

broadly linked to a domain that is neglected and consequently, each time the concept or a metaphors of sport is used, we invoke a dramatically different relationship to the world, and this world is not always consistent with the assumptions that have guided organizational and management studies.

As part of this discussion it highlights what Coaching, a form of leadership focused on teams, (Mintzberg, 1973), developing people (Goleman, 1998; Dery, 2009) that is associated with learning (Feldman and Lankau, 2005), means to traditional management notions of leadership, broadly defined as influencing the activities of an organized group as it attempts to achieve a goal (Schermerhorn, Hunt and Osborn, 1998; Parry and Bryman, 2006). The relationship between sensemaking and leadership is important as Weick (1995) stresses that leaders are a significant player in the sensemaking that constitutes the organizing process. This is an important point, for leadership represents an interesting problem for OMT, as it is an unavoidable aspect of organizations yet their true value and impact are debated (Parry and Bryman, 2006), except it seems in organization where sensemaking is routinely studied. In these organizational forms, which include fire fighting, flight decks, military units and hospitals, leadership and skill is assumed to be paramount and is viewed as inherently valuable⁸⁰. To date little empirical research has looked specifically at the process of sensemaking of managers within the field as it occurs in real time, with real consequences (Weick, Sutcliffe and Obstenfeld, 2005). Further to this, while sensemaking is seen as a skill (Weick, Sutcliffe and Obstenfeld, 2005), few have emphasised this aspect within discussions of sensemaking. As this study has emphasized the skills when deployed when leading in real time, it touches upon the leading required by Coaches by paying particular attention to our notions of learning and expertise, and decisions, and discusses their implications for playing well @ mangement.

⁸⁰ People who asked questions about the research project routinely provided evidence of this. Individuals with an academic background would invariably ask questions about models, theories, methodology and the relevance of sport to management. Whereas those who had played competitive sports, even if they were an academic, would ask about the quality of the leaders on the team. This study has focused on coaching, but for a discussion on the influence of the leaders within the team review an article by Bloom, Stevens, Wickwire (2003), as it was also an article that was provided to the team by the coaching staff in an effort to address both perceived and real issues.

Sport and Hope

Aside from the fact that hope was a pervasive theme throughout the research, there are a number of other factors indicating that our notions of hope have a strong association with activities related to sport. Obvious among them are the historical connection and the corresponding, almost ubiquitous, and thus frequently ignored, presence of hope in media discussions of sport. As Bloch (1986) observes, in his three volumes on the principle of hope, 'Sport has never been more desired, practices, planned than today, and never have more hopes been pinned on it' (p.451-52), and though he also laments that in capitalism sport has become an event that placates the mind, he considers the athletic festivals, especially those Olympic festivals honouring Zeus, to be an exemplar of a community hoping (Bloch, 1986). In our more recent history this connection is also apparent by the number of important games played on the weekend, especially on Sunday. As Pieper, emphasises in his essay on the significance of leisure in the development of culture, that one of the central ideas, or consequences of Sunday being a day of rest is everybody is equal as no one works and all have access to leisure (Pieper, 1969; Pieper, 1952), something that adds a certain symbolism to the tendency of big sporting matches to occur on these days. This all-equal aspect, remains central to sport, and it is implicit in Vince Lombardi's, the great American football Coach, oft quoted 'winning isn't everything, it's the only thing'. What is neglected is its context, as it did not imply winning at all costs, simply that despite all the preparation perfection is unlikely, but within an environment where anything can happen on any given Sunday, victory represents a kind of ideal and this may be as good as it gets (Novak, 1976).

Hope's presence in media commentary is evidenced by the Globe and Mail's award winning hockey columnist Eric Duhatschek's Fall preview to the 2008-09 NHL season, where he observes that before the first game hope springs eternal, only to do so again, somewhat more accurately in his 2009 playoff preview 'Ah, the first round of the NHL playoffs, a time when hope springs eternal; when Cinderella is still prepping for the ball, with midnight many hours away'. Likewise, and perhaps with substantially more passion, prior to the 2007-08 in a discussion of how Les Glorieux would perform in

their 99th hockey season, papers were full (at the beginning of most seasons the sports pages discussing teams are full, but in Montreal they, the talk shows, call in shows, and television programs are somehow more full), of predictions and thoughts concerning prospects and their teams' chances; for on Day 1 all hopes are equal. Fast forward to the end of the season and these hopes have been confronted, few have been actually realized, and though the season ended in disappointment, hopes, though they were not met, were ultimately exceeded. And when the next season, the glorious centennial season, begins a headline declares once more with how at the beginning of the season all hope is created equal, though fans will soon realize some hopes are more equal than others. Fortunately, while Montreal fans are accepting diminished hopes they are content that in Toronto the talk of hope is linked with futility, as an excerpt in the Globe and Mail from Grange's (2009) book, *The Dismayed Fan's Handbook on why the Leafs stink*, is entitled *42 years and no hope in sight*.

Sport as a hope based industry

The issue of competitive balance features prominently when discussing the league structures of sport (Fort, 2003; Szymanski and Zimbalist, 2005). This is an entirely new feature of competitions, as in the past little effort was made to equally distribute uncertainty, weight classes were not present in combat competitions of the Greco-Roman period, and draws, if they were not fixed, were random as rankings were not a standard feature of tournaments. An early attempt at creating this type of system included Charles Dodgson (Lewis Carroll), who after having listened to friend a complain about the injustice of having to play a top player early in a tennis tournament, and then watching second place go to a player inferior to himself, decided to use his mathematical skills to improve how prizes are awarded. In his *Lawn Tennis Tournaments, The True Method of Assigning Prizes with a Proof of the Fallacy of the Present Method* (1883), he concludes:

'If, however, it be thought that, under the proposed system, the very inferior Players would feel so hopeless of a prize that they would not enter a Tournament, this can be easily remedied by a process of handicapping, as is usual in races etc. This would give everyone a

reasonable hope of a prize, and therefore sufficient motive for entering.’
(Carroll p. 216)

The influence of ‘reasonable hope’, is apparent within the recent independent Blue Ribbon Panel on Baseball Economics report that was prepared for the Commissioner of Major League Baseball. As it states,

‘proper competitive balance should be understood to exist when there are no clubs chronically weak because of MLB's structural features. Proper competitive balance will not exist until every well-run club has *a regularly recurring reasonable hope of reaching postseason play.*’
(Levin et al., 2000; p. 5).

Within this context they divide the teams of the MLB into three categories, 1) those clubs who expect to play in the postseason, and effectively hope to be World Champions, 2) those clubs ‘that hope for an occasional ‘dream season’ to reach the postseason’ (p.13) and 3) those clubs that know in spring training that they will not play in the postseason, what they effectively call ‘the hopeless also-rans’ (p.32). Likewise, in the NHL, the recent structural changes to the league are considered a success by the Commissioner, Gary Bettman as ‘It is unpredictable,’ ‘What I believe - both in the regular season and the playoffs - a sports league should give its fans is hope, uncertainty, so that there's a reason to really want to get involved and root and see what's going to happen. ‘That uncertainty and unpredictability has made for a series of great seasons for us that have gotten better and better and give us a point today where these playoffs are pretty unpredictable’ (Associated Press, 2009).

Of course, given the long-standing attitude towards the negative aspects of hope, there is also a substantial amount of criticism of elite sport development systems such as the Canadian Hockey League⁸¹ (CHL) and National College Athletics Association’s (NCAA) Division 1 schools. Here, critics frequently accuse these leagues, their managers and coaches of profiteering on the hopes of youth. Broadly sport and game are viewed as means for society to leave ‘hope in the dispossessed that free competition

⁸¹ The CHL is comprised of three regional leagues, the Western Hockey League (WHL), the Ontario Hockey League, and the Quebec Major Junior Hockey League (QMJHL, or the Q).

is still possible in the lowly stations of life' (Callois, 1961, p. 115). Callois's statement is certainly widely held, but the truth of the criticism must still be tempered with the reality of this institutional field, and nowhere is the notion of hope and its link to sport more apparent than in the emergence of South Africa from apartheid.

Here after years of oppression and imprisonment, Nelson Mandela, a former youth boxer of some notoriety, used sport in an attempt to help a country move forward despite its past. This began in the football leagues that were governed by the Makana Football Association during his imprisonment on Robben Island, and came full circle with South Africa recently hosting of the World Cup (Korr and Close, 2010). Nonetheless it is in rugby, when South Africa hosted the 1995 Rugby World Cup, soon after the first democratic election, that provides the best example. In what was a tremendous accomplishment and uniting moment, the first of its kind in a place that is difficult to comprehend from afar, where everyone cheered for the same team because it represented South Africa. As Mandela, an occasional spokesperson for the Olympic Movements, says in *The 16th Man*, one of ESPN's recent 30 for 30 documentaries discussing what his support meant to the Springboks and the nation of South Africa, 'Sport can create hope where once there was only despair. It is more powerful than governments in breaking down racial barriers. Sport has the power to change the world'.

