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More than carrying a bag? The role of the caddie in facilitating a golfer's psychological performance

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28 Abstract

Psychological factors affecting golfing performance have been widely researched within the	
sport psychology literature. Although there is a general consensus on these, the sport offers a	
unique environment whereby at the highest-level golfers compete with a caddie. Despite the	
proximity and potential influence on the golfer, the role and perspective of the caddie has	
been overlooked. This study therefore sought to ascertain caddies' perceptions of their role in	
facilitating a golfer's psychological performance. One semi-structured interview was	
conducted with seven male active caddies (M age = 35.57, SD = 9.78), working across six	
professional tours. Caddies reported a mean experience of 9.25 years ($SD = 8.39$) and 1.7	
years with their current player ($SD = 1.09$). Transcripts were analyzed using thematic	
analysis. Three themes were identified: a) it's more than carrying a bag, b) caddying, it's a	
people thing, and c) confidence is a two-way street. The study provides an insight to the role	
of the caddie, the specific processes employed, and the factors which influence their ability to	
facilitate a golfer's psychological performance. It is intended that findings and implications	
for practice will enhance understanding for professionals and sport psychologists working	
within golf. In addition, educational tools are warranted to develop the knowledge and	
subsequent evidence-based practice of aspiring and currently active caddies.	
Keywords: caddying, golfing performance, perceptions, psychology.	

More than carrying a bag? The role of the caddie in facilitating a golfer's psychological performance

In competitive sport a determining factor of success is an athlete's ability to attain and uphold an appropriate psychological state (Durand-Bush et al., 2001). Within golf this becomes particularly challenging given the self-paced, closed skill, and highly objective nature of the game (Pilgrim et al., 2016). Competitors can become vulnerable to the effects of fatigue impacting concentration levels, decision-making, and performance (Thomas et al., 2014). As a result, it has been identified that golfers need to be able to 'adjust' their psychological activation throughout a round to cope with such effects (Finn, 2008). These challenges have made golfing performance of particular interest to sport psychologists (McNeill & Meade, 2017). Subsequently, a plethora of research has been conducted surrounding the psychological components impacting a golfer's performance including attentional control (Oliver et al., 2020), motivation (Beauchamp et al., 1996), and choking (Guccuardi et al., 2010) to name a few. Although these psychological components are familiar to other individual skill-based sports, golf offers a completely unique environment as at the highest-level golfers often compete with an assistant, known as a caddie.

Traditionally, the role of the caddie involved tasks to reduce the golfer's workload by carrying the bag, cleaning the clubs, and maintaining the course condition for play (Mackenzie, 1999). Indeed, the professional golf association (PGA) defines a caddie as a person hired to carry clubs and provide other assistance (Adams et al., 2020). Yet, researchers have identified that caddies may provide their player with specific advice on course management, yardage estimates, and club selections (Coate & Toomey, 2012). Additionally, anecdotal accounts of a caddie go one step further suggesting the role includes being part psychologist, weather-forecaster, cheerleader, mind-reader, coach, dietitian, secretary, and crowd controller (Carrick & Duno, 2000; Reinman, 1999).

Lavallee et al. (2004) presented a four-component model into the role of the golfer-caddie relationship, containing: the basic structure of the caddie's role, decision-making, moderators of the partnership, and goal setting. In addition, they discussed strategies to enhance the effectiveness and how knowledge of the caddie's responsibilities and player goals could provide more structure and consistency to the partnership. Nevertheless, the model failed to fully account for the potential of a caddie to facilitate the golfer's psychological performance. This aspect was subsequently identified by Simpson et al. (2011) during an interview with PGA tour caddie Joe Skovron. When discussing the role of the caddie, Joe stated that psychological factors definitely come into it, from conversations between shots and overall encouragement, to keeping the player thinking correctly throughout a round. In support of this, McNeill and Meade (2017) interviewed six Irish PGA golfers. Albeit from a golfer's perspective, their findings support those by Simpson et al. (2011) and offered additional ways in which a caddie may facilitate a golfer's psychological performance, for example by influencing their flow state.

Indeed Swann et al. (2015) identified the caddie as a possible facilitator for the concept of flow and highlighted how they must be able to maintain their player's confidence levels. In light of this finding, Swann et al. (2016) interviewed 10 European Tour professional golfers to better understand the occurrence and experience of flow in elite-level golf. They argued that although flow is connected to excellent performance; its occurrence can be seen through two subjective states. These were described as "letting it happen", a state consistent to the definition of flow whereby confidence comes naturally, and "making it happen", a state with more intent and purpose where there is a sudden increase of concentration and effort made by an individual. Swann et al. (2016) stated that given the position that the caddie holds with regards to their proximity to the player during

competition, it is possible that the caddie could facilitate the concept of flow, in particular the state of "making it happen" to bring on expert performance for their golfer.

