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# Sport and Education

Tribute to Martin Lee



### THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN MOTIVATION, WELL-BEING AND CHARACTER DEVELOPMENT IN SPORT:

possible implications for responsible citizenship

#### 1. Introduction

For those who love sport for its own sake or look to this institution and life domain for its functional value, there are assumptions and aspirations regarding sport's potential for adding something to people's lives and society at large. This chapter explores the quality of the sport experience as a possible antecedent to civic engagement. One major premise is that sport can play a role in contributing to civic responsibility when the sport participation is linked to enhanced well-being and positive moral functioning among those involved. A corresponding thesis is that the character building and welfare promoting promise of sport is dependent on the motivational processes underlying participation. That is, the reason(s) why individuals partake in sport and the manner in which they judge their competence and interpret their goals are fundamental to understanding variability in the psychological, emotional, and society-related consequences of sport involvement. Within this treatise, we also argue that the social environments created by significant others (such as the coach) shape the motivation and optimal functioning of participants operating within such environments. Thus, these environments hold implications for the correspondence between sport engagement and the development of responsible citizenship.

We first briefly review the central constructs and tenets of the theories of motivation undergirding our arguments and cited evidence. Research examining the links between motivational processes and indices of well-being among sport participants is then summarised. We turn next to a brief account of work on motivation and moral functioning in sport. The following section centres on a synopsis of research suggesting that variability in sport motivation at the person level is relevant to individuals' values toward others and society at large and views regarding the part that sport can play in promoting "good citizenship". The proposed association between personal well-being and responsible citizenship is provided preliminary support in the subsequent section. We then present research taking an exploratory look at assumed sequential relationships among motivation – moral functioning – civic responsibility. We end with some final thoughts for the reader's consideration.

It has been said that the study of motivation begins and ends with the study of behaviour. As pointed out by Ryan and Deci (2000), "to be motivated means to be moved to do something" while motivational issues also come into play when we do "nothing." In discussing the repercussions of motivational factors for understanding differences in civic responsibility, we pull from two contemporary models of motivation, namely the achievement goal frameworks (AGT; Dweck, 1999; Elliot, 1999; Nicholls, 1984, 1989) and Self Determination Theory (SDT; Deci & Ryan, 1985). Central to both is the assumption that, in achievement activities such as sport, the meaning of our behaviour is fundamental to how we respond to the activity and how we interpret our experiences. Both also recognize that there are a variety of reasons why people can be motivated; in essence when engaged, individuals have different motivational concerns. Finally, AGT and SDT place importance on variation in the level or quantity of motivation (i.e., how much) and the orientation or quality of motivation (e.g., what type, what is the focal point) (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Primary to the present chapter, individuals are seen to exhibit quality of motivation when their athletic engagement adds to their lives – physically, psychologically, emotionally, morally, etc. – and has the potential to contribute to a common and greater good that is beyond the person per se and his or her immediate sport involvement.

#### 2.1. Achievement goal theories

At the heart of contemporary achievement goal frameworks (e.g., Dweck, 1999; Elliot, 1999; Nicholls, 1984, 1989) is the assumption that individual differences in achievement goals provide the perceptual lens for how achievement endeavours are interpreted. The achievement goals reflect different ways to define success, judge what is important, and construe competence in an activity and are held to correspond to differential patterns of cognitions, affect, and behaviour.

Drawing from the seminal work of Nicholls (1984, 1989) which has had the most significant impact on the achievement goal literature as applied to sport, there are two major achievement goals; i.e., a task (or mastery) and ego (or performance) goal. Perceptions of competence and success are self-referenced when task goals prevail. In this case, the experience of learning, hard purposeful work, and/or personal improvement occasion a sense of demonstrated competence and feelings of success. On the other hand, when focused on ego goals, perceived competence and subjective success are tied to the demonstration of superiority. When ego-involved, individuals are motivated by possibilities to show their high competence and avoid indicating low ability (Nicholls, 1989).

According to contemporary achievement goal frameworks (Ames, 1992; Dweck, 1986, 1999; Elliot, 1999; Nicholls, 1989), the degree to which someone emphasises task and ego goals in a particular achievement setting is dependent on individual differences and situational characteristics. In terms of the former factor, individuals tend to vary with respect to their degree of task and ego orientation (Nicholls, 1989). These orientations capture dispositional tendencies regarding the criteria used to define success in the setting in question (Duda, 2001). The social psychological environments created by significant others (e.g., coaches) also are held to impact achievement goal

adoption. More specifically, features of the environment (e.g., the bases and nature of evaluation and recognition) can be considered more or less task- and ego-involving. Ames (1992) was the first to refer to individuals' overall appraisals of the social psychological environments manifested in achievement settings as differences in the perceived motivational climate.

In terms of theoretical predictions, achievement goal frameworks uniformly point to the benefits of a strong task goal focus for achievement processes and outcomes (Ames, 1992; Dweck, 1999; Elliot, 1999; Nicholls, 1989). That is, a task orientation and a task-involving motivational climate are supposed to translate into positive achievement striving. Sport research to date has supported such suppositions (Duda, 2005; Duda & Balaguer, 2007; Roberts, 2001).

Results concerning the implications of a strong ego orientation have been more equivocal (Duda, 2001). It is theoretically expected that a pronounced ego orientation coupled with low perceived ability can be motivationally problematic (Dweck, 1999; Nicholls, 1989). When perceptions of competence are high and/or the individual is also characterized by a strong task orientation, an emphasis on ego goals is expected to correspond to positive achievement outcomes. Consonant with such complexity, the sport literature has provided support for both positive and negative concomitants of an ego orientation (e.g., Biddle, Wang, Kavussanu, & Spray, 2003; Duda, 2001; Roberts, 2001).

Aware of the inconsistent findings for ego orientation across different achievement settings, Elliot (1999) has argued for taking into account an approach and avoidance dimension of ego/performance goals. When focused on the former, the aim is the demonstration of comparatively high competence. If oriented toward an ego avoidance goal, the concern is with avoiding the demonstration of comparatively low ability. Elliot and McGregor (2001) further argued for a differentiation of an approach versus avoidance dimension of task or mastery goals. In essence, their 2 × 2 multiple goal framework proposes that positive processes and outcomes will correspond with approach goals (task/mastery or ego/performance). The reverse is predicted for avoidance goals (task/mastery or ego/performance). The sport research grounded in