This tension between what sport can offer and does offer is captured by Richard Ford, in the conclusion of *The Sportswriter*, a book that delves repeatedly into loss and failure. Here and the end of the book, after a conversation about how it is a good thing many prestigious people begin their day looking at the sports pages, thinking that:

one natural effect of life is to cover you in a thin layer of... what? A film? A residue or skin of all the things you've done and been and said and erred at? I'm not sure. But you are under it, and for a long time, and only rarely do you know it, except that for some unexpected reason or opportunity you come out – for an hour or even for a moment – and you suddenly feel pretty good. And in that magical instant you realize how long it's been since you just felt that way. Have you been ill, you ask. Is life itself an illness or a syndrome? Who knows? We've all felt that way,

I'm confident, since there's no way that I could feel what hundreds of millions of other citizens haven't.

Only suddenly, then, you are out of it – that film, that skin of life- as you were as a kid. And you think: this must've been the way it was once in my life, though you didn't know it then, and don't really even remember it – a feeling of wind on your cheeks and your arms, of being released, let loose, of being the light floater. And since that is not how it has been for a long time, you want, this time, to make it last, this glistening one moment, this cool air, this new living, so that you can preserve a feeling of it, inasmuch as when it comes again it may just be too late. You may just be too old. And in truth, of course, this may be the last time that you will ever feel this way again.

That sport, and coaches have intimate connection to it, even if it is not well articulated or studied is not surprising but as Table IX.I summarizes the relationship between hope sport and coaching is extensive.

Table IX.I Hope, Sport and Coaching

Perspective	Summary
Evolutionary	Our ability to hope is viewed as prehensile and a complex blended emotion that emerged as our ancestors mastered motor skills that continue to feature prominently today in athletic domains. These skills are seen as contributing to our ability for visualisation (Donald, 1999), what Donald calls kinematic imagination (Donald, 1991; 2001), and anticipatory cognition (Oswath and Gärdenfors, 2005), and these capacities are required for hoping (Chapter 1 and 7).
Historically	Sport can be viewed as an exemplar of a community hoping, and while discussions of hope tend to be contained within disciplines these discussions frequently use sport as an example (Chapter 7)
Philosophically	Discussions of hope tend to involve passion, extreme situations, a blending of elements, uncertainty, the potential for false hopes, and an ethical stance. They also tend to involve analogies to the body in action such as throwing accurately at a target (Chapter 7).
Institutionally	When sport emerged late in the 19 th century the idea of reasonable hope was important in the design of competitions and continues to be central to discussions of leagues and competitions today (Chapter 1 and Chapter 9)
Pragmatically	Discussions of hope transcend traditional distinctions of the subjective and objective and both dimensions are incorporated when navigating hope (Chapter 8).
Playfully	As with play, imagination is an integral component of hope (Chapter 7).
Coaching	The origins of coaching are linked with passion, extremes, uncertainty, and the performance of bodies, all of which are characteristics that feature prominently in discussions of hope (Chapter 2)

What is not discussed in the table is how, while there is much joy in winning, empirically sport is about losing. As Dan McLellan, coach of the San Jose Sharks observes 'Only one team wins the last game they play and everyone else wonders what they did wrong'. In doing so, for whatever reason, they hope next time it will be different and when they cannot hope, it is unlikely they will be called coach or coaching effectively. Put another way, if essence is what cannot be subtracted without changing the thing, hope, if it is not the essence, is certainly essential. As Arsène Wenger, the manager who coaches Arsenal, will say in a discussion on the importance of players having character 'At 2-0 down last week, I felt we needed a miracle, but always I had hope'.

Good Science and Remaining Mysteries

Perhaps one of the most interesting things to consider when evaluating the results of this field study are the factors that are typically relevant when evaluating good science. In an essay on Actor-Network Theory Latour (2003) discusses some of the issues of a theory that is also a method. He stresses the importance of description and downplays the need for a frame or theory of reference. To paraphrase, if Coaching is a mere Case of Y, why study Coaching, study Y. In this instance Coaching appears to have emerged as a case of not Y, where Y represents the dominant theories of management and organizations. For this reason a great deal of emphasis, substantially hindered by my ability as a writer, was placed on describing the field. What Latour appears to be arguing is that good science, whether it be the traditional hard sciences or soft sciences, describes. Describing a lab will invariably involve describing the scientific products of a laboratory, though in infinite more detail than other scientists, who are working in similar labs, will invariably want. But a well-described lab allows it to be replicated.

From this perspective, one of the major issues in determining the results of a research project involve how what is being studied does not change; it is the individuals who study the object that is the subject of their study who do. Traditionally, science is intent on determining reality; the idea is we can know what exists. What exists does not change, it is we who do, and consequently so does our reality. It frequently becomes

bigger and ever more complex, as we become attached to evermore concepts and associations. Significantly our understanding of throwing accurately was not altered by gravity, though our knowledge was. Likewise the understanding of the participants within this study may remain unaltered as they were already doing what I have tried to represent. This is completely consistent with the idea that what is being done in the field routinely precedes theory (Bartunek, 2007), and something that also explains why participation in sport is viewed as a beneficial (Sommer, 2006). Obviously I hope that this contributes to their understanding in a way that helps them achieve their goals. Therefore the conclusions from this thesis can be evaluated against the purpose of the thesis, which was to discover why it is popular and describe how they manage performance cycles in a way that informs the important, but relatively unexamined relationship that exists between sport and OMT. Whether it has accomplished this task is dependant on the extent the reader looks at sport, and the characters that stand on the sideline differently than before they encountered this text.

However, Latour is also cited (Latour, 1987, in Hardy, Phillips, Clegg, 2001) as emphasizing that not just anything can be published in any journal, so modifying ones perception of coaching is not necessarily enough. To partake in these conversations it is necessary to embed ones research within existing concepts, not only to facilitate communication, but also because accurate description tends to exceed the length requirements of journals. In this context what emerged from a domain where performance loops are continually present is the importance of sensemaking and the relevance of cognitive tools that are linked with Vygotsky's notion of development. Fortunately there is a tendency to view these theorists as being somewhat consistent with one another (e.g. Demers, 2007; Taylor and Robichaud, 2004; Taylor, 2001; Latour, 2008; Donald, 2001). Each privileges action, each has fuzzy boundaries between objects and subjects, and inside and outsides, each is more or less constructivist, though they hold the conditions for objectivity can be constructed, but that it is always worthwhile to inspect the foundation. Where they differ is the focal point of interest, Latour focuses on macrosocial phenomena, or what is retained, Weick emphasizes the collective process of sensemaking, while Vygotsky is interested in individual development, as how the individual develops explains, limits or enhances the

type of sense that can be made. Therefore more traditionally what this thesis has proposed is that coaches display different ways of making sense, and these impact the navigation of performance cycles, and because hope is central to this process and the activities involved in sport, coaching has become increasingly popular.

Finally in making the claim that the intimacy with hope can be understood in relationship to with the personas that have been described, there is much in common with the notion of ordering information and the incredible, to say nothing of the far more influential work of Merlin Donald (1991) and Kieran Egan (1998). Donald's work on the evolution of the human mind proposes we exist within three distinct cultural webs, mimetic (emerging 1.5 mya), mythic (emerging 50,000 years ago) and theoretic (emerging 150 years ago), each of which involves a distinct method of representing knowledge. Egan argues that human learning involves five distinct but interlocking 'ways of understanding' the world. Mythic ability is rooted in oral language's attempts to comprehend complex phenomena via the binary thinking (Good, Bad, Truth, Lies) often contained in stories of fantasy. This way of understanding represents the power of language on thought, and is similar in principle with Donald's conception of mythic culture. Romantic ability is rooted in the symbolic storage of information (i.e. the written word) and is associated with developing an interest in extremes (heros, world records and complex medical cases), as knowledge becomes humanized.

Philosophic understanding is based upon the ability to develop general theories from abstraction, and is quite similar to Donald's theoretic text driven culture. Ironical understanding is based upon the knowledge that all theories, while possessing different amounts of utility, are ultimately false, but that this ability is central to developing perspectives about the limitations, and also the new possibilities of science and philosophy. In addition Egan discusses somatic understanding, which is heavily influenced by Donald's notion of mimetic culture, something Egan describes using William James observation on the Varieties of Religious Experience that '

'Philosophy lives in words, but truth and fact well up into our lives into our lives in ways that exceed verbal formulation. There in the living act

of perception always something that glimmers and twinkles and will not be caught, and for which reflection comes to late' (James, 1902, 446-447, In Egan pg 168 -).