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Building upon the aforementioned research, Pilgrim et al. (2016) aimed to examine the nature of the caddie's role in the decision-making, psychological conditioning, and tournament preparation of elite-level golfers, by interviewing both golfers and caddies. Pertinent to the aims of this study, was their discussion surrounding the caddie's role to maintain a player's high-performance state for as long as possible, by employing attentional control and/or cognitive strategies. Offering a theoretical underpinning, a key assumption of attentional control theory is that anxiety increases the allocation of attention to both internal (worrying thoughts) and/or external (task-irrelevant distractors) threat-related stimuli. The ability of an individual to allocate their attentional resources during such time becomes overridden and can result in an overall reduction in attentional control and consequently performance (Eysenck et al., 2007). In the Pilgrim et al. (2016) study, cognitive strategies to support this were identified as positive reinforcement, trigger words, and regulating attention in between shots to lower psychological activation. These findings further build the notion that the caddie is in a position to influence a golfer's psychological performance and aimed to provide a more comprehensive picture, by interviewing both golfers and caddies. Upon further investigation, the caddies interviewed in the study volunteered from their primary role held as a tournament coaching consultant, national coach, three PGA teaching professionals, and a PGA professional trainee, and so only caddied infrequently around these roles. As a result, despite the significant mean experience of 15 years, the views obtained from the 'caddies' are potentially not reflective of those typically available at the elite level and could arguably be influenced from the perspectives they held as professional golfers and coaches.

Jowett and Zhong (2016) further contended that researchers have failed to explain the specific nature and quality of the golfer-caddie relationship. To address this, they employed

the use of the 3+1C's relationship model (Jowett, 2014) to provide a theoretical basis from which the golfer-caddie relationship could be explained. The 3+1C's model defines the quality of the coach-athlete relationship as a situation where coaches and athletes' feelings of closeness, thoughts of commitment, and behaviors of complementarity or co-operation are mutually and causally interdependent or co-orientated (Jowett, 2005, 2007). Researchers have identified that a quality coach-athlete relationship is closely associated with both athlete and coach motivation (Adie & Jowett, 2010; Jowett, 2008), performance (Jowett & Nezlek, 2012), team cohesion (Jowett & Chaundy, 2004), collective efficacy (Jowett et al., 2012) and psychological well-being (Felton & Jowett, 2013). Unsurprisingly, it was identified that the player-caddie relationship was underlined by the same constructs of the coach-athlete relationship and a significant contributing factor to performance (Jowett & Zhong, 2016).

From synthesizing the existing literature, it is apparent that the player-caddie relationship is regarded as a significant component to performance (Jowett & Zhong, 2016). This is due to such factors as the position that the caddie inhabits with regards to their proximity to their player, the trust between the player and caddie, and their awareness of the golfer's psychological state (McNeill & Meade, 2017; Pilgrim et al., 2016). Nevertheless, with the exception of Lavellee et al. (2004) and Jowett and Zhong (2016) previous researchers have failed to obtain the perspective of the caddies themselves (e.g., McNeill & Meade, 2017; Swann et al., 2016). Furthermore, understanding how the caddie facilitates the golfer's psychological performance has been noted as an overlooked area within the literature (Adams et al., 2020; Pilgrim et al., 2016; Schlereth, 2015). Accordingly, the primary aim of this study was to ascertain professional caddies' perceptions regarding their role. Specifically, we were interested in understanding the experiences and processes employed by caddies to facilitate the psychological performance of a golfer.

150 Method

Methodology

The research was approached from an interpretive paradigm, to discover reality through participants' views, background, and experiences (Leitch et al., 2010). Underpinned by ontological relativism and epistemological constructivism, an assumption was made that participants have their own unique interpretation or perspective (Sparkes & Smith, 2014). Through the use of semi-structured interviews, rich descriptions of caddies' perceptions of the role they play in facilitating a golfer's psychological performance were obtained (Smith & Sparkes, 2017). In line with the interpretive paradigm, thematic analysis strategies were used to develop themes, while using the language of the participants to fully describe each theme (Braun et al., 2017). Moreover, thematic analysis was selected given its versatility to be applied to a range of epistemological approaches including constructivism (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Participants

Following institutional ethical approval, participants were purposefully selected on the basis they held a role as a currently active caddie for a professional golfer and approached via personal email addresses or social media accounts (Instagram & Twitter). Seven male professional caddies were recruited, ranging in age from 25 to 49 years (M = 35.57, SD = 9.78). All participants were Caucasian, including five British, one American, and one Canadian. At the time of the interview, caddies reported working on the PGA European Tour, PGA Tour, Ladies PGA Tour, Staysure Senior Tour, European Challenge Tour, and PGA EuroPro Tour. Collectively, the sample held a mean of 9.25 years' experience as a professional golf caddie (SD = 8.39), and a mean of 1.7 years with their current player (SD = 1.09).

