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The psychological responses of British amateur point-to-point jockeys to personal injury

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Abstract

Previous research has reported significant psychological consequences of injury on rehabilitation success, performance, and wellbeing in athletes, although little is known within horse-based sports. There is a high prevalence of injury reported in point-to-point (P2P) jockeys, but despite this, comparatively little research exists examining the psychological implications resulting from physical trauma within horseracing. The aim of this study was to investigate the psychological responses to personal injury in British amateur P2P jockeys. Five amateur P2P jockeys (two male, three female, \bar{x} age 25 years old) were interviewed about their experiences post an injury sustained during racing in the preceding 12 months. Interview questions explored their pre-injury career, the rehabilitation phase, pre-return to racing phase issues and coping strategies used by jockeys. Thematic analysis revealed three higher order themes: emotional responses, coping strategies, and factors affecting recovery. Subjects universally cited negative emotional responses following injury, including grief, a sense of loss, and frustration, and all experienced denial at the onset of injury. Typical coping strategies included strong support networks of family, friends and racing staff, and goal setting. Fear of reinjury was identified by all athletes, particularly on return to the saddle, and the attitudes towards injury management, such as denial, seen in this study may provide opportunities to develop targeted education campaigns for P2P jockeys on injury services. Targeted marketing for P2P jockeys on available injury support is recommended, such as seen for professional jockeys, as well as the creation of career development resources to offer alternative routes for P2P jockeys following injury.

Keywords: athlete, emotional response, horseracing, fear of re-injury, coping

Introduction

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Point-to-point (P2P) is a form of amateur jump racing, scheduled across 200 fixtures in the United Kingdom, with around 300 amateur jockeys currently registered to the British Horseracing Authority (BHA) (Balendra et al. 2007; British Horseracing Authority, 2022). P2P jockeys navigate 2.5-to-4-mile racetracks, jumping between 10 – 22 steeplechase obstacles, whilst maintaining balance and control to race effectively (Trowbridge et al. 1995). Due to the fast speeds (11-14m/s) and jumping efforts required, there is high risk of injury to both horse and jockey during P2P racing, typically resulting from falling on a race day (Balendra et al. 2007; Smith et al. 2018; Smith et al. 2020). However, epidemiological research estimates that 30% of professional jockey injuries occur outside of the race (Turner et al., 2002) and this could be estimated to be higher for P2P jockeys, who may spend more time on non-racing activities than their professional counterparts due to reduced financial incentives to ride. Amateur jockeys spend on average 34 ± 14 hours a week in non-racing activities, such as exercise riding, or yard work (Kiely et al. 2020). As a result, P2P jockeys may incur injuries from both yard-based work as well as their ridden career and race day falls (Davies et al. 2022; O'Connor et al. 2021a; Smith et al. 2020; Smith et al. 2021). The effects of injury in P2P jockeys can result in "fatal, serious and permanent outcomes, tend to impact a young-adult age group who will live many years with the consequences of injury and occur in a workplace setting where they should be protected" (O'Connor et al. 2021b, pg. 1). Professional jockeys are already seen to underreport or downplay injury or injury severity to avoid being declared unfit to ride by the Chief Medical Officer (Hitchens et al. 2013; Turner et al. 2002; Waller et al. 2000; Whitlock, 1999), but little is known about the attitudes to injury reporting and recovery seen in the amateur P2P population. Athletes who experience denial may refuse or disengage with necessary rehabilitation (Harris, 2003), resulting in significant negative psychological consequences, such as depression, social isolation or substance misuse (Samuel et al. 2015). The most recent horseracing industry survey on mental health identified 37% of racing industry staff reported injuries in the last 12 months but only 38% took any time off related to that injury (McConn-Palfreyman et al. 2019) which poses a significant concern for the sector. In addition, anecdotal reports of racing staff being unwilling to take sick leave or continuing to work despite chronic pain or injury are prevalent within the racing community (McConn-Palfreyman et al. 2019; Racing Welfare, 2012; Sear, 2018; Speed and Anderson, 2008).

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Riding is considered more dangerous than motorcycle riding and rugby (Ball et al. 2007; Davidson et al. 2015) with hospital admission rates for riding accidents at 0.49/1000 hours riding in contrast to motorcycle riding where only 0.14 injuries/1000 hours riding occur (Ball et al. 2007). Horseracing is often considered one of the most dangerous disciplines, with jockeys more likely to experience injury or death than other equestrian athletes (DeAraugo, et al. 2016), typically resulting from a fall. Injury data suggests that whilst jump jockeys are more likely to fall compared to flat jockeys (5.26 falls compared to 0.42 falls per 100 rides respectively) (Hitchens et al. 2013), falls during flat racing result in longer recovery periods following injury (61 days compared to 51 days respectively), perhaps due to faster speeds involved (Turner et al. 2008; Turner et al. 2002). Greater incidences of injury are prevalent when comparing amateurs to their professional counterparts; research suggests that amateur jockeys are three times more likely to fall and sustain injury (Balendra et al. 2007; Davidson et al. 2015; Hasler et al. 2011). In P2P, previous research suggests one fall occurs in every 7 to 11 starts, with a greater number of falls comparatively to flat (O'Connor et al. 2018) and jump racing (Smith et al. 2018; Hitchens et al. 2013; Williams et al. 2013). Greater fall rates amongst amateurs may be attributed to the elevated skill level of professional riders, access to more established horses and more frequent practice opportunities because it is their livelihood (Balendra et al. 2007; O'Connor et al. 2018). Reported injuries in all jockeys include the head,

neck, back, shoulder and clavicle, and extremities, and most typically involve fractures or soft tissue injuries, however amateur jockeys are three times more at risk of fractures, and twice as likely to be concussed as professional jump jockeys (Balendra et al. 2007; Hitchens et al. 2013; Turner et al. 2002; Waller et al. 2000; Whitlock et al. 1999). The available data suggests that P2P jockeys are a high-risk population for injury due to their amateur status but may be less inclined to seek injury support due to financial and career implications resulting from missing races during recovery (average 31 days lost, 4 – 180 day range) (O'Connor et al. 2021a). Whilst injury support is available for P2P jockeys through the Injured Jockeys Fund (IJF) and Racing Welfare, these Occupational Health Services (OHS) are voluntary, in line with U.K. legal requirements (Jain et al. 2021). Employee engagement with OHS provision is reliant on organisation and employer promotion (Fan et al. 2020; Jain et al. 2021), whilst targeted organisational campaigns have observed positive effects on injury reduction worldwide (Andersen et al. 2019). The lack of organisational promotion for injury support services from organisations such as the Point-to-Point Owners and Riders Association (PPORA) or the Pointto-Point Authority (PPA) mean the P2P industry could be unintentionally missing an opportunity to support the physical and mental health, and overall wellbeing of P2P jockeys following injury.