There is no doubt that the Romantic shares some features with Egan's Romantic understanding, the Hedgehog with Egan's philosophic understanding and Donald's theoretic symbolic, and the Fox with Egan's ironic understanding. However, there are some differences in scope and emphasis, as this research focused on what has made Coaching an increasingly influential concept, practice, way of leading, instructional approach and helping profession. In general what is different is Donald looks at the evolution of cultures based upon our cognitive capacities over a time period that encompasses our entire evolutionary history. Egan on the other hand is deeply concerned with our educational system and the development of curriculum that engages students. So while operating on different time scales, both Egan and Donald looked at development. In contrast, this study followed a group of individuals who were very enculturated in Western society, and thus fully immersed in a philosophic-theoretic milieu, and observed how they made sense of their situations within a dynamic environment.

Further to this what is dramatically different is, that while Egan discusses the tension between his kinds of understanding, as he is dealing with the education of children and adolescents he orders them. In particular he places ironic understanding at the end of the curriculum, whereas in the field, what persona appears first, is debatable, though the wide spread presence of humour in sport, and this capacity within cultures that do not have theoretic-philosophical traditions, suggests it has value that precedes and is separate from philosophical thinking. Egan and Donald would agree with this point, but though Donald and Egan, retain the importance of somatic understanding and stress its relevance in our day-to-day lives, they focus more on the progression of their models. Egan remains concerned with the challenges facing education systems, Donald wonders what future technologies will contribute to cognition, whereas this field study looked at the interaction of these ways of ordering information, while constantly monitoring and engaging the body in performance. These observations occurred as a team attempted to

attain a difficult goal that involves performance cycles and thus it represents a different perspective on the idea of cognitive tools within an environment where playing well is at least a, if not, the goal. Importantly the idea that peak performances involve cognitive tools that are typically attributed to being young feature prominently in philosophical texts (e.g. Reboul, 1980) and increasingly in the scientific literature on performances (Bielock, 2010⁸²; Beilock and Gray, 2007).

And if they call us Coach: Implications for Playing Well @ Organizing

The tensions that exist between serious pursuits and the organizing of play is apparent when Margaret Visser reminds her audience in her 2002 Massey Lecture, *Beyond Fate*, how in our mediated world that ‘sport can seem, on some TV nights, almost the only reality available’ (p. 112, Visser, 2002) yet ‘These are merely games, and they cannot – or shouldn’t – really matter’ (p.111, Visser, 2002). Putting aside whether they should matter, these activities are engaging, and participating in them involves attempting to play well and coaches are leaders within this domain. These sectors where play is an increasingly central function play an ever-greater role within the economy (Simon, 2002), and these sectors have also largely existed outside the domain of traditional management research (DeFillippi, Grabher, Jones, 2007; Townley, Beech, McKinlay, 2009). As *Wallpaper*, one of the influential lifestyle magazines of the knowledge economy, advised in a series of covers in June 2008 that, ‘Work is Play’ and that we should ‘Play & Work & Play’, meaning for better or worse, especially in cultural industries (English, 2005), work has become increasingly sportish. That Von Nordenflycht (2010) classifies sport as a knowledge industry (e.g. Berman, Down and Hill, 2002) in a recent typology on these industries, highlights their potential importance when traditional research has struggled to define the challenges of these working environments. As these ways of ‘working’ are growing as both a substantial economic sector and as a significant contributor of value in traditional industries, suggests that industries based on ‘artistic talent’ or cultural industries as a whole represent an arena

⁸² <http://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/choke/201009/in-sports-thinking-kid-has-its-advantages>

where traditional approaches may be ill suited to the leading that is required when playing well is important.

This challenge is expressed by Weick and Westley (1996) in a discussion of the difficulties we have with notions of organizational learning, highlight the importance of small wins and little victories as a manner to navigate the tensions that are implicit in these concepts. In their article they discuss the role of Coaches as an interesting case, for they are universal in sport and represent a fascinating form of management in a domain that, though popular, is underrepresented. From this standpoint Coaches represent an interesting form of leading, as they are in but also removed from the action, and would appear emblematic of the trend to increasingly work in smaller networked units (Parry & Bryman, 2006), or teams (Cohen and Bailey, 1997), where it appears unlikely *the leader* can be solely responsible for the success of the organization as leading becomes diffused as it increasingly revolves around creating and maintaining order in a meaningful way. As Pye (2005) observes one of the benefits about thinking about leadership as involving demonstrating how to make sense is that it shifts the burden of emphasis from the leader to the process of leading, and the focus of research from leadership to the act of leading.

This shift is important as while leadership is viewed as essential and important, Parry and Bryman (2006) concluded in their overview on the study of leadership in organizations, there is a perplexing problem of the evidence stressing the importance of leadership while others demonstrate the limited impact leaders have on outcomes. In their view the tendency to think of leadership as heroic (e.g. Selznick, 1957; Peters and Waterman, 1982) places too much emphasis on formal positions of top leadership and excludes many of the informal activities surrounding the leading of successful organizations and given the dramatic failures of many executives, the benefits of charisma and vision may somewhat overstated. In combination it downplays leaders and leadership, but consistent with research that discusses changing as opposed to change (Weick and Quinn, 1999), socializing in lieu of social (Latour, 2009), and leading instead of leadership (Pye, 2005), leading is emphasized. As a result this study has

taken what might be described as the middle ground in conversations of leadership, it argues that they are important, there is certainly something heroic about leadership in certain situations, but on the whole leadership is shared, and even when there is heroic leadership, the leader is often a representative of what are truly a collective of quite remarkable and talented individuals. In fact, given the loosely coupled nature of a team sport such as hockey, one might say leadership is diffused, it can be attributed to everyone, though clearly some do more leading than others. As all knowledge and awareness is incomplete within the individual, and complete knowledge appears lacking in a way that makes it difficult to centralize, coaching might be described as form of leading where leadership revolves around different situations and individuals, each of whom are linked to the coaching of the team. Looking at leading in this fashion requires examining what we have traditionally meant in our discussions of decisions and learning, especially as it relates to expertise.

Decisions

Within management our attitude towards organizing play has been most detrimental in our discussions of decisions. A typical example of how we discuss actions is found in Berman, Down and Hill (2002) who write of the challenge of hitting while playing baseball

‘He does this not in a conscious fashion, but in a wholly unconscious process that enables him to begin his swing... .. there is not time for conscious thought... he unconsciously adjusts his stroke... draws upon is itself an unconscious and difficult-to-articulate skill... .. events occur too rapidly for conscious thought... .. and the large number of variable that enter into split-second decision imply a level of complexity and unconscious acquisition and processing of information that defies codification’ (p.15-16).

Reflexes occur in an unconscious fashion, but hitting a baseball and playing basketball are very conscious acts, though explaining how it is done in words is quite difficult, but the same could be said of writing and talking, things we do, but cannot explain how we do it, though we take decisions in doing them. Donald (2001) is explicit on this point when describing the issues that surround research on cognition and consciousness, of

which many fail to explain the actions of humans outside of laboratory contexts, where the best examples come from sport:

‘Take baseball and soccer, two games close to my heart. Both demand a huge investment of conscious capacity and require continuous responses to ever-changing novel situations, with very frequent updating by both players and spectators... Players must remember details of each specific and adjust every move to the idiosyncrasies of the emerging scenario, which involves along tangents that are particular to the current state of the game. Players must accommodate themselves to the specific combinations of exercise, emotion, physical condition, and skill that are currently engaged and change their strategy as new players, or new waves of emotion, come in. Unpredictable accidents count for a lot in such games... ...Games like conversations, demand spontaneous strategic innovation and shifting in patterns of cooperation with other players. In this sense, certain games might sometimes be even more demanding than conversation, especially in terms of the speed with which coordinated attack or defence might be required... Such observations are rich in detail and easily verifiable. If they had been made on any other species than ourselves, we would have dignified them with the highly respectable term ‘ethological.’

The centrality of decisions can be traced to Chester Barnard’s (1886-1961) influential *The Functions of the Executive* (1938). Famously Barnard’s work influenced Herbert Simon’s Nobel Prize winning *Administrative Behavior*, and the popular concept of bounded rationality. In this work he attempted to extend Barnard’s notion of the centrality of decisions by transforming the management maxims from folk wisdom into logical and testable scientific propositions. When Herbert Simon (1978), thanked Chester Barnard in his Nobel Lecture, he characterized the work involving the biological notion of homeostasis. Simon, whose work was described by the Royal Academy of Sciences as ‘epoch making’, was intensely reductionist, felt each process could be treated by the same method, and the research into decisions effectively became focused on one category of decisions, logical ones.