Interview Guide

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A semi-structured interview approach was employed (adapted from work by McNeill & Meade, 2017) to elicit rich in-depth information from the professional caddie participants. This approach allowed the first author to explore answers provided and develop new lines of enquiry beyond those identified on the initial interview guide (Kajornboon, 2005). Prior to data collection, a pilot interview was conducted on a PGA regional tour professional golfer with caddying experience. Following the pilot, it was identified that more clarity between practice and tournament rounds would be required, and the addition of professional development questions would be introduced. A range of demographic and introductory questions were initially asked (e.g., 'How long have you been involved in golf?" "How did you get into caddying?") to assist in the building of rapport with participants (Whiting, 2008). The final interview guide focused on three sections, including the role of the caddie (e.g., "Tell me about what the role of the caddie involves?"), effects on performance (e.g., "Drawing on your experiences, can you talk me through where you have had an influential impact on a player's psychological performance?"), and tournament specifics (e.g., "In your opinion, does your role as a caddie change depending on the tournament?"). Throughout the interviews, additional probes were used to expand upon responses, alongside encouraging participants to provide specific examples that had occurred during their caddying experiences. Participants were also provided with an opportunity at the end of the interviews to add and discuss any areas which were not addressed by the initial questions, but which they felt were relevant.

Procedure

Participants were provided with information sheets, which explained the purpose and procedure of the study (Jones, 2015). The document highlighted anonymity, specifically that both the caddie and the player they represent would be non-identifiable and pseudonyms

would be used throughout the writing up of the study. Following the completion of informed consent, participants were interviewed via both face-to-face and telephone modes. Face-to-face interviews were the preferred method of the authors, given their suitability to semi-structured interviews and ability to gather in depth information (Sturges & Hanrahan, 2004). Nevertheless, only one participant was able to partake in a face-to-face interview due to tournament schedules and accessibility, therefore it was deemed appropriate to use telephone interviews for the remaining six participants. This method allowed a greater sample to be recruited, including participants from different countries and supported those currently on professional tours, enhancing the overall view of the caddies' perspective. Interviews were recorded, transcribed verbatim by the first author (163 pages), and lasted a mean of 70.58 minutes (SD = 21.00).

Data Analysis

To identify, analyze, and report themes from within the transcribed data, the researchers adopted the six-stage thematic analysis process (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2019). Stage one of the analysis involved a refamiliarization of the data for the lead author by reading and rereading the interview transcriptions. During this stage, initial ideas were highlighted and noted down, to assist building a picture of the data set. Once immersed within the data, stage two involved the construction of initial codes from key points of interest. Following this process, initial codes were assorted into potential emerging themes; it was important at this point to give equal attention to the entire data set as initial codes were generated on an interview-by-interview basis. Stage four involved the second author acting as a critical friend to review and refine the initial themes into more well-rounded and evidence-based themes. For example, initially three themes (professional experience, interpersonal relationships, performance) with six sub-themes (the practical role, knowledge development, compatibility, trust, confidence, consistency) were identified, however following a critical

discussion, overlaps were identified, and the themes and sub-themes were merged and renamed to create the three themes of the study. Stage five included the defining of each present theme from the analyzed data, to ensure that themes were appropriately named, accurately represented, and fitted into the narrative of the study. The final stage of the process involved the writing up of the analysis, including the presentation of key extracts relating to the research question. During this stage, the second author once again acted as a critical friend to ensure there was a balance between the participant data extracts being used.

Methodological Rigor

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In line with the standpoint of the research, ontological relativism and epistemological constructivism, the first author employed the use of a reflexive journal, a critical friend, and member reflections to enhance the methodological rigor of the study (Berger, 2015; Smith & McGannon, 2018). The lead author at the time of the study was an active competitive golfer, with experiences in both playing and caddying at an amateur level. This was deemed a strength to the research process because the personal insight into the sport allowed for deeper investigation to take place during the interviews, given the understanding of sport specific references made by the participants. Nevertheless, a reflexive journal was maintained throughout the study. This included reflections of why the research was taking place, any personal and golfing experiences which may influence the researcher, and initial thoughts following data collection to guide future interviews, with regards to any interesting or unexpected concepts identified (Williams et al., 2017). For example, during the first interview the impact playing partners may have on the role was discussed. This line of enquiry was noted in the journal and subsequently followed up in all remaining interviews. In addition, the co-author, with over 10-years' experience as a qualitative researcher and sport psychology practitioner, acted as a 'critical friend'. The addition of a 'critical friend', provided another outlet to explore, debate, and reflect upon possible alternative

interpretations of the data (Sparkes & Smith, 2014). Finally, member reflections were employed because they can assist in developing rigor, by generating further insight into the topic being investigated (Smith & McGannon, 2018). Participants were asked to reflect on their interview and in collaboration with the first author, identify any further opinions to generate additional data (Schinke et al., 2013), however, no additional information was identified.