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Following injury, jockeys are likely to experience complex psychological responses, including changes in cognitive appraisal, emotional responses, and behavioural changes, similar to those seen in other injured athletes (Wiese-Bjornstal et al. 1998). The initial cognitive appraisal allows the athlete to assess the situational context of the injury, as well as their coping resources, considering the injury severity and prognosis against upcoming competitive goals (Wiese-Bjornstal et al. 1998). The cognitive appraisal at the onset of injury can influence a person's emotional responses; a positive appraisal of coping ability post-injury may lead to a positive emotional response, whereas a sense of loss resulting from injury may lead to emotions such as grief, fear, frustration, or anger (Thatcher et al. 2007; Tracey, 2003; Walker et al. 2007). Initial grief responses, similar to those reported in Kubler Ross's Grief Theory (1969), mimic loss, shock, and emptiness, often classified as devastation (Rees et al. 2010). Where injury has limited an athlete's ability to achieve a goal, athletes have also reported frustration, restlessness, anxiety and feeling cheated (Mitchell et al. 2014). For P2P jockeys, this frustration or restlessness may result from an inability to undertake daily working tasks fully, being unable to ride (in races or training) due to physical limitations or slow recovery processes and pain, which may affect their likelihood of being allocated rides, resulting in psychological distress.

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Depending on the outcomes of their cognitive appraisal, and the athlete's ability to identify and regulate their emotional reaction, their behavioural responses can either positively or negatively impact their rehabilitation success (Wiese-Bjornstal *et al.* 1998). Behavioural responses include adherence to rehabilitation activities, use of psychological skills strategies, use or disengagement from social support, risk taking behaviours and behavioural coping techniques (Wiese-Bjornstal *et al.* 1998). The engagement with positive behavioural responses and coping strategies following injury can facilitate successful return to work, to sport and the efficacy of their rehabilitation and recovery (Santi and Pietrantoni, 2013). Arvinen-Barrow and Walker (2013) suggests that many athletes who fail to return to their original levels of performance do so due to a lack of pre-emptive coping interventions, which are designed to reduce the denial and distress phases of the affective cycle of injury model, associated with the emotional response to injury (O'Connor *et al.* 2005). Engagement with effective coping strategies can support athletes to take a more active role in their rehabilitation and refocus their goals to improve other constructs such as strength, endurance, or confidence (O'Connor *et al.* 2005; Wadey *et al.* 2019, 2012). Determined coping is seen earlier in athletes who undergo early

education interventions focussing on managing emotions, goal setting to enhance motivation and resilience and the provision of social support (Santi and Pietrantoni, 2013). This phenomenon has recently been observed in professional jockeys, with the continued growth and development of post-injury resources and focus on improved physiological and psychological recovery (Injured Jockeys Fund, 2020; Professional Jockeys Association, 2020). Recent research has suggested that only small numbers of racing staff access available support services following injury (Davies *et al.* 2022), and as P2P is classified as an amateur sport, P2P jockeys may be less likely to seek support. The aim of this study therefore was to investigate the psychological responses to personal injury in amateur point-to-point racing jockeys and identify the factors influencing recovery and return to riding.

Methodology

Participants

Five amateur point-to-point (P2P) jockeys (two males, three females, \bar{x} age 25 ± 2.74 years old (range 21 -28 years old), \bar{x} recovery time 12.2 ± 8.01 weeks (range 6-26 weeks)) were selected based on their discipline and injury status. Within horseracing, success is associated with the individual jockey's persona and 'system', and this can foster a reluctance to openly discuss personal and professional practice, thereby limiting jockey engagement with research aiming to explore these constructs (Lamperd *et al.* 2016; Richardson *et al.* 2020). Coping with adversity, such as injury, is considered a key factor in performance success and progression to professionalism within horse sports (Lamperd *et al.* 2016), therefore it could be assumed that amateur jockeys may not want to share their strategies in dealing with injury, limiting the available sample. Furthermore, previous research has identified a concern with injury reporting, and injury minimalization in horseracing (Davies *et al.* 2022; Davies *et al.* 2021; McConn-Palfreymann *et al.* 2019) that may hinder larger sample sizes being obtained. The sample size gathered does however echo previous studies on psychological recovery from injury including Mosewich *et al.* (2013) study on elite female athletes', and Davies *et al.* (2018) investigation into elite young riders', whereby sufficient data were collected to conclude accurate themes.

The inclusion criteria required that jockeys must have previously experienced a serious injury in the last 12 months whilst working in P2P racing. This study focused on workplace injury, which is defined as an injury or illness caused, contributed, or significantly aggravated by events or exposures in the work environment (Health and Safety Executive, 2021). Injuries were accepted to be acute, chronic, or resulting from overuse; may or may not have required medical attention; and may or may not have required time away from work. Serious injury has previously been defined in psychology of injury studies as a minimum of three weeks disruption from normal life protocols (Mosewich et al. 2013), including time away from sport in athletic populations, time off work in occupational settings, or required adjustments to transport, work situations or homelife as a requirement of injury restriction (Dembe et al. 2005; Kim, 2008; Wadey et al. 2013). These readjustments to normal life processes are considered as disruptive and require reappraisal to support coping (Mitchell et al. 2014) and are considered as significant time for psychological impact (Wiese-Bjornstal et al. 1998). Further support exists for this time frame within the racing industry, currently, jockey insurance claims classify serious injury as requiring three or more weeks away from activity (Turner et al. 2008; Turner et al. 2002). Whilst previous research has utilised sick leave or absence from training, competition, or work as a measure of injury severity, the presenteeism previously reported in the racing population could have affected the sample available of injured staff who have explicitly taken 21 days or more off work (Davies et al. 2022; Davies et al. 2021; McConn-Palfreyman et al. 2019). When no time has been lost (work or sport training), injuries are referred to as transient, and this is often due to the normative social culture of denial (Hodgson et al. 2007; Wiese-Bjornstal et al.