However, in translating Barnard’s notion of ‘decisions’ (‘are his), what was removed was his belief ‘That the increasing complexity of society ...will more and more require capacity for rigorous reasoning seems evident: but it is a superstructure necessitating a better use of the non-logical mind to support it’ (1936, Barnard). In this respect Simon’s

criticism of Barnard's work is consistent with other researchers who find Barnard's work to lack logic and sophistication, for he has effectively become a footnote in the schools that train future managers. Importantly Barnard differentiated between two types of decision, logical and non-logical, and he emphasized the importance of non-logical decisions. Specifically, logical decisions were factual and calculated, and highly valued given the traditional western notion that logic could determine what is true and is considered our highest cognitive function (Gardner, 2004). Consequently the attention paid to decisions tends to focus on decisions that are not taken by individuals but given from the computation of reality as it really is. Contrasted with this are the poorly branded non-logical decisions, which Barnard felt were more complex and difficult, it was these decisions that supported and made logical ones possible.

Barnard equated these types of decision with action being taken by the agent, similar to when one was falling or performing a uniquely hominoid motor skill (Fifer, 1987, Young, 2003), throwing accurately at a target. As he notes in his lecture on the *Mind in Everyday Affairs*, logical decisions are relatively easy, as they draw upon issues that are easy to define and cause little disagreement, whereas, non-logical decisions, are felt deep in the marrow, and represent difficult issues that resist definition. It is because of these decisions, and their tendency to be very important, that Barnard emphasizes the responsibility and ethics involved in organizing. It is not by accident that Barnard's opening quote of Aristotle emphasizes responsibility, his second to last chapter is titled *Executive Responsibility*, and that he concludes by quoting Plato who invokes the importance of a captain's skills when sailing on stormy waters. In effect the study of decisions has downplayed the responsibility associated with action, it is only scientific facts that have been calculated.

Somewhat ironically, the scientific emphasis on decisions being central, attempts to turn executives into non-decisions makers, as they calculate objective facts. This point is consistent with Snook (2001, cited in Weick, Sutcliffe and Obstfeld, 2005) that reframing decision making to sensemaking transforms the idea of bad people making poor decisions into good people struggling to make sense, except that in the field the

notions of decisions applies equally to the logical and non logical. Regardless of the label, the action in extreme situations often involves a similar sentiment to the one Tolstoy's Vronsky experiences after causing an error which led him to loose both a race and his horse, where the memory 'remained in his soul for a long time as the most heavy and painful memory of his life' (Tolstoy, 2000). There is a reason soccer players never ask about a miss, as they know it could happen to them⁸³. In other words, while management programs have been accused of not paying enough attention to responsibility, this does not appear to be the result of executives, but as a result of their exclusion from the scientific program. Today many aspects of management programs are based on a notion, the absolute ability to reduce everything to propositional form, that Barnard felt did not capture the complexity of management.

Learning and Expertise

With regards to the issues of learning and expertise the reality of coaching can be contrasted with traditional notions of learning. Formally, the most influential model concerning education is Piaget, whose influence has been immense (Egan, 1997; Gardner, 2004; Payne and Isaacs, 1991). Effectively Piaget argues that human development occurs through the movement of 4 discrete stages, and that certain types of learning can only occur at certain stages that we *progress* through as we mature. These stages include the sensorimotor, birth to 2 years, which is described as 'thinking by bodily movement'. From this stage, where our actions guide development we enter the preoperational stage, 2-8 years, where we develop the ability to recognize symbols and objects with words, but the tendency to think metaphorically, such as when we view a drooping flower as sad, is seen as indication of flawed, as opposed to creative thinking. With time these flaws are seen as diminishing as we enter the concrete operational stage, 8-11 years, where we can consider problems by modifying our perspective, as one can consider what is a real and can imagine what might solve it. The formal

⁸³ This point was especially clear during this study, as it involved both a large number of management students and individuals who were involved in sport as an athlete or as Coaches. Significantly, when discussing management, the presentation would involve looking at the data out there, with the idea that the choice was rational, whereas, when discussing coaching, there was no doubt about the agent being centrally responsible for deciding a course of action. As one student would say, 'in management it is nice everything has a cause, the economy or something, we can only really look at ourselves'.

operational stage emerges after 11 years and involves the ability to consider abstract thought, it becomes possible for us to consider impossible situations and treat them as real. In contrast, an individual in the concrete operational stage would struggle to do so, as the abstract concept could not be grounded and thus would not make sense. Linked with this stage of development is the ability for propositional knowledge, that knowledge which is associated with logic.

Most importantly within this model we move from reflexes of the body and progress to the highest state of mental development, formal, logical abstract thought. It is consistent with much Western Philosophy in that it separates cognition from the body, and is coherent with academia's Christian roots, as our thinking is born flawed and logical is something you become. Most troubling is the emphasis on progress gives little attention to what can be lost in the process, and how Piaget (1977) is explicit that not all people can develop logic. The influence of Piaget in management is both explicit and implicit. Explicitly it is found in the cognitive approach to organizations (Cossette, 2004) and within a discussion of becoming a leader in a complex organization (Denis, Langley and Pineault, 2000). In this study the phases of leading are intentionally grounded in a Piagetian scheme. More implicitly, even Mintzberg frames some of his criticisms in a Piagetian manner, as he argues management education can only be taught to experienced managers, to be taught you have to have progressed to a certain phase.

Notwithstanding the validity of his many criticisms and the concern about content, it remains possible that the problem is not students, be they undergraduate or traditional MBA's, but the assumptions that underlie how we teach. There would appear to ample evidence that some undergraduates and MBAs can be taught management in the way Mintzberg envisions managing should occur. I suspect there are many organizations who are amazed at the management skills of university graduates, and just as many professors who have witnessed undergraduate students with far more skill and potential than the post graduates students with the appropriate work experience. To say nothing of the dismay of those who have never received a university education, yet appear as capable and successful as the many individuals who are considered more fortunate.

As Egan observed, linked with this implicit belief about progress is the tendency within educational thought to assume we move from concrete-particular to abstract thinkers, where in fact we may move from being abstract to particular. Egan has argued that this evidence is apparent in almost any discussion with children. Children adore stories, however if they began as concrete thinkers, stories involving talking rabbits would unlikely to be interesting, they would want to begin with stories involving more familiar objects, yet they don't. Children adore make believe, and they also appear to be able to understand the point of fairy tales. Within all these stories are themes of oppression, solidarity, justice, etc, the words may not be readily available to them, but the abstract concepts have to exist for the stories to make sense, they may not formally know justice, but it is not just us adults who understand the concept. Dreyfus and Dreyfus (2005) make a similar point:

‘in spite of the authority and influence of Plato and 2,400 years of philosophy, we must take a fresh look at what a skill is and what the expert acquires when he or she achieves expertise. We must be prepared to abandon the traditional view that runs from Plato to Piaget and Chomsky that a beginner starts with specific cases and, as he or she becomes more proficient, abstracts and interiorizes more and more sophisticated rules. It might turn out that skill acquisition moves in just the opposite direction: from abstract rules to particular cases. Since we are all experts in many areas, we have the necessary data, so let's turn to our experience.’ (p.782; Dreyfus and Dreyfus, 2005)

Significantly within the field, sport appears to work from the abstract to particular. In this respect Coaches are something of a Phineas Gage⁸⁴, as they make an intriguing contribution to thinking about action, learning and expertise, as they are often stereotypically presented as lacking Piaget's intelligence. In this case Phineas may be named Jacques Demers, as he provides dramatic evidence for the overemphasis placed on Piagetian schemes. For over 20 years Jacques Demers was a head coach in the NHL, he won a Stanley Cup with Montreal Canadiens, and won the Jack Adams trophy as

⁸⁴ Phineas Gage is the patient who provided so much insight into the development of Damasio's somatic marker hypothesis. Effectively, Phineas Gage was able to perform tasks that were inconsistent with current cognitive theory. As a result of investigating this case and other patients with similar abnormalities, Damasio proposed the somatic marker hypothesis which gives emotion a far greater and more positive role in the sensemaking that contributes to making decisions.

Coach of the Year with the Detroit Red Wings. In 2005 he went public with the fact that he could not read. When he was nominated to the Canadian Senate, a quote in *Sports Illustrated* highlighted how doomsday must be approaching when the illiterate are provided a spot in government. Importantly, just as Egan was motivated by the aboriginal elders who complained ‘you have taught our children to read but made them stupid’ and Jared Diamond produced *Guns Germs and Steel*, because he was intrigued by the intelligence of Juri’s question –(Why do you all have so much and we so little?), the success of Demers should spurn the same reflection. How did you manage to manage so well, when you lacked so many of the elements that we use to train and measure managerial effectiveness? Answering this question does not involve neglecting the contribution of Piaget, simply that his approach of ultimately separating the body from cognition reflects a Western heritage that is somewhat unique to our cultures (Gardner, 2004; p. 207-208). As Gardner (2004; p. 387, 389) notes, developing ‘intelligences’ or skills with the cognitive tools available within our cultures may require an approach grounded in Vygotsky’s observations of human development.