255 Results

A range of processes were employed by the caddies to facilitate a golfer's psychological performance. The participants shared that (a) it's more than carrying a bag; (b) caddying, it's a people thing; and (c) confidence is a two-way street, contributed to their ability to facilitate a golfer's psychological performance. The three themes have been presented with representative verbatim quotations and participant identities protected through pseudonyms.

It's more than carrying a bag

Participants placed a great importance on their ability to facilitate a golfer's psychological performance by taking care of the practical side of the role. It was acknowledged that should caddies accurately (e.g., selecting the correct club/yardage), effectively (e.g., providing only essential information for the task at hand), and consistently (e.g., carrying out the same tasks for each tournament) complete their practical tasks, it facilitates an environment whereby a golfer is able trust their caddie, enabling them to focus solely on their swing and hitting the ball. With that being said, it is important to start by stating that caddies felt their role was one which is frequently misunderstood: "There's so much more to it than people might realize, I mean to some its seen as just carrying a bag" (Jack). This misconception was further highlighted by Oli who went on to explain a number of different practical tasks within the role:

Taking away, not the stress, but the silly jobs which you would have to do if you didn't have a caddie. For example, pin positions, getting range balls, setting up the trackman...running the trackman back to the locker room...making sure there's the correct food and enough drinks in the bag, making sure the towels wet, the waterproofs are in the bag, we've got enough balls.

By making sure the practical tasks were completed, the caddie would enable their golfer to focus on what really matters, and not on tasks which could potentially disrupt their performance. This was consistent across all of the participants who agreed that although the basics of carrying the bag, cleaning the clubs, and getting the correct lines and yardages are there for most caddies, the role often includes so much more:

Helping him even with booking flights...then there's the actual psychology of being on the course, getting together a strategy for how you're going to play certain golf courses, what clubs are going to be in the bag. (Tom)

Though a range of practical tasks were expressed across the participants, it was stressed by all that a key component of carrying out the practical role was being consistent. Consistency was discussed in relation to leading up to, preparing for, and competing at a tournament, regardless of the tournament size, prize money, or location in the world:

You shouldn't be preparing any differently for a bigger or likewise a smaller event.

Ultimately a round of golf is about trying to produce the lowest score possible over 18 holes and different events shouldn't really have a different impact on how you prepare or how you train to achieve that. (Oli)

It was indicated that consistency, in particular sticking to the agreed processes during competition, is a major focus for caddies to help their players overcome adversity out on the course:

He's got one technical thought in his rehearsal for his swing and he didn't do his rehearsal for two shots in a row and he hit two poor shots, he was pissed off and so I said to him, mate rehearsal, do the rehearsal...I'm taking his mind off the shot and putting it onto right I'm going to do my rehearsal next time, he then did it next time and it was bang flush great golf shot...it's taking the mind and focusing the mind on the right thing for that person, on that process or that trigger. (James)

In addition, participants also referred to carrying out the practical side of the role consistently as a method used to encourage and maintain successful performance and flow states: "Watch and be very careful what you say, keep doing what you're doing, whatever has gotten you into that zone try not to change it up too much to keep your player going" (Ryan). Although consistency was identified by some participants as a way to induce this flow state, it was also claimed by others that this state is more player led; suggesting the role of a caddie during such times to be consistent in a manner of staying out of the players way:

Just let the player do it because you get in that zone and that flow state through the player, you know everything is player led and you can influence...you can rub off on them. But the player, you're just getting out of the way, because the player is out of the way of themselves, so just let them go. (Lewis)

Taking care of the practical side of the role accurately, effectively, and consistently therefore seemed to be a deliberate attempt by caddies to decrease the golfer's workload: "Making their job as easy as possible so that all they have to do is hit the shot" (James). The result of which enables them to positively facilitate psychological performance by enabling their golfer to have: "A bit of extra time, energy, and concentration, that the player can put to good use" (Oli).

Caddying, it's a people thing

Within this theme, participants indicated the individual preferences, needs, and wants of a golfer, which the caddie must meet in order to facilitate psychological performance. Participants shared that their ability to develop and sustain a relationship is essential for performance, because it allows caddies to tailor their practice to the individual needs of their golfer. Consequently, concerns were raised over the ability of caddies who move from bag to bag (a process where a caddie moves from one golfer to another golfer), with suggestions that their impact to facilitate psychological performance would be reduced due to a lack of specific knowledge regarding their current player.