2010). It was therefore decided a minimum of 21 days of disruption to life protocols, including adjustments to daily life (such as driving, restrictions at work etc.), rather than specified sick leave, would be utilised as inclusion criteria. At the time of interview, all five jockeys had returned to the saddle, with four out of five jockeys back to P2P racing.

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Procedure

Following institutional ethics approval by the XXXXXX (blinded for review) Human Research Ethics Committee (approval number ETHICS2021-24) and informed consent, five P2P jockeys were interviewed on their experiences of personal injury in the sport. Recruitment was achieved through personal and organizational industry contacts, collaborating industry partners and social media groups/pages to recruit participants (Browne, 2005) who met the inclusion/exclusion criteria. Semi-structured interviews were used to collect data as they allowed the researcher to further investigate the participants' responses by asking further questions. Having guiding questions helps the interview from straying too far from the vital questions of the study (Marshall and Rossman, 2006; Santiago, 2009). The interview guide (Appendix A) was developed from current research and designed to address pre-injury career, the rehabilitation phase, pre-return to racing issues and coping strategies used by jockeys (Davies et al. 2018; Podlog et al. 2012). To protect the anonymity of the participants, all participants in this study were allocated numbers (i.e., P1, P2). Each interview, conducted by LS, lasted approximately 35 minutes and was audio and video recorded using Microsoft Teams (Version 1.5.00.22362). Online interviews allowed a cost effective, time-efficient way of conducting research, that mitigated the implications of the COVID-19 pandemic for both researcher and participant (Janghorban et al. 2014; Wadey et al. 2019; Opara et al. 2021). Interviews were scheduled to accommodate participants' busy schedules, which is a challenge often seen in research exploring the horseracing industry (Wadey et al. 2019; Richardson et al. 2020). Online interviews have shown to gather data equivalent to face-to-face interviews, with the advantage of participants being comfortable in their environment which may facilitate deeper discussion on sensitive topics (Lo Lacono et al. 2016).

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Data Analysis

This study utilised thematic analysis to allow new information to be extracted from the data and did not seek to answer a hypothesis or quantify themes (Bloomberg and Volpe, 2008). The data were analysed using an eight-stage approach adapted from Lamperd *et al.* (2016), consisting of the following: (1) transcription of the interviews (LS), (2) data were checked and re-read to ensure familiarity (ED, LS), (3) direct quotes were extracted and divided into categories (ED, LS), (4) inductive grounded theory analysis was undertaken using open coding line by line to represent each participants personal interpretation (ED, LS), (5) focused coding was used to formulate themes (ED), (6) themes were organised to represent their relationship with the aims (ED), (7) validation consensus was conducted by both researchers (LS, ED), (8) followed by discussion to determine whether the research aims had been appropriately met (ED, LS).

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The lead researcher's (ED) epistemological perspective is a social constructivist lens, which framed how the thematic analysis was undertaken. It should be acknowledged that interpretation of the findings and emergent themes may have been influenced by the research team's experiences with personal injury within the equestrian and racing sectors. This was a strength in offering opportunities for connection, rapport, and empathy through shared experiences during the interview process.

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Results

A total of five participants were interviewed for this study. All jockeys had experienced an injury resulting in more than three weeks disruption to racing life in the last 12 months (\bar{x} recovery time 12.2 \pm 8.01 weeks) and were all actively racing at the time of their injuries (See Table 1).

Table 1: Participant details including jockey age, injury characteristics and time off

Pp.	Age	Gender	Injury	Injury Causation	Recommended Time off	Actual Time off	Riding as a career	Returned to P2P riding
P1	21	Female	Broken Ulna and Radius (arm)	Jockey Fall	12 weeks	6 weeks	No	No
P2	28	Male	Snapped anterior cruciate ligament	Overuse Injury	52 weeks	26 weeks	Yes	Yes
P3	25	Female	Broken collar bone and dislocated shoulder	Horse and Jockey Fall	8 weeks	8 weeks	Yes	Yes
P4	24	Female	Concussion and fractured pelvis	Jockey Fall	Return as an when participant felt ready	9 weeks	Yes	Yes
P5	27	Male	Open compound fracture to the tibia and fibula	Jockey Fall	12 weeks	12 weeks	Yes	Yes

The themes identified by the primary researcher were independently confirmed by the remaining author. Ultimately, the analysis resulted in three higher order themes: emotional responses, coping strategies, and factors affecting recovery (See Figure 1).

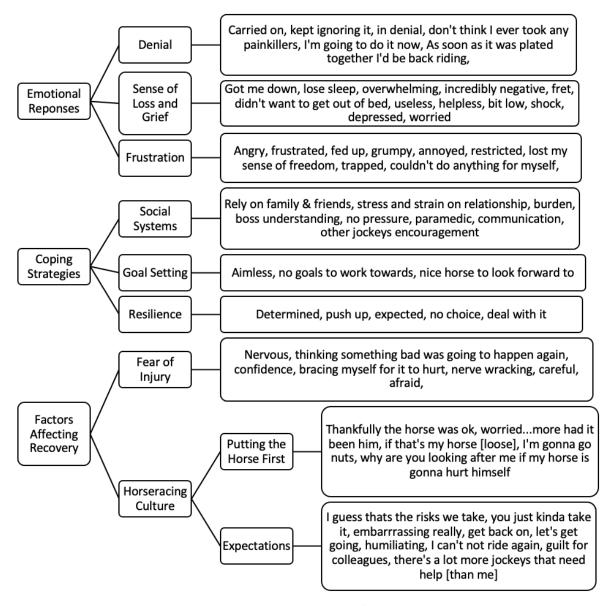


Figure 1: Higher and Lower Order Themes

Discussion

Emotional Responses

Jockeys reported experiencing a range of emotions, such as panic, depression, feeling low, denial, anger, frustration, blame and guilt. In response to their injuries, four lower order themes under the higher order theme of emotional responses were identified: denial, depression, frustration, and self-blame.