Coaching Logics

Amongst the many concerns expressed by academics is the difficulty regarding the education of managers. Obviously reading is important and the honourable Jacques Demers is a huge promoter of this ability, as it is so very essential for success within many domains of our scientific theoretic culture. However, the fact remains that much of the honourable Jacques Demers success was the result of skills that are not traditionally emphasised or evaluated, and are frequently looked down upon within communities that privilege Piagetian standards and ideals. Dreyfus and Dreyfus (2005) have extensively explored this concern in their research on expertise and the growing emphasis on using and designing rule based expert system. As a result they have cautioned about the dangers of emphasising of this logic in education at the expense of developing the expertise we often find deployed watching experts play and believe there is a danger that we might be hindering the development expertise by relying too much on calculative rationality. As they stress, expertise involves taking action that is situational specific. Or, calculating may very well provide satisficing results and

competence, but it appears that expertise may occur beyond the boundaries of rationality, and this is a space associated with peak performances, flow and quite significantly play. Accordingly Coaching, with its emphasis on the type of expertise described by Dreyfus and Dreyfus (2005) involves a substantially different approach to learning. In summary the principles of educating emphasising coaching involves six distinctions from an education involving traditional notions of management, these are summarized in Table IX.II

Table IX.II The Logics of Education Principles in Coaching

	Coaching	Management
Learning involves	Experiences	Facts
Knowledge development	Abstract to Particular	Particular to Abstract
Education	Practice more complex than performance	Practice less complex than performance
Encourage	Skill	Competence
Explores	Extreme Situations	Moderate Situations
Rewards	Recovery from failure	Avoiding failure
Evaluations	Aesthetic	Objective

The first of these involves how coaching is grounded first and foremost in the experience of events. What is important when learning is that you experience things and it is these experiences that facilitate education. Under these conditions an educational setting is not so much about delivering facts, as designing experiences. The second of these involves the awareness of how the focus goes from the abstract to the particular, education involves the abstract, while evaluation of a performance focuses on the particular, the test for understanding the abstract is found in a particular action. This does not mean we do not continue to work with the abstract, only that rewarding knowledge of the abstract without a corresponding emphasis on a particular application may not be an entirely fair evaluation. The third principle is linked with the second and involves an increased emphasis on improving skill. If the first wave of management theory emphasised positivism, and the second a socially constructed linguistic discursive perspective, the third is likely to promote skills.

The fourth principle is how the environment where the education occurs is frequently more complex than the one where performance occurs. The education does not occur in

a simplified environment with reduced variables but often with extra variables, practices will involve extra players, more pucks and repetition when exhausted. This is captured quite well when March, discussing the concept of a loosely coupled system, provides Weick (1976) with the following example, 'Imagine that you're either the referee, coach, player or spectator at an unconventional soccer match: the field for the game is round; there are several goals scattered haphazardly around the circular field; people can enter and leave the game whenever they want to; they can throw balls in whenever they want; they can say 'that's my goal' whenever they want to, as many times as they want to, and for as many goals as they want to; the entire game takes place on a sloped field; and the game is played as if it makes sense.' What is left unsaid in the article is that, aside from the sloped field, this example very much resembles a game that is played during soccer practices, to enhance ability. Practice is far more loosely coupled than an actual game, it also spends time breaking down skills, but often encourages performing them under conditions of increased complexity.

The fifth principle is grounded in the importance of extremes, coaching involves an attempt to reach the limits of one's potential, and this is different for each person. In contrast focusing on moderate situations tends to focus attention on managing what Boisot and McKelvey (2010) describe as the 'impoverished mean' (p.420) as it does not tackle the really important information. Linked with this is the sixth principle that what is important is recovery from failure, consistent with physiology where it is recovery that develops strength, failure is an essential component of coaching, what Heaphy and Dutton, (2008) might describe as developing physiological preparedness. Seventh, evaluation involves aesthetics, it cannot be entirely objective, but involves the mutual adjustment in how the action feels. As discussed in Chapter 2, there is a (kin)aesthetic aspect to Coaching, it is evaluative in a way that means it cannot be entirely objective, and thus it is not the standard that evaluates but the person, and this is linked to some responsibility.

In combination, what is interesting is the reality that the Western tradition has preferred the seeking of universals over interacting with particulars (Aristotle, 1996), moderation over extremes (Foucault, 1990), brains over bodies (Foucault, 1990; Gardiner, 1930,

Gardner, 2004), the social above the biological (Massey, 2002; Heaphy and Dutton, 2008) and the purity of concepts over the mixing of elements that are linked with health (Foucault, 1990) and central to coaching successfully (Chapter, 2; Stec, 2009; Stec, 2010). Under these circumstances sports are somewhat contraindicated for the major assumptions of the Western world. This viewpoint is expressed clearly by Habermas⁸⁵, who, following a presentation on this topic by Dreyfus, is reported to have said, ‘You are talking about skills like hammering and playing chess, but what you really want to do is undermine Western society’ (In Flyvbjerg, 2001). The questions involved in these assertions go way beyond the limited means of the author, but there is a tremendous body of work that suggests how we think of our body has impacted how we think about organizing (e.g. Sennett, 1994; Hawhee, 2004; Katz, 1997; Stec, 2011).

Obviously anything that involves our attitudes towards play of any kind is complicated. As stated in Chapter 1 play is as a behavioural concept that has been quite resilient in its ability to be ‘ill-defined, elusive, controversial, and even unfashionable’ (Wilson, 1975; p.4). It is a concept that has been connected to the functioning of the universe where it has ‘guided the course of the world from its beginnings’ (Eigen and Winkler, 1983; p.3), as a central theme in Vendanta, a Hindu creation myth (Watt, 1966), as necessary for the functioning of collectives (Huizinga, 1955), as a neurological phenomena with a history in excess of our own particular species (Panksepp, 1998) and as a key feature of the post modern condition (Lyotard, 1979). It has, however, not been given a tremendous amount of scientific attention or taken this capacity seriously (Burghardt, 2005). Yet, since Heraclitus of Ephesus wrote his early words on play sometime in the 6th B.C. (Furley, 2000), the idea that life was something you played in a competitive fashion was a prominent feature of Hellenic society (Huizinga, 1955; Gardiner, 1930). This is even more surprising given philosophy is attributed to Pythagoras (570-495 BC) (Keohane, 1976), a participant in many Olympics and the boxing champion in 552 BC and how Plato, an experienced wrestler, named his Academy after a public gymnasium where he lectured (Annas, 2000).

⁸⁵ This echoes Kant (1855) ‘Those who reject at once the method of Wolf and the Critique of Pure reason can have no other reason than to shake of the fetters science, to change labour into sport, certainty into opinion, and philosophy into philodoxy’ (p. xxxix).

Given this historical connection we might expect that Academies would give a great deal of attention to these activities. As discussed in Chapter 1, despite an impressive economic value sport appears underrepresented. Economists are not alone in their troubled relationships with this domain. In his influential trilogy on social theory, Manuel Castells (1996) *The information age: economy, society and culture*, does not include a single indexed reference to any of the events, activities, organizations or individuals associated with the wide world of sports. Perhaps the most interesting relationship between sport and a scientific community is found in the American Sociology Association, where despite the uniqueness of American football and the less than global appeal of baseball, the best of all games, there is not a division for the Sociology of Sport within their 37 divisions. To paraphrase A. Bartlett Giamatti, who left many puzzled when he vacated his post as the President of Yale University to become the Commissioner of Major League Baseball, we can learn more about organizing by contemplating how we play ‘than by examining how it goes about its work’ (Giamatti, 1989; p.13).

The difficulty with this notion appears to be equally relevant in both Eastern and Western philosophical traditions. Confucius is said to have received only one inappropriate answer when looking to the I ching, the book of changes and this occurred when received hexagram 22, GRACE -- a thoroughly aesthetic hexagram, while Socrates having been given advice by his daemon -- ‘You ought to make more music’ -- took to playing the flute. As Jung states, Socrates and Confucius may compete for first place in their dedication to reasonableness and pedagogy, but these qualities can lack grace and charm; they are often ironic, but frequently devoid of the play ethic. What might be gained from taking this ethic seriously is apparent in a story is told by Paris (1853) as he describes the danger in forgetting how hard we work at play and the potential of turning sport, the ludicrous and merry (Johnson, Mathews and Todd, 1824), into science, and toys into ‘instruments of philosophical instruction’.

In his attempt to accomplish this goal he recounts how the aunt of James Watt was frequently frustrated by his idleness, wanting him to read or ‘employ himself usefully,

and not be taking off the lid of the kettle, and putting it on again, and holding now a cup, and now a silver spoon over the steam' and not play with the object that provided the principles that are connected 'to the greatest of human inventions!' (Paris, 1853; p. 19). This same feature is present within Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, for while the pin factory is famous in discussions of the significance and benefits of the division of labour, far less attention is given to the boy whose love for play spurred a significant innovation:

In the first fire engines, a boy was constantly employed to open and shut alternately the communication between the boiler and the cylinder, according as the piston either ascended or descended. One of those boys, who loved to play with his companions, observed that, by tying a string from the handle of the valve which opened this communication to another part of the machine, the valve would open and shut without his assistance, and leave him at liberty to divert himself with his play-fellows. One of the greatest improvements that has been made upon this machine, since it was first invented, was in this manner the discovery of a boy who wanted to save his own labour. (Smith, 1999, p. 115).