Like any relationship, "Caddying is a big people thing and it's about how you say your words, when you say them and how well you say them" (Jacob). The importance of this was highlighted by Tom who discussed the significance of understanding a players' needs and preferences in relation to how feedback surrounding technical information could impact on performance during a round:

If it's a technique thing, one player might want to be told straight away so he can try and change it, the other might not want to know because he doesn't want to have too many thoughts going on when he's over the ball. (Tom)

Furthermore, this understanding was conversed as particularly important when transitioning from one golfer to the next, because what worked with one player might not work with another: "They (names former golfer) doesn't respond well to that motivational self-talk thing, it just pisses them off whereas, (names current golfer), I think it absolutely helps to get him refocused" (Ryan). These examples highlight that though the role of the caddie might be similar for all, is it essential for caddies to be able to develop a relationship with their golfer to enable them to fully understand their individual preferences.

In addition to 'how' and 'what' information is provided to golfer's during competition, participants contended that their ability to fully understand a player and

facilitate psychological performance was impacted by the length of the partnership. While no optimal time together was identified during the study, it was emphasized that time to build a relationship was key to a successful partnership:

I have been with (names current golfer) now for three years and we've learnt how we react to each other and that. I can almost read him now, like I can always tell when he is thinking and I know when I may need to step up and say something, or when I need to say nothing at all. (Oli)

Consequently, participant's raised concerns for caddies who move from bag to bag each week, questioning what they can actually offer a player, given the short amount of time spent together:

They don't have that relationship, they're just carrying the bag, getting a yardage, cleaning the clubs. From a psychological point of view, I would say they are not giving a lot because what they say to one player could be completely false to another. (James)

This argument became particularly significant when you consider the proximity of the caddie to the golfer, particularly during a round, because the ability to understand not only when to step, but what to step in with, enabled caddies to provide support tailored to that individual golfer. For example, the ability to distract players in between shots was agreed by all participants as a key part of their role:

We're the only one with him in the heat of battle and it's on us to make sure he is distracted in between shots, absolutely! I don't care, talk about the weather, cats and dogs, anything, and then focused again for those 40 seconds where we are getting ready for the shot. (Ryan)

For some caddies however, the ability to develop a relationship with their golfer enabled them to engage in topics specific to their golfer's interests. Allowing them to go that extra step to ensure that their player is relaxed in between shots:

I don't even like badminton, but I've found myself learning about badminton because he wants to talk about it. So, if I'm going to do my job properly, I need to make him relaxed and learn about what he likes. (Tom)

Although the example above highlights the lengths a caddie will go to facilitate performance, a lack of understanding surrounding their current player's preferences could also prove detrimental to performance. As exampled below, where Tom discusses the importance and awareness over his own body language on his current player's performance:

If I'm on the 12th hole and I started yawning next to the player and he sees me he might think, oh yeah actually I'm a bit tired as well...then as soon as he's swinging it four miles an hour less and it's not going as far as it should be and then I look like I've done the wrong job because the club we've chosen has come short and it was actually because I've yawned. (Tom)

Knowing your player, therefore seems to play a major role in the ability of a caddie to facilitate a golfer's psychological performance. Especially given that: "What the caddie says is the very last thing that is in that player's head before he pulls the trigger and hits the shot" (James). As a result, while no optimal time together to build a relationship was identified, it was unanimously agreed that: "Once you understand your player, you know when to keep quiet and when to let them talk, or when to do the talking yourself" (Oli).

Confidence is a two-way street

Throughout the interviews, participants specifically expressed confidence as a key area whereby psychological performance could be facilitated. As a result, the final theme

explores the significance that confidence plays on a caddie's ability to facilitate psychological performance with both player and caddie confidence discussed.

Building and maintaining confidence was collectively acknowledged as a fundamental part of the caddie's role: "It is a massive role for the caddie to breed that confidence into a player" (Jack). For some, the role of the caddie was seen as a way to build confidence in a proactive manner:

During the warmup I will try, like when he's hitting shots, I will be saying good shot, great swing, stuff like that, just trying to build that confidence up right from the start before we've even got onto the first tee. (Jack)

Whereas for others, a caddie's role was more reactive, being there to help maintain confidence during moments of adversity, when a player's emotions could take over:

You've got to remind them that they're playing well and then as soon as they make a bogie, you're only human, you've made eight birdies this week and its only Friday morning. That's your first bogie, don't stress we were overdue one it's golf, carry on playing, you're playing well. (Tom)

In light of this information, it seems a caddie's ability to facilitate confidence is influenced by their ability to pick and choose the most appropriate times to convey information to their player. The results of which allow a golfer: "To be confident and feel good in himself, to execute the shots we are trying to do" (Jack), as well as to stop a golfer getting wrapped up in any negative emotions and maintain their confidence and focus to the next task at hand. In addition to what a caddie says both before and during a round, participants also discussed the impact that trust has on their ability to develop confidence: "If he's got confidence in you as a caddie... he knows you're doing your job right, that in turn will definitely give a player confidence" (Oli). For example, participants discussed that if a caddie is able to complete all of their required tasks prior to the start of a round, the caddie

has been able to fully prepare and build up a strong knowledge base of the course during the practice rounds. This in turn enables both the player and caddie to be confident heading into a tournament because no stone has been left unturned:

Just say on a certain hole there's a flag on the green which I know you can't go long of...because of the back bunker. He might not know because he's concentrating on his performance and he might be like right I want to be aggressive and I'll have to tell him, look we can't do that. (Jack)

With that being said, it is important to note that while caddies valued the importance of player confidence: "You want them confident, committed, and completely focused on the task at hand" (Ryan), a caddie's confidence in their own ability was also highlighted as a factor impacting their ability to facilitate psychological performance. For example, players' responses, beliefs, and the relationship between the player and caddie were all highlighted as key factors which influenced a caddie's confidence levels: "You know your player might criticize you or yell at you for a bad read or a bad club selection, so then you start to doubt yourself" (Jacob). As a result, to ensure a caddie is able to facilitate the psychological performance of their golfer: "Both people have got to be confident but, it's almost confident in the other party if that makes sense" (Tom).

Caddie's confidence levels were interestingly highlighted during the interviews when discussing their entry to, knowledge of, and experience of caddying. Participants discussed the ways in which they developed the knowledge required to become an effective professional caddie: "You learn through hard knocks, through experience on the minor tours, that's your education" (Ryan). Additionally, it was emphasized that: "There's no training, no degrees" (Lewis), no formal route to become a professional caddie: "You don't need any qualifications or anything to become a caddie on the European Tour" (Jack). As a result, it

comes as no surprise that: "The role of the caddie is often one which you can just fall into and learn as you go along" (Jack).

With this distinct lack of formal training and/or education participants reported building their knowledge by gaining practical experience and learning from others: "I try and soak up as much as I can from older caddies without them realizing, I'm doing it" (Tom). Yet, with that being said, some of the participants expressed an initial desire to learn more about what the role includes: "There's no dummies guide to caddying, there's not literature for the best ways to do things in different situations, it's just you learn on the job and from what other people have done" (Jacob). Suggesting that although no formal training is available, some caddies desired the addition of education to supplement their practical experience and help them build confidence in their own ability to perform the role effectively, and to avoid them ending up in a position as expressed by Ryan: "I've experienced five wins, three on the PGA Tour, and I still feel like I don't know what I'm doing!". Even with the examples outlined above, practical experience currently seemed to be the most common way to gain knowledge and confidence on how to be a professional caddie, especially given: "A lot of players are looking for caddies with a lot of experience because they know the courses and they've seen it all before" (Jack).

Discussion

The current study aimed to address the gap in existing literature, by ascertaining caddies' perceptions regarding their role, with specific interest into understanding their ability to facilitate the psychological performance of a golfer. The caddie was highlighted as an influential individual to the golfer, with the overall findings providing a thought-provoking insight to the processes employed by caddies. The seven participants disclosed a consistent message regarding their roles and subsequently how they can facilitate a golfer's psychological performance.

The practical role of the caddie has previously been identified to involve actions including cleaning clubs and working out the correct lines and yardages (Mackenzie, 1999). Researchers have also highlighted how caddies may provide advice on course management, yardage estimates, and club selections (Coate & Toomey, 2012). Yet, this is the first study of its kind to gain the perspective of currently active caddies working on a range of professional tours, advancing the research currently surrounding their role. It was identified that the role of the caddie does indeed involve more than just 'carrying the bag', with the practical side of the role, playing a significant function on reducing a golfers physical and mental workload. In fact, participants classified the role is everything a normal golfer would have to do if they did not work with a caddie, with examples including collecting the range balls: making sure the correct clothing and food is in the bag, and even making sure all travel arrangements have been sorted prior to a tournament. This finding not only supports early research within the area (see Coate & Toomey, 2012; Mackenzie, 1999) but emphasizes the importance of the caddie and highlights the lengths a caddie will go to in order to decrease the mental workload of the golfer, allowing them to focus solely on their performance.