Denial

All jockeys in this study reported experiencing denial at the onset of their injury, although the presentation varied between individuals. Some of the P2P jockeys reported experiencing denial related to the injury itself, whilst others acknowledged the injury, but were in denial of its severity.

"...and yeah it was sore but once I got back to my feet, yeah I was limping, but I was alright... and then obviously your adrenaline was going and whatever, and you just forgot. I just forgot about it until I got another fall... (P2)

'I would say I was in denial. Because I didn't feel pain instantly, I doubted that I had actually broke my leg, I thought the snapping sound might just have been the sound of my fall stupidly, you know you kind of second guess yourself. But after I looked at my leg and saw it pointing in the wrong direction with a big bend halfway down, I began to feel very dizzy, and I blacked out.' (P5)

Denial can be defined as the conscious or unconscious refusal to accept a given reality, and is often referred to as the brains temporary defence mechanism against feelings of anxiety, in a negative situation (Kubler-Ross, 1969; Prigatano and Sherer, 2020). Within the context of sporting injuries, denial may present as a refusal to accept injury severity or the consequences of the injury on the long-term sporting career, such as forced retirement or a reduction in competition level (Kubler-Ross, 1969; Santi and Pietrantoni, 2013). Where athletes have chosen to deny or ignore injury, or injury severity, there has been reported experiences of heightened emotional reactions and difficulty in managing stress responses (Samuel et al. 2015). Delays in seeking medical treatment may also prolong an athlete's recovery process or worsen the injury due to avoidance (Kortte and Wegener, 2004). Whilst often considered a temporary protective mechanism against anxiety (Hooi and Wah, 2018), those in denial after trauma appear to be able to adjust less well than those who confront the incident directly (Mohta et al. 2003). Athletes experiencing denial at the onset of injury may refuse or disengage with treatment or rehabilitation, or continually seek a contradictory diagnosis from different physicians (Harris, 2003). Interestingly, two of the jockeys reporting ignoring medical advice or seeking differing medical or rehabilitation recommendations to facilitate their recovery.

'I said I'm not getting the operation till the seasons finished ... And he went, what do you mean? I said I've ridden three winners this week. I said I'm not stopping yet. I said like I'm on my best season. I said I'm in contention for the **** Area Championship... you can think again if I'm stopping riding now' (P2)

'The NHS were like Oh no, it's gonna be ... you can't ride with three months now with this and the other, and thankfully the BHA doctor ****** was like no ignore him, just smile, and ignore him and so then like it was a lot more positive.' (P3)

Within horseracing, participants (jockeys, trainers, staff) pride themselves on their bravery and fearlessness, and the emphasis on downplaying injury severity, self-diagnosis, and carrying on with injury have all been identified in this population (Davies *et al.* 2022; McConn-Palfreymann *et al.* 2019; Racing Welfare, 2012; Sear, 2018). Denial has also been recognized within military personnel who have previously reported the inconvenience of seeking medical treatment, fear of impact on their careers, knowing how to treat themselves without the need for medical intervention, and the cultural perspective to "suck it up" and 'work through it' mentalities seen within in the military as being key reasons not to report injury, or seek medical attention (Cohen *et al.* 2019; Sauers *et al.* 2016, pp. 1077), similar to what is seen within horseracing. Underreporting of injuries, or not seeking subsequent medical intervention, has also been seen in wider equestrian sports (Dashper, 2014), whereby injury is seen as something that cannot be avoided but should not delay or prevent engagement with equestrian activities (Jones, 2021), suggesting there may be a cultural connotation with injury attitudes in horse-related industries, rather than solely within horseracing. The jockey's denial of the severity of their injuries

alongside their approach to medical intervention and recovery timeframes is suggest of an injury minimalization culture, that may foster a negative attitude towards injury and recovery within the sport.

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Sense of Loss and Grief

333 334 A sense of loss and grief was identified in the jockeys, through reported feelings of loss, 335 loneliness, helplessness, worry, low mood and negative thoughts.

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"... you just feel so stupidly anxious and low" (P1)

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'I felt quite helpless' (P4)

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Wiese-Bjornstal et al. (1998) suggested that a sense of loss was a negative aspect of the cognitive appraisal process in athletes at the onset of injury that may result in grief-like emotions, seen here in this study. There is increased psychological disturbance following injury for those who are emotionally unprepared (Baillie and Danish, 1992) and those whose return to sport is uncertain (Bianco et al. 1999). Grief-like symptoms post-injury has been linked to increased absenteeism, decreased productivity, and increasing healthcare costs in wider sectors, likely as a result of poor injury recovery (Keyes, 2002). As many as one in two athletes experience psychological distress in their career, often resulting from non-normative transitions such as injury, and this is no different in within the racing sector (Losty et al. 2019). Jockeys report exhaustive schedules, high risk occupations, unrealistic weight expectations, public scrutiny, burnout, and injury as key risk factors for poor mental health, including high reported incidents of depression in recent years (King et al. 2022; King et al. 2021a; King et al. 2021b; Losty et al. 2019; McConn-Palfreyman et al. 2019).