Today, while we still have no idea where the boy received his inspiration and what was the role of play in the invention of James Watt's steam engine, it appears difficult to contest the tension that exists regarding our aptitude and ability for organizing play.

Regardless of the validity of these issues, or the reasons for the gap that stimulated this research project, what is important in assessing these logics is not the accuracy of the claims about management, as what management is, is hotly contested, but the extent they capture the difficulties of coaching. None of this is too dismiss traditional modern methods, but the talk of Coaching is significant, not simply because there is no denying the phenomenal impact of science on athletic performances, but because Coaches are primarily working with bodies, with embodied knowledge, while working in an entirely different domain than that traditionally stressed in modern management. Within the context of the many debates about our practice, what incorporating Coaching does is encourage us to accept the tensions that come from a more nuanced and heterogeneous way of being; it does not reduce the need for logic and calculation, but simply

encourages us to not always privilege them. This belief appears to be shared by many, who feel that, for better or worse, but probably for worse, management faculties are neglecting these important dimensions in education. For this reason what is important is a consensus on these logics, how we go about knowing the world, attributed to coaching. On this point there appears to be agreement between academics, coaches and managers that these attributions hit the mark so to speak. That this is true raises the issue concerning our tendency to invoke metaphors of sport while grounding management knowledge, research, practice and education in a logic that is inconsistent with these metaphors. If we continue to do so, it is probable that much of the good we do, will remain lost in translation.

Conclusion

Patrick McCabe (2003) begins *Call Me The Breeze* by stating, ‘The end, is the beginning – that’s what the ancients used to say’. This trippy book with a central character with a longing for belonging tells the story of Joey Tallon who designs a philosophy called Total Org. This philosophy is designed to structure his life and facilitate his attempt to find his place in the world. This philosophy provides much entertainment, but can never quite grasp enough of reality, and in the process he becomes quite deranged. Like many of McCabe’s characters, who have a tendency to develop multiple personas, Joey Tallon is unable to keep them integrated and so meets an end that is far from the glory he has dreamt of. Like McCabe’s colourful characters, trying to make sense in a world where their place is not assured, Coaches are often thought to have a split personality, and in this thesis they are discussed as having three personas, the Romantic, Hedgehog and the Fox. The idea of multiple personas is often evident in sports, whether it is a movie like the Rocket, where Toe Blake, the Coach informs Maurice Richard ‘ I don’t want to see Maurice, I want to see the Rocket’ or that when participating in the world of sports you quickly realize you have to learn three names for everyone, their proper name, some short hand version of their last name, and their number. Unlike McCabe’s characters that tend to be pushed to the side, Coaches are occupying an increasingly prominent space in our day to day life and these

characters are engaged in a complex and intimate relationship with hope, and if they can ensure hope floats these personas remain integrated and balanced.

In the process of making these observations this thesis makes seven interrelated points on the subject of Coaching and sport:

1. Our capacity to hope is linked to the development of kinematic imagination, what Donald describes as involving the ability for self-representation that produced what he describes a mimetic culture. Central to this capacity was the refinement and development of two motor skills, that, quite remarkably, continue to serve as important skills in sports, but are also seen as contributing significantly to the human form, our ability for speech and, perhaps more controversially language. These are our ability to throw accurately and powerfully over long distances, and our ability for endurance running, something that gives a much deeper meaning to the phrase 'thinks on his feet'. That Coaching is attributed to kinaesthetic intelligence means that in practice it is connected to our deepest evolutionary roots. (Chapter 1)
2. Coaching, as we know it, is a post-technological phenomena. It started as technology and emerged as something we do with technology. Its fundamental characteristics involve an environment where these characters, with historical consistency, have been most important when performing beyond the edge of our competencies, outcomes are uncertain, and some hoping is inevitable. (Chapter 2)
3. Viewing Coaching as involved in the managing of hopes provides an explanation as to why it, and other sport related concepts, are both popular, and occupy a strange place within academia, as hope is a concept, that much like play is often associated with imagination, and thus false realities. Within our Western intellectual heritage hope was a negative thing in Greek society because it transgressed societies notion of fate (Menninger, 1959) and involved the idea of change, while philosophy was focused on discovering universals (Moltman, 1968). Linked with this is how performances in these arenas often impact notions of social order; be it the professionals from poor rural regions in the Hellenic festivals (Gardiner, 1936), the lower classes of England (Birley, 1993) and most recently, especially in America, the success of African Americans in sport

(Boyle, 1971; Guttman, 1978). This also highlights the significance of other marginalized groups, women, aboriginals or those individuals with easily quantifiable hindrances being accepted on the playing field. (Chapter 7)

4. Beginning with the centrality of hope, the sensemaking of Coaches can be understood as displaying 3 distinct manners of ordering information, what William James might describes as ways of conceiving the cosmos. These personas include the Romantic, using stories regarding the possible, the Hedgehog, using facts regarding the probable, and the Fox, often found using humour in seeking potential. (Chapter 8)
5. The implications of Coaching on management can be summarized in the following fashion:
 - a. An increased emphasis on action, where action is synonymous with skill
 - b. The stressing of responsibility as it relates to agency and collective effort
 - c. An education or learning environment that emphasises the design of experiences in parallel with the acquisition of knowledge and facts.
 - d. A renewed and positive emphasis on having a body, it is not, to be repressed as it often is in within Western Society, but an instrument to be played.

This emphasis on playing and the body is important as in the work of Damasio (1994), especially since the publication of *Descartes' Error*, where he outlined his somatic marker hypothesis, has suggested that our notion of self has largely been inaccurate and has repercussions for all the games that exist on the human playing field (Damasio, 2003; p. 289). Looking at historical vestiges, be they evolutionary or the traces that are emphasized in our texts, is vital in helping establish what was considered important during these games. It is significant that in Brunschwig, Lyold and Pellegrin's (2000) *Greek thought: A guide to Classical Knowledge*, what a reviewer (Hankinson (2002) describes as representative of the vast influence of the Greeks on civilisation though; it, while not entirely satisfactory to specialists, is adequate for the 'semi-mythical beast the

interested general reader' (p. 389), there is no serious discussion of the Olympics or any other Hellenic festival. Put another way the Greeks conception of knowledge, and all that it has influenced, is less universally accepted than our revived Olympic Movement.

That other Academic disciplines have avoided sport is perhaps understandable given our heritage, but these athletic festivals were economic entities of substantial proportion. To put their value in perspective, while we should be amazed that Tiger Woods will earn over a billion dollars during his remarkable career, it is estimated that during Roman times, in addition to being the subject for artists and poets, the victors of competitions were handsomely rewarded. Using purchasing power as a comparison Struck (2010) observes that Gaius Appuleius Diocles, born in the lower orders of society, would have earned 35,863,120 sesterces in prize money. This sum was large enough to pay the wages of all ordinary Roman soldiers, at the height of it imperial power, for a fifth of a year, doing so in America today would require a sum of \$15 billion. The total may be exaggerated, but it is symbolic of the gap that was the motivation for this thesis: Why has coaching become so popular? As a result this thesis, influenced by ANT and how 'at the heart' (p.1, Law, 1992) of this perspective, is the belief that everything starts with interaction and the desire to understand why some small interactions become macrosocial and acquire scope, size and power (Latour and Woolgar, 1986; Law, 1992; Latour, 2005).

Implicit in this perspective is an awareness of history; as a result this thesis has been influenced by those who have emphasized knowledge from the past to better understand our present and future (e.g. Latour, 1993; Shapin and Schaffer, 1985; Nuland, 2008; Katz 1997; Katz, 1998). There are certainly limitations to taking a historical perspective that links current topics to ancient beliefs, as stating that our tradition of looking down upon the organizing of play is responsible for the much publicized and discussed issues facing organizational and management theory would be an exaggeration. Nonetheless the issues do share some common ground as playing well is intimately linked with the idea of being an agent, taking responsibility, ethics, and accepting failure. Participating in play enacts a world that invokes an awareness of a buzzing pluralistic world full of

potential, though it is also a world that can collapse quickly. Clearly, if the world is fully rational and logical, there is no need to be concerned with the management of the ludicrous and the organizing of play can be neglected. But, if our rather impressive ability for logic and rationality has created the illusions of a logical and orderly world, when the world is actually quite messy, and all indications suggest it is, organizing mess is likely to involve playfulness, if only to help with the many pitfalls.