The degree to which a caddie felt they could facilitate a golfer's psychological performance was influenced by the longevity of the player-caddie partnership. Likened to the coach-athlete relationship, Jowett (2014) conceptualizes the dyadic partnership through the 3+1C's model. Specifically, researchers have suggested that 'time' allowed for the development of closeness in a relationship (LaVoi, 2007). This was an important aspect identified in our study, with participants suggesting that 'time' allowed them to tailor how they work with that individual golfer. This belief is opposed to findings in the Jowett and Zhong's (2016) study, whereby 83% of participants (six players; six caddies) held a short-term relationship, yet still perceived functioning at a high level of performance. These differences could lie in the defining of a long-term relationship. For example, participants in

Jowett and Zhong's (2016) study expressed a week as a sufficient amount of time to get to know a golfer. Yet in our study, concerns were expressed by the caddies over relationships which change week to week, given the lack of time to identify what the player likes, dislikes, wants, and needs. This arguably could impact the quality of the player-caddie partnership. Which, as previously discussed, could help in developing strong long-lasting connections, such as those associated with higher levels of perceived competence, confidence, and performance (e.g., Jowett & Nezlek, 2012, Jowett et al., 2012). In support of this, Jowett and Zhong (2016) did exemplify the 25-year relationship between Phil Mickelson and caddie Jim 'Bones' McKay, acknowledging that the best players do tend to have a longer relationship with their caddie.

Previous researchers (McNeill & Meade, 2017; Pilgrim et al. 2016) identified that the caddie is in a position to maintain and enhance a golfer's confidence levels, by what they say and do directly before and after a shot. Our findings went beyond this, in that the belief of the caddie was perceived to play a significant role in their ability to facilitate a golfer's confidence. Within the domain of sport psychology, self-efficacy as a concept indicates the degree to which a person believes that they have the capabilities to perform a specific task (Bandura, 1997). Furthermore, among coaches, efficacy has been associated with the use of positive behaviors, improved athlete performance, and greater athlete satisfaction (Myers et al., 2005; Sullivan & Kent, 2003). Although the caddie does not hold the role of a coach, these findings highlight how the caddie's self-efficacy beliefs, could play a vital role in their ability to facilitate a golfer's psychological performance. It has been argued that the golfer-caddie dyad relationship is one which resembles that of a team (Jowett & Zhong, 2016). In that regard, the concept of collective efficacy may be better suited to explain this finding. Unlike self-efficacy, collective efficacy refers to both members' appraisals of the group's capability (Fransen et al., 2015; Shearer et al., 2009). This was exemplified in the current

study, with caddies noting the importance of confidence in the other party, given the roles they hold and mutual understanding to work towards the same goals. Evidence suggests that higher collective efficacy beliefs can lead to improved task engagement, greater satisfaction, and more successful performances (Beauchamp et al., 2012; Myers et al., 2004; Stajkovic et al., 2009). This finding is instrumental for not only golfer's and caddies but also for sport psychology practitioners. It highlights should a caddie or golfer not be confident in their own ability (self-efficacy) or be confident in each other's ability (collective efficacy), then the capacity of the caddie to facilitate a golfer's psychological performance could be affected.

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Across the board, caddies expressed a lack of education, training, and resources available to them during the early stages of their career, to help them develop their understanding of what the role entails. Indeed, participants conveyed that it is common practice for individuals to enter the role of a caddie with experience ranging from little to none, and for individuals to build their knowledge base through a process of trial-and-error over time. This distinct lack of educational resources and training is a finding unique to this study and was initially unexpected given the progressive professionalization of the game (Farrally et al., 2003). In comparison to applied sport psychology, an evidence-based practice is what guides practitioner work, allows them to make informed decisions, and conceptualize their client's needs (Martindale & Collins, 2005; Winter & Collins, 2015a). On the other hand, Holder and Winter (2017) discussed that given the multifaceted and dynamic environment that the sporting world presents, a practice-based knowledge may also be advantageous because it can provide practitioners with the opportunity to learn in a wide range of situations, as opposed to the more fixed and focused nature of evidence-based knowledge development (e.g., qualification/course/curriculum) (Ivarsson & Anderson, 2016; Winter & Collins, 2015b). In the case of the caddie, this could explain how it has become the norm to use practice-based knowledge.

Within the study, participants reported learning on the job because in the absence of any formal education (something which is present for sport psychologists), it forced both upand-coming and experienced caddies to learn from a range of situations on the golf course. This method could arguably be most effective for knowledge development amongst caddies, given that in golf no two shots are ever the same (Stockl & Lamb, 2018). However, recently it has been identified that golfers expressed a dissatisfaction in the number of skilled caddies available (Pilgrim et al., 2016). It could therefore be contended, that providing caddies with an evidence-based approach to learning, from which they could apply to each scenario they find themselves in on the course, would not only complement their practice-based knowledge (Ivarsson & Anderson, 2016; Winter & Collins, 2015a) but also help to develop the number of skilled caddies available.

A further area of note within the study, was the caddie's perceptions towards sport psychology. Throughout the interviews, evidence supporting the findings of Pilgrim et al. (2016) was identified, as caddies highlighted the importance of maintaining the golfer's performance by employing a number of cognitive strategies including positive reinforcements, attentional control, and trigger words to maximize commitment and confidence. On a number of occasions, it was expressed that caddies did not perceive their role to include psychologically underpinned techniques or something which they would consciously do, because they: "Wouldn't want to start frying his brain out on the course" (Oli). During the interviews, caddies frequently stated how they conversed with their player on non-golf related topics in between shots, in an attempt to shift attention away from the situation and to avoid focusing on any potential stressors, such as their position in a tournament. Despite their ability and awareness to do this, the perception and understanding of the psychological underpinning surrounding this method of attentional control is lacking (Winter & Collins, 2015a). For example, Nideffer (1976) proposed attention as different

styles which can be shifted to suit the needs of the situation. Given the self-paced nature of golf, the 'art of distraction' to shift a player's attention is commonly used. Yet shifting attention can also be used to conserve energy for the entirety of a round, allowing ultimate focus during times of preparation and execution, and complete relaxation in between shots (Bell & Hardy, 2009). Consequently, although caddies actively recognize they carry out such methods, their lack of awareness or misunderstanding of the research and evidence base surrounding attentional control and the impact that anxiety plays on an individual's allocation of attention (Eysenck et al., 2007) could result in it being misused or ineffective.

Initially this perception was surprising given that in golf, both players and coaches have readily acknowledged the importance of mental skills to performance (Thomas et al., 2014), particularly given the increase of prize money and professionalization (Farrally et al., 2003). Ravizza (1990) discussed that this perception is not uncommon, because techniques are often not fully understood. Furthermore, players and coaches often confuse a focus to educate and improve mental performance, with the stigma of having psychological problems and being a weak or problem athlete (Harmison, 2011; Pain & Harwood, 2004). As a result of these findings, it seems a curriculum for caddies seems more important than ever. The development of such could enhance the effectiveness and ability of a caddie to facilitate a golfer's psychological performance given a greater understanding of the processes behind what they are doing. The result of which, could enable caddies to make better informed decisions and fully conceptualize their player's needs (Martindale & Collins, 2005; Winter & Collins, 2015a), improving not only what they do on the course but potentially and more importantly, how and when they do it.

Though this study was able to identify a range of methods employed by caddies and factors influencing their ability to facilitate a golfer's psychological performance, it was not without limitations. Given the difficulties surrounding participant schedules and geographic

location, six of the seven interviews were conducted over the phone. Though interviewing by telephone has become widely popular within qualitative research, face-to-face interviews offer the interviewer the advantage of extra information including social cues of the participants voice, facial expressions, and body language (Opdenakker, 2006). The addition of this supplementary information could have changed the dynamic and relationship between the interviewer and interviewee and as a result may have impacted on information being picked up or on subsequent follow up questions. Additionally, although the authors were able to achieve a representation from a range of major tours, there was a considerable difference in the experience levels across the caddies (SD = 8.39). As a result, despite consistent messages provided, it is possible that the experience of the caddie could have had an impact on the findings of the study. Furthermore, during the collection and analysis of the data, differences became apparent between the European and American tours in regard to their perceptions and engagement in psychological techniques. Future research should therefore look to explore and compare transatlantic perceptions of the role of the caddie and how they can facilitate a golfer's psychological performance. From the findings, it has also been identified that exploring the effectiveness of both evidence-based practice and practice-based knowledge in producing effective quality caddies, across a longitudinal study, would be warranted. In addition, researchers should continue to build on this study, by continuing to obtain the perspectives of currently active caddies (Pilgrim et al. 2016; Schlereth, 2015) however, to add a greater depth to the findings, the addition of the golfers linked to the caddies may further enhance the understanding from both perspectives, of how the caddie facilitates psychological performance.

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The application of these findings can inform how future caddies may approach the role. In addition, there are clear implications to developing current caddies' views of the psychological underpinning behind the current processes they employ. If caddies were able to

learn and advance their understanding of the evidence-base behind their actions, this potentially would not only help develop the belief and confidence that they have in their role but will also enable them to improve how they deliver interventions and the timing of when they use them (Martindale & Collins, 2005; Winter & Collins, 2015a). This understanding may also further promote the use of sport psychology techniques and practitioners within elite level golf, giving a greater understanding of their role to be understood (Pain & Hardwood, 2004).

Finally, given the distinct lack of training available for caddies and the perception of sport psychology currently held, we would encourage golf's national governing bodies to explore the development of educational tools and/or professional development workshops specifically for amateurs looking to achieve a career within the game (both playing or caddying). The implementation of such resources within the sphere of amateur golf, could prove of great benefit to the perception and understanding of what sport psychology is, and how it can benefit golfing performance. Not only amongst caddies, but across golfers at all levels of the game, because those individuals who continue into professional ranks will have a better understanding of the uses and benefits of sport psychology. This in turn also has the potential to benefit the employment of sport psychologists working within the game, given the increased understanding and more accurate perceptions of what sport psychology is.

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