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The grief-like response experienced by athletes' post-injury is often attributed to lost career or goal aspirations and missed opportunities. Typically, elite athletes experience a more prominent psychological injury response than amateurs due to increased emotional and financial investment, and their sense of purpose being disrupted (Bianco et al. 1999), however a significant psychological response was found here in the amateur P2P population. Racing is a unique environment, as although it has aspects that are similar to the sporting sector, it is not solely considered as a sport to its members, it is often considered a way of life, much like those working in the equine or animal care industries (Dashper, 2017; Figley and Roop, 2006). Staff working in animal-based occupations may be more vulnerable to depression due to selfsacrificing behaviours often associated with putting the animal first (Figley and Roop, 2006). Animal caregivers are often at greater risk of stress-induced injury, due to increased time investments, empathic understanding of the animal, and the bond created in caring for that animal (Bennett and Rohlf, 2005). It could therefore be suggested that whilst elite sporting athletes are typically at greater risk of severe emotional distress following injury due to substantial investments in their career, all levels of jockeys may be at greater risk of emotional instability following injury due to significant emotional and time investments in their horses.

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Frustration

Frustration is the most commonly reported emotion during injury (Brewer, 1994; Copell, 2015; Kutz, 2014) and was seen in the interviews with P2P jockeys in this study.

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"...Frustrated that it was so early on meaning that I was probably going to miss out on the rest of the season' (P4)

Uncertainty about the return to sport, alongside being emotionally unprepared for the significant changes resulting from injury, could lead to jockeys feeling anxiety, bitterness and frustrated, reported in this study (Bailie and Danish, 1992; Bianco et al. 1999). Research suggests the timing of an athlete's injury, such as within a competition season, has a substantial impact on how the athlete perceives the injury and their emotional response, which can impede subsequent recovery (Gayman and Crossman, 2003). The sudden lack of involvement within their sport and the physical limitations of not being able to do what they did before the injury is often associated with increased frustration at the onset of injury (Clement et al. 2015; Johnston and Carroll, 1998). Changes in day-to-day functioning, restrictions in riding and loss of athletic identity can exaggerate feelings of frustration (Abbott et al. 2019; Dashper, 2017; Tamminen and Watson, 2022; Tracey, 2003). The ridden component of riders' engagement within equestrianism has previously been reported as central to the social environment, with riders feeling 'out of the loop' when unable to engage in riding activities with peers, which could be considered similar within the P2P community (Dashper, 2017). More than just the social activity or physical exercise, riding is liked to feelings of kinaesthesia and 'embodied mindfulness', engaging multiple and complex sensory and motor fields which may lead to feelings of frustration if lost (Dashper, 2017). Tracey (2003) stated that athletes often experienced frustrations resulting from a desire to be independent, which can lead to increased emotional difficulties and delays in rehabilitation outcomes. Several jockeys highlighted that their frustrations were linked to a loss of independence.

'I think this [not attending gym] also made me feel more trapped and frustrated as I wasn't able to do anything about it [injury]...' (P5)

'It was hard mentally the first kind of eight weeks [be]cause I wasn't allowed to drive. Wasn't allowed to walk, I wasn't allowed to do anything, erm So the first eight weeks I was like literally bedbound' (P2)

Coping Strategies

 All jockeys discussed coping resources they developed following their injuries. Lower order themes included social systems, goal setting and resilience.

Social Systems

All P2P jockeys referred to social support systems that were in place following their injuries, with family, partners, employers, and the wider racing industry named as key positive role figures within their network.

 '...everyone like my family and friends were very supportive throughout the whole process and just did everything they could to help me get back to riding and working as soon as possible' (P4)

"...my boss was fine with it everyone wished me a speedy recovery and when I came back to work everyone was understanding and helped me get back to where I was before the injury" (P5)

Social support, such as from employers, friends, family, or colleagues, is particularly important in maintaining adherence to rehabilitation. Social support has been linked to the size of a network or community, social integration of an individual, the quality and quantity of relationships formed, and social resources (Rees and Hardy, 2000). Disengagement from a community after injury can lead to feelings of isolation, which is negatively associated with adherence to rehabilitation (Harris, 2003; Rees *et al.* 2010).

Social support is considered a key factor in coping with injury, and can be considered positive, negative, or neutral. Udry *et al.* (1997) suggested more athletes reported negative social support than positive, however in this study most jockeys reported positive social interactions facilitating their recovery. Involvement of close social networks, such as family, can be perceived differently depending on the emotional responses of the individual. Research suggests anger can weaken the recognition and effectiveness of social support by pushing away those closest to the injured person (Wilks *et al.* 2019), whilst quality of relationships with family could play a role in perception of support (Rees and Hardy, 2000). Although no jockey specifically mentioned challenges with family members, P2 mentioned the negative impact their recovery had on their relationship.

'Yeah, with my partner at the time, put a lot of stress and strain on the relationship erm because I couldn't do anything for myself erm, so she was having to run around after me' (P2)

One jockey highlighted conflict with their trainer following injury, with a lack of support and blame identified.

'With my trainer, I got a lot of blame... this trainer in particular held onto it for some reason and always said it was my fault always said, you know I should have been riding better and everything when actually it was probably a needed, the support more than anything, and I needed the comfort of knowing that accidents happen...'(P1)

Research suggests that post trauma, negative social support, such as criticism or indifference to the wellbeing of that person, has a greater impact on successful recovery outcomes than lack of support (Brewin and Holmes, 2003). Previous research in horseracing found that employers were seen as equally helpful and unhelpful by racing staff following an injury in the workplace (Davies et al. 2022), whilst 44% of employees previously stated that their employer was "not supportive at all" in response to their injury rehabilitation (McConn-Palfreymann et al. 2019). Open communication is a key managerial skill, something reported as lacking within the horseracing sector, whereby staff are often promoted to management level due to horsemanship skills rather than people skills (Juckes et al. 2020). Management behaviour have also been found to be a key factor in influencing how employees handle pain at work (Dellve et al. 2007; Wynne-Jones et al. 2011). Development of resources for administrative and managerial staff on occupational injury and injury management in the racing industry has previously been identified (Davies et al. 2022), and this should be extended to consider P2P establishments as well as flat and jump training yards. Furthermore, ensuring that support networks are provided to any racing staff who may be affected by the aftermath of injury, such as P2P area secretaries, fellow racing grooms or managerial staff, would be a benefit to reduce the incidences of vicarious trauma within the racing population (for review, see Davies et al. 2021).