The recent interest in sport (e.g. Wolfe et al., 2005) is arguably a part of a larger trend, something that appears to involve a transformation of the practice of science into the science of practice, where the limits of objectivity are increasingly acknowledged (Clegg and Hardy, 1996; Clegg and Hardy, 2006). The popularity of Coaching would appear to be representative of that trend. As noted earlier Sherman and Freas (2004) attribute the popularity of coaching to the failure of management science, this neglects one of the key features of scientific management, the importance of video⁸⁶, and how Taylor's desire for optimal performance at work was inspired by athlete efforts for optimal performance on the playing field (Taylor, 1923, p.7). As video is not only responsible for the value of the sport industry, but also an integral aspect of Coaching, it is difficult to oppose scientific management with coaching. It is easy to criticize the excesses of Taylor, his obsession with order and progress (Hassard, 1996), or his dedication to measuring exact distances before playing baseball as a child, but these neglect the complex interdependent nature of his thought (Cossette, 2002), as Taylor did after all state 'That management was destined to become an art' (Cited in, Maynard, 1963). With this in mind perhaps it is more accurate to say that coaching, like medicine, involves a science of management, with an entirely different epistemology, where the emphasis is on holding things together, where you do your best under conditions of uncertainty, something that involves knowing the limits of your knowledge as important decisions, those taken that occur at the extreme limits of our understanding, occur

⁸⁶ Taylor's emphasis on the use of video analysis to improve productivity and efficiency is increasingly state of the art as cameras now capture action in the milli-seconds in high definition both for the public's viewing pleasure and the detailed analysis by coaches and experts in biomechanics. At one point during the 2008 Olympics you could watch a runner completing his race while watching himself in real time on the big screen in the Birds Nest as he used the video to determine if his lead was adequate and adjusted his performance as required.

within complex systems that have effects of which one is unaware. What both of these practices share is an intimate relationship with hope.

Or, despite all the advances made in science, the most popular practice, from an influential institutional field, involves a leader, where the action revolves around them, but they, while certainly influential, must accept they are not involved in the outcome; as ultimately they have no control. They are always left hoping. The line between being perceived as a good coach or a bad coach is often very fine and often fluid. As former NBA coach Jeff Van Gundy comments. 'Biggest game of the year. You're down one. You get a good shot. The ball is in the air. It hangs there. Good coach or bad coach? Good coach or bad coach? Good coach or bad coach?' Add to this how Coaching, at its core, involves notions of a game and the idea, if not ideal, of playing well, and both our attraction to it, and our reluctance to embrace it seem entirely understandable given our long and remarkably complicated relationship with hope.

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Section 4: Appendices

Postscript, Off Scene Discussions and References

“If Aliens came down to earth, and asked to see the most extraordinary human being in existence, I would show them Michael Jordan. A team of physicists, chemists and scientists, can’t explain his athletic performance”.

Harry Edwards. Professor Emeritus of Sociology at the University of California, Berkeley.

Appendix 1

Questionnaire

Part 1: Assessment of Hockey Experience

A - Are you a Player or Coach: _____

B - How many years have you been involve in competitive organized hockey?

As a player _____. As a coach _____ Total _____

C - How many teams have you been associated with in competitive organized hockey leagues?

As a player _____. As a coach _____ Total _____

D - How many different coaches have you had over the course of your hockey career?

Head Coaches _____. Assistant coaches _____ Total _____

E - Please estimate the number of games you have played in your hockey career?

F - Please estimate the number of practices you have participated in during your hockey career?

G - Have you played other sports competitively? Yes/No If Yes, please list each sport and the number of years for each.

H - Please list any players/coaches who are currently employed in professional hockey that you have played with, for or have coached.

I - Please list any slang that is associated with the game of hockey.

Part 2: General Hockey Questions

A - Why are you involved (player or coach) in the game?

B - Can you please describe hockey sense? What is it? How do you acquire it?

Part 3: Coaching

A - In your own words please describe what a coach does.

B - Can you please describe the thing that differentiates a good coach from a poor coach amongst the coaches you have had?

C - What advice would you give to player if they wanted to get on the good side of a coach?

Appendix 2

Postscript Act IV: Season 3

September

This season has potential. There are only two players not eligible to return and the recruits are promising. We have a couple of guys who played Major Junior and produced some serious points, most of our skilled guys had best years under a point a game and these guys are above that. It is a bit tougher to score at this level as some guys in Junior can get points without working that hard, great skill on the power play, but in College hockey they are no longer the oldest and the worst player on the ice is certainly better, if not more skilled as least more experience and stronger than in Major Junior. So when we have guys like Pierre Lambert or Youngblood on the ice it makes a difference, their ability gives some sense of hope, an energy we did not really get last year. Sadly our increased talent meant we faced some tough personnel decisions. The worst part of coaching is letting people go, I always try to see players in action before making a decision, but it is even harder when it is a veteran player. I know it hurts as players generally want to improve their position on the team but for two of our guys I can't honestly say they would play more this year and in one case it will probably be less. You try to be honest with them but it is not easy and this year two of the guys decided that given their expected role on the team that they would not play. I am probably not their favourite person right now, but it takes a massive commitment to play at this level, and if your are not going to get ice time and watch from the stands I understand there are better things to do with your weekend and evening than spend it in an arena.

October

What we know right now is that you were not the reason we were soft last year, so that variable in our performance has been eliminated, but I still don't have any answers as to why we are playing poorly. We have started worse than last year and are injury

problems continue. As with their season in the previous year the team begins with a couple of losses. On a visit to Joey N., I am informed 'That at least we now know that you are not the reason we were playing soft last year'. This early performance is followed by an injury to the captain and all-star all League defenseman, who will miss three weeks with a broken bone in his wrist and another defenseman who will miss the remainder of the season because of a surgery to address persistent bursitis in the shoulder that is preventing the player from raising their arm above their head. When their captain returns they will be playing with 6 defenseman, and if someone is injured they will play with five.

We have taken a different approach to our leaders with one captain and 4 assistants who rotate through. Some guys resisted it at first, but NHL teams have started to do this and it helps to distribute leadership. Some figure you should either be captain or not but feel they are warming to the idea, even though we have yet to play 60 quality minutes of hockey.

January

It is never easy. We are playing better, but you can only push them so much before they turn-you off. There are times when you can't convince them to do more, as they just aren't responding. When we play bad, am at a loss, one of the assistants wanted to know if he could blast them the other day, and I said whatever, as they have shut me out. We are not playing bad, but not playing how we should be, and the question is can we continue to play this way with greater consistency.

February

I realize we won our last game of the season. But we were brutal, played badly. Mercier has tried to convince me this is a positive, last year we were excellent at times and lost, so being able to play bad and win is progress. But when I look at the tape I wonder what happened it was an awful game. It's nice you and Mercier perceive we are calmer in these situations and don't panic by losing the third period, but the fact remains we can't play like this and expect to win.

March

After beating the Whalers in two straight games, the Chiefs upset the Maroons by surprising them with a gritty away victory. This is followed up with a 3-1 victory at home that sees them win the division. Having secured a berth in the Championships, the Chiefs travel to play the Nordiques for the Conference Cup. The Chiefs win 3-1 and secure their first conference cup in many years.

At the first game of the Nationals Chiefs plays the perennial powerhouse the Metropolitan. After playing a close first period where they do not take their chances, they find themselves trailing. During the remainder of the game they take a series of ill-advised penalties and lose badly 7-1 effectively ending their hopes of a National Championship.

These hopes are kept alive when Cubs defeats Metropolitan, meaning if Chiefs can beat Cubs 8-1 they can advance to the final, if they win by less, Metropolitan gets to the final. If they lose or tie the game Cubs will play for a National Championship for the 2nd year in a row. Chiefs takes an early lead and enters the second period leading by one. In the second period, on a 5 on 3 that appears to have been created by a timely conversation Joey N. has had with the referee, a defensive pairing that includes Olgie and Jean-Guy takes the ice. This is unusual as Jean-Guy is a forward, who like Olgie is not renowned for his defensive prowess, it is unexpected as they rarely line up together, and it is surprising as only a year ago, Jean-Guy looked at the space where the puck should go and decided not to pass it because Olgie occupied it. That the right pass was not made was noticed and discussed by the players sitting in the stands that day. Today, the Chiefs win the face off, and the puck goes to Jean-Guy, who handles it and passes it without hesitation to the space occupied by Olgie. Olgie fires a one time to double their lead, and the Chiefs goes on to win 3-0. Ultimately the Metropolitan win the championship and the season concludes with the Metropolitan players stating they never doubted the Chiefs would play hard, as they are a hell of a team with great character.

Appendix 3

Some questions I am asked (frequently) about this research project

What went wrong?