Social support systems where athletes with mutual experiences support one another in rehabilitation are considered most beneficial (Arvinen-Barrow and Walker, 2013; Hogan *et al.* 2002). This was experienced by P3, who identified that support and encouragement from other, more successful jockeys with similar experiences was motivating during their recovery.

'I think the other jockeys, I was quite surprised. Some of them that you know the name of, but you wouldn't think they'd ever speak to you, are messaging you and ringing you saying, oh yeah, you'll be fine. It's like the some of the, like encouragement from other

people is really good... like knowing that they've had it before and they still could win all these races and do this and that and the other...' (P3)

Goal Setting

Goal setting was a crucial coping strategy used by jockeys during their injury recovery to enhance motivation and maintain purpose. Jockeys typically highlighted the upcoming fixture calendar and good horses as targets they were aiming towards.

'Just trying to keep positive and just you know, luckily I had a nice horse to look forward to for the next season anyway' (P2)

Jockeys focused on the horses they had as future rides and the upcoming season ahead as primary goals, which would suggest that the primary motivator for returning to sport is the competitive successes and prestige of riding certain horses. When income is determined by the ability to continue to compete or ride, the athletes' rehabilitation behaviours will be influenced as it becomes a motivator to return to full physical strength (Salma and Meyers, 2019) which was seen in this study. O'Connor *et al.* (2021a) highlighted that half of the jockeys in their study missed racing as a result of injury, and those jockeys reported negative financial and career implications for missing races. Previous research has also identified that riders often care about their horse's wellbeing over their own (O'Brian, 2016) which may also account for jockey's concern about their horses being ridden by others.

Several jockeys also reported a decline in motivation, and a lack of purpose following injury, often resulting from uncertainty surrounding injury and recovery.

"...Couldn't find the motivation to do anything" (P3)

'I had nothing to aim for as I didn't know how long I would be out of riding for and had no goals that I could really work towards' (P4)

During sports injury rehabilitation, a lack of motivation is common and often associated with athletes experiencing a lack of progression, setbacks, and poor goal setting (Griffin *et al.* 2021). Loss of purpose and feelings of decreased motivation make athletes more vulnerable to decreases in their psychological well-being (Trainor *et al.* 2020). Motivation can also impact recreational athletes' adherence to rehabilitation, with lessened motivation decreasing the amount of home-based rehabilitation done (Levy *et al.* 2009; Goddard *et al.* 2021), thus potentially impacting physical recovery. Athletes in higher risk sports, such as horse racing, are also more likely to respond better to management interventions, making this population an appropriate sport to investigate the benefits of reactive and pro-active coping strategies (Gledhill *et al.* 2018).

Resilience

Several jockeys in this study transferred their self-determination from riding to rehabilitation and focused on future performance after their injuries.

"...honestly it made me more determined to get back into the sport." (P5)

Although non-normative transitions, such as injury, are typically considered as negative experiences for athletes, research also highlights the opportunity for positive psychological

growth following injury (Wadey and Evans, 2011). Referred to as Sports Injury Related Growth (SIRG) (Salim *et al.* 2021), examples of positive development may include increased levels of motivation, self-determination, enhanced emotional recognition and regulation (Wadey *et al.* 2011), and boosted confidence following injury (Podlog *et al.* 2011, Tracey, 2011; Udry *et al.* 1997; Wadey *et al.* 2012). Research into equestrian athletes identified that positivity in responding to adverse circumstances within their career, such as injury setbacks, was a key characteristic of elite athletes (Lamperd *et al.* 2016), which could suggest that jockeys who showed resilience and the ability to overcome their circumstances were more likely to be success in their careers in future. One athlete in the study identified that although they did not identify increased resilience during the period of injury, on reflection, felt they had become physically and mentally stronger than before.

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"...you just have to have the mental capability to, push up, I suppose, and unfortunately, at the time I didn't, and you know, it's only now that I've managed to make my, might make myself a lot stronger. Mentally and physically to overcome it." (P1)

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Factors Affecting Recovery

All jockeys experienced several internal and external factors that influenced their recovery and return to the sport, including a fear of re-injury, and the external culture of horseracing as a sport.

Fear of Reinjury

Four out of the five participants interviewed explained feelings of fear regarding hurting themselves again following return to the saddle. Participants two, four and five expressed this fear of re-injury in detail.

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Getting on wasn't the problem, it was just like you said it was coming off and hurting... I was bracing myself for it to hurt' (P2)

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I think I was just thinking that something bad was going to happen again...I was thinking that I would always hurt myself' (P4)

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Increased exposure to high-risk conditions, such as unpredictable situations, and increased episodes of injury prevalence, can result in fear of injury (Chase et al. 2005). Fear of injury is defined as the unpleasant feeling of apprehension or distress caused by anticipation of physical damage to the body or part of the body (Short et al. 2004). Fear of injury is often attributed to two main sources of stress: an athlete has lost confidence in their ability to perform or has previously suffered an injury and is displaying fear of reinjury (Pincus et al. 2010). Although several of the athletes reported a loss of confidence in their abilities, the primary mechanism of fear for this study was fear of re-injury following the initial inciting incident. Fear results in both psychological and physiological reactions (Heil, 1993) (See Figure 2), causing a disruption of biomechanical skill, and poor use of energy resources, resulting in increased fatigue, decreased attention, and heightened injury risk (Chase et al. 2005; Heil, 1993). For a high-risk sport like P2P, movement inefficiency, increased fatigue and decreased attention could heighten the risk of a fall, for either horse or rider, resulting in further injury. Increased muscle tension and movement hesitancy can also result in substandard performance (Walker et al. 2010). Previous research investigating Irish P2P racing identified that a jockey fall from the previous season was a significant predictor of falls in the current season, with a 50% increase in current season falls if a jockey reported falls in over 20% of their past rides (Smith et al. 2020). Failure to address the psychological implications of injury in P2P jockeys may result in lack of confidence, further risk of re-injury, and more falls which may also increase the risk of injury

to the horse, and other jockey/horse combinations (Smith *et al.* 2020; Walker *et al.* 2007). Increasing injuries in horseracing pose a threat to the social license of the sport (O'Connor *et al.* 2021b; McGreevy and McManus, 2017) and already declining numbers of P2P horses, jockeys and fixtures corroborate that the public perception of the sport is paramount to its continuation in British horseracing (Point-to-Point Authority, 2022).