To say that things went wrong does not capture how well some things went, implies something could have drastically changed the results, and suggests this could have been controlled. In fact despite the struggles they were one call away from playing for first place on the final day of the season. If an offside is called properly they quite possibly win a game they lost, and at a minimum acquire a valuable point. The season still may have ended sooner than they wanted it to, but had they lost to their rivals the Maroons they would likely have thought different about their season, and thus have taken different lessons from it. Having said this, the Chiefs faced an interesting challenge. To paraphrase Ken Dryden there are two types of teams that struggle, those that don't have any hope and those that don't think they need it. Chiefs had a bit of both. On one hand they were an excellent team that could utterly dominate many teams, and, on any given day, beat any team in the country. They were also simultaneously a team that, increasingly as the season progressed did not truly believe they would win the Championship that they had originally hoped for. They were a team that was worse than they thought they were, but far better than they had ever been before. Together this created a strange sequence of events that the slogan of 'We stand alone together' captured. No one would say the goal of winning the Championship was unrealistic. Player's knew they had a good team, some felt that they did not receive the respect they deserved the previous year, but acknowledge they probably expected too much respect during this season. There were potentially more easy games and games that were called greasy than ever before.

This was an entirely new development as for most of Joey N.'s tenure the team had few easy victories and took nothing for granted as they created a hard skating culture. The fact that this team had the second best regular season record in their history, and it was

considered a disappointing season, is a testament to the quality of the team. Still though some players commented we are better than the opposition we are losing to, others observed the difference between the good teams and the excellent ones is how the excellent ones do not panic and are confident, they don't worry, we worry. The coaches were certainly aware of this issue at the beginning of the season. One of the first things that Coaches discussed was whether the concepts of marginal costs and benefits might be of use and I was asked to explain the concept.

Although being the last guy in the office did involve some explanation on how despite their already being more assistant coaches than ever before, this did not mean that having one additional chair in the room would not have some positive contribution. It also highlighted how a team whose output achieved a maximal and almost ideal output the season before would have difficulty repeating their performance. As one NHL scout complimented the team's performance by saying it was as close to NHL efficiency as you see outside of the NHL, that their defensive performance was almost perfect meant doing better was going to be difficult. Considering that most performances are average, it is unlikely an above average performance is followed with another above average performance, as most performances return to the mean. This does not mean that performances cannot improve, only that if you have played your best game, or had your best season ever, it is probable, unless you are continually improving and your best players have yet to peak, that improving will be difficult. If everyone did their best and tried their best and it was not good enough, the energy (or cost) required for the additional victory would be tremendous.

Worse it suggested that the team could do almost as well and play substantially less well, as they were a very good team they could expend less energy and beat less skilled teams more efficiently. In fact it could be argued that, symbolic awards aside, losing was more profitable than winning as the additional costs that may be incurred could exceed the benefits of winning. Economically speaking it was not rational to attempt to win the nationals as the additional energy in more economic terms could be spent better elsewhere. The idea that from a purely economic standpoint that if Coaches had to work

additional hours to go further in the play offs, they, given there is no additional monetary benefit, would be advised to work less, as the shorter the season the better, was not particularly well received, even though it was not presented seriously.

Worse still it implied that while the team would struggle to do better, other teams would be eager to play their best against the Conference champions. If they might work less hard or more efficiently than in the previous season, other teams would work harder at closing the gap. As a college whose average student comes from an upper middle class background, it would be natural that other colleges would take some joy in beating them. As one opposition player states, they are smug, arrogant and conceited.

In retrospect, the realization that for the team to achieve its goals would require that they play perfectly probably made Joey N. more demanding from the start of the season, something that had some feeling he was being too negative. When perfection is required to attain goals, every mistake is magnified. What occurred in the season was a learning process as the team became aware that at the beginning of every season, you start fresh from the beginning, you build toward the playoffs, you don't wait for them, as with an incredible consistency made the following comments.

Was listening to Tony Dungy, on a radio show, he was asked how winning the Super Bowl would change things and he said that it would not change much, you have to follow the steps, you can't begin at step 7 just because you won last year, you have to always begin at step one, I don't think we did that, we tried to skip steps and did not begin at the beginning.

I don't think I took any time off after the Nationals, I so wanted to go back that I worked hard all summer, I realize now I should have taken a break.

I think its great, this season, they aren't doing any of the detail oriented system stuff, until they can play sixty minutes of hockey.

The next season, we really started fresh, the room was redone in training camp and all the players, veterans, rookies, walk ons and recruits used the visitor and recreation change rooms, nothing was to be taken for granted.

When I look back at last year I realize we didn't know how to lose, in our first year a lot of us didn't lose a regular season game, so when we were losing we were lost, this year it's not bothering us, we know how to win, but learning to lose is improving our chances of winning.

Last year we were focused on the Nationals, and I don't think I spoke much to some of the rookies, can't say I knew them, this year those guys, and our rookies are a part of the team, and it makes a difference.

Last year if I watched a game like this I would have thought good, we are winning, but now looking and seeing things that aren't good even if we get the result, the quality of our play is not what should be even if the score is in our favour.

Was your subject a good coach?

There are obviously some qualifications that have to be made before answering this question. First, in hockey one has to take into account the get a great goalie rule (GAGG), a great goalie improves the performance of all coaches. Secondly, I am not a very good hockey player, so there are issues of technique and evaluations where I lack the requisite skill. Having outlined these things I will answer yes for the following reasons.

During an early observation with the team I was standing outside Joey's office with Trottier and a couple of the players, who I later came to know as Boisvert, Bob, Roger, his 'agent' (wife actually) and Marcel. Marcel, as he is prone to do, was talking. He was telling Trottier about how much he loved Broadshaw and how he had proposed to Joey (he like many of the players appears to use the coach's name when talking about the coach but appears more likely to use coach when talking to Joey) and he had proposed that 'James could be the student manager'. Trottier balked at the suggestion, but Marcel continued by saying 'I know I know, he wouldn't be good, but I wanted Joey's reaction. So Joey goes serious, 'Well Marcel, do you think that this is an appropriate selection for what we are trying to accomplish for the organization' Trottier is shaking his head. Marcel is laughing, and Trottier says 'Fuck, sometimes I wish Joey would relax and just tell you guys to fuck off when you are being idiots'. Some players expressed a similar

sentiment, as on occasion they would comment on Joey's preoccupation with preparation and his reactions when things go off schedule.

What do you do with a weakness? As the season progresses in its up and down manner I heard Joey on more than one occasion comment on how a coaches character impacts the team. See a team with a problem look at the Coach. Even when talking to a reporter after the team failed to score on a 5-3, or defenseman pinched at a less than ideal moment, someone has missed an open net, or having given up a soft goal, Joey was talking about his failures, a point he apparently stressed at an end of season meeting. Later, sometime in late spring, when assessing the season Joey was reviewing some Wooden wisdom. 'You know one of the values Wooden says is important is camaraderie with the players, it is not an area I do particularly well at' This was a criticism he made of himself, that he had to be more capable of camaraderie, and that this flaw impacted the performance of the team.. Regardless of whether it was appropriate and how much or little this flaw impacted performance, it was recognized and responsibility was taken for it.

The fact that Joey continually reflects and attempts to confront issues with his own performance is what makes him a good coach. To do this within a quasi public situation as a research subject is a testament to this dedication (or a brief lapse of judgement). Why anyone would do this? I have no idea, but I suspect that it was he hoped that he might learn something, and that this something would contribute to the organizations on ice success and hopefully be beneficial to the players when participating in other organizations. In all honestly I cannot say what makes a good coach or bad coach, and how good the coach I studied was, is, or how good he will become. What I can say is, his peers have recognized him on more than one occasion, which is as a good an indication as there is in almost any field. For the most part his players like and respect him, and this has to help. As one player told me, there is probably no player more dissatisfied with their playing time while being a Chief, but he was still the best coach I had. Has he changed, I have no idea, but given there was no shortage of former players telling me that they could have done better if was Joey was as good a coach then as he is now, suggest he has continually done so. I take this to mean he has improved and done so by reflecting on his shortcomings and taking steps to minimize their impact, not

sure what else you could ask for in a leader/manager or coach. It suggests a continual growth that I admire and implies he is working at becoming a good a coach as he can be, which, given the results and the success of his assistants he has coached, suggests an impressive progression.

Which is why to speak of the organization as a whole, it started as an ok organization where the team would compete hard, but could not recruit quality players and it has become a good if not great organization. In the past players once paid to play, now equipment and meals are supplied, and quality players now consider Chiefs an option, as Joey N. will acknowledge, guys who hoped to be drafted by an NHL team were unlikely to return my calls, but now we are viable option. Outside of perhaps 30 schools on the continent, the quality of hockey within the program is as good as any, and when you include the quality of the education you receive it is an excellent program. The quality of the team has lagged somewhat, or slightly behind, and no matter how good the organization the quality of the team is prone to fluctuation but results suggest top players looking for an excellent college education will increasingly consider them as an option.