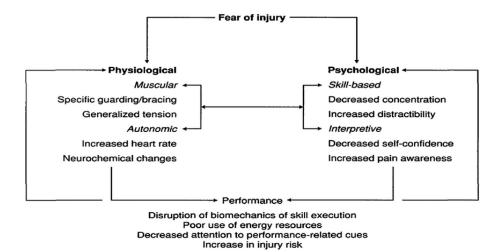


Figure 2: The Sociopsychophysiological model of fear of injury (Chase et al. 2005; Heil, 1993)

Fear of the unknown is considered a significant factor in fear of reinjury, which can negatively affect rehabilitation outcomes and post injury recovery due to under or over adherence practices (Vassallo *et al.* 2019). Several jockeys reported having no other options as horses were all they had known, thus putting increasing pressure on recovery following injury.

'I was also told that I wouldn't be able to ride again, which made me feel very concerned for my future. Also, because I left school after GCSE's and didn't do any further education so I didn't really have much on my CV to show if I couldn't carry on with horses. Yeah, I think it made me worry for my career and my job to be honest' (P5)

Previous research has identified that where alternative career paths are visible and easily accessible to participants, they may be more willing to accept post-injury limitations (Reuter and Short, 2005). This could suggest that where career pathways are outlined clearly and multiple opportunities exist for continuation of sport at lower intensities, athletes may be more likely to report injury as wider opportunities exist for them outside of the competitive role. In many vocational occupations, when psychological or physical ability is a barrier to completing the job, opportunities are often available to move into non-physical roles, either in management or office work (Putukian, 2016; Singh and Connoy, 2017). For athletes, this transition typically involves a downwards trajectory towards playing for less elite clubs, or a role within coaching (Hughes and Leavey, 2012). However, racing staff previously identified that a transition to a non-riding role was considered the inferior choice, felt like a weakness, and considered it 'too painful to know you could never ride again' (Racing Welfare, 2012). A lack of visible alternative career opportunities could increase the fear of injury for P2P jockeys, resulting in higher levels of psychological distress and poor recovery due to a lack of a contingency plan for their career.

Horseracing Culture

Putting the Horse First

One jockey identified a strong motivation to care for their horse before tending to their own injuries, despite being strapped to a stretcher, whilst another implied their reaction would have been worse if the horse had experienced the injury instead.

'I'm fine, I need to go and catch my horse... why are you looking after me if my horse is gonna hurt himself... Uh and then they were saying like everything else is caught we can't catch this grey horse. I thought that's typical of him.' (P3)

In animal-care industries, employees often report concerns that no one can replace their standards of care, leading to guilt for taking time off, and as such they continue to work despite physical injury or psychological distress (Figley and Roop, 2006). This has previously been seen within the equine industry, where riders have reported prioritising their horse's health and needs over their own, and feeling they are letting their horse down when things do not follow the intended path (Davies *et al.* 2018; Davies and James, 2018). In British horseracing, there is a social demand for strict welfare standards resulting from increased public scrutiny of the sport, and the industry has responded with increased emphasis on a 'horse first' approach (Butler *et al.* 2019). Whilst the racing industry maintains that it has some of the highest welfare standards in the equestrian sector, the 'horse first' culture may have inadvertently reinforced a workforce who deprioritise their own health and wellbeing to uphold these standards of care for the horse. Whilst P2P jockeys may not directly be responsible for the care of the horse daily, this study suggests they are still at risk of experiencing guilt for letting the horse down, and prioritising the horses needs over their own, even under extreme injury circumstances.

Industry Expectations

During the interviews, jockeys often normalised injury experiences, highlighting an expectation for injury within their sport, and a socially 'accepted' response to it within the horseracing sector.

"...though I guess that's the risks we take." (P4)

Athletes assume a level of risk whilst competing in physically demanding sports, and often expect injuries to occur during their career, although many athletes are unprepared for the consequences (Tamminen and Watson, 2022). Within sport, the expectation of injury can create a culture of normalisation, whereby injuries are seen as 'part of the sport' or a normal consequence to their participation in physically intensive activities (Turner and Wainwright, 2003; Wainwright et al. 2006). Glorification and minimisation of pain as part of the sport ethic encompasses beliefs that athletes should make sacrifices to their sport (Tamminen and Watson, 2022), which can have detrimental physical and psychological consequences. Injury normalisation has been previously identified in racing staff (Davies et al. 2022), however this is the first study to identify the same culture within the jockey population, which may suggest that the attitudes to injury seen in racing is less about the athletic requirements of racing, and more about the culture of horseracing as an industry. Bordieu (1984) defines institutional habitus as a "subjective but not individual system of internalised structures, schemes of perception, conception and action common to all members of the same group or class". Racing as an industry displays similar attitudes and approaches akin to the formation of a habitus; Sear (2018) identified that racing employees reported regulating emotional displays to meet the organisations expectations of a given role, whilst Cassidy (2002) found that racing employees were taught to act, think, and feel in accordance with organisational expectations, and new staff entering are taught to adhere to these cultural norms. The normalisation and expectation of injury without suitable preparation and coping strategies may increase the incidence of denial within horseracing due to not wanting to appear weak or go against the cultural norm, or for fear of losing their allocated rides, and thus their income (McConn-Palfreyman *et al.* 2019; Racing Welfare, 2012). In both horseracing and equestrian sport, horsemanship skills are typically learnt in apprenticeship positions (British Horseracing Authority, 2019), and in deference towards those with greater equine experience (Jones, 2021; Juckes *et al.* 2020), thus attitudes to injury are often 'taught' through peer-to-peer interaction (Orellana *et al.* 2021). This could suggest that whilst injury minimalization culture is a concern in horseracing (Davies *et al.* 2021), its prevalence and impact on injury reporting may be subject to individual microcultures, rather than a comprehensive industry-wide problem. Further research should consider the role of individual yard culture on injury reporting practices for P2P jockeys and staff (Davies *et al.* 2022), and design educational intervention packages to reduce the stigma associated with injury.

Employees or athletes may also reduce reporting behaviours and normalise pain or injury to avoid guilt for letting the team down, which has been seen in injured athletes (Bianco, 2001; Mosewich *et al.* 2013; Podlog and Eklund, 2007). One jockey in this study felt guilty that their colleague was "carrying the weight" whilst they were injured, especially as they worked in a small establishment.

'...Instead of like the competitive side, it was being on the yard like we say with like a two-man team most of the time it's just me and *****...Erm, so it's hard then, like knowing that ***** was there on her own... And so, I think that was the hardest part... we can't have a sick day because the other ones has to manage on their own then.' (P3)

Many training yards are understaffed (Juckes et al. 2020; Public Perspectives, 2018, 2016), increasing the perception that taking time-off because of injury is inconvenient. Trainers previously reported finding staff cover a substantial workplace stressor (Sear, 2018), whilst staff reported an increase in physical effort because of a diminished workforce (Juckes et al. 2020; Davies et al. 2020). If the stress on fellow staff, other jockeys or the trainer is made known, directly, or indirectly, to the injured party, the jockey may alter their behaviour, and subsequently hide injuries or pain, to reduce stress on their team, particularly where good relationships have been developed. This has previously been reported in horseracing, whereby racing grooms and stud staff identified a pressure to continue working, either related to their employer (don't want to hassle them, not necessary), to other staff (burden on other staff) or to the horses themselves (horses need me) (Davies et al. 2022), all of which have been identified by jockeys in this study. Interestingly, Tveito et al. (2001) found that workers were concerned about being too vocal in complaints of pain at work due to fear of annoying colleagues, which has been seen here in this study, with jockeys reporting concern over "embarrassment", "looking weak", "humiliating', especially in the context of not being able to ride to the same standard as before.

"...In reality it was very embarrassing that I couldn't get on and ride how he used to ride. Uhm? And for me it was quite like humiliating that I couldn't do what I could do before because of this injury." (P1)

Limitations

There are limitations to consider within the study. Whilst all jockeys discussed behavioural responses to their injuries, there were not specifically measured or monitored as part of this

study and therefore can only be interpreted as the jockey's perception of their own behavioural changes, which may be limited by their own self-awareness. Furthermore, five participants could be considered small within psychological response to injury research, however the specificity of the inclusion criteria limited the sample population available. The participants were all in their 20's which may have further narrowed the findings to youth populations. P2P jockeys can range in age from 16 - 50's, and due to its unregulated status compared to NH or flat racing, there are no published data describing amateur jockey demographics. However, personal communications via the lead author identify the most common age ranges for a P2P jockey are 16-24, and 35+, which is linked to P2P providing the amateur 'start' of a possible professional jockey career, as well as the step down in phased retirement from racing under rules for many professional jockeys (personal communications, 2022). Racing Welfare (2012) has previously found that "lost bottle" was reportedly linked to a psychological inability to cope in racing staff, and was highlighted as being related to age, whereby the accumulative effect of injury and mental challenges resulted in losing confidence in riding out. Both physical and psychological limitations for riding out were reported to occur on average between 45 - 55years old (Racing Welfare, 2012). This is also seen in wider sports, where awareness of limiting physiological recovery and rehabilitation as age increases causes an athlete increased stress and fear (Chase et al. 2005). As such, these results should be taken as preliminary, with further studies required to support the conclusions across wider populations of P2P jockeys, particularly older jockeys.

Recommendations and Future Research

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763 764 765 Given the findings of this study, several recommendations and future directions are proposed. Fear of re-injury when returning to sport was identified in this P2P jockey population, however industry research has previously identified fear of injury and loss of confidence more prevalent in older populations of jockeys and work riders. Further research should investigate older populations of P2P jockeys to identify whether there is an influence of age on psychological responses to injury and rehabilitation. Further studies should also explore the effect of specific injuries on psychological responses in P2P jockeys, such as fractures or concussion, as seen in other sports (Chen et al. 2022; Gennarelli et al. 2020; Tripp et al. 2007). Concussion and fractures are commonly reported within P2P populations (Balendra et al. 2007) and recent research identified worrying attitudes concerning concussion and time-off in racing staff (Davies et al. 2022). Research should investigate the psychological experiences of concussion in P2P jockeys, as a current strategic priority area for the racing industry. In addition, this study has highlighted wider sociocultural viewpoints on injury normalization which may be influencing individual management practices, injury reporting behaviour and overall jockey wellbeing. Further research should look to examine whether there is an injury minimalization culture within horseracing jockeys, and the effects this may have on injury management and return to the sport. Recommendations for industry from this study include:

- 1. The continued expansion of current injury support services through Racing Welfare and Injured Jockeys Fund, and targeted marketing campaign via the Point-to-Point Authority to promote services that are available to all P2P jockeys following injury.
- 2. The creation of specialized educational resources and career development opportunities for P2P jockeys to facilitate opportunities to stay within the industry following injury, and a promotional campaign of CATs services for P2P jockeys.

Conclusion

The present study is the first to identify the psychological responses to injury in P2P jockeys. P2P jockeys experience a range of negative emotions following injury similar to those seen in other athlete populations, including prolonged periods of grief, loss, and denial which could hinder adherence to rehabilitation and return to the sport. Despite this, the jockeys in this study established a range of protective coping mechanisms, such as goal setting, and strong support networks that facilitated a positive return to the saddle. Fear of re-injury was a significant concern upon their return to the riding, and the attitudes towards injury management seen in this study may provide opportunities to develop targeted education campaigns for P2P jockeys on injury services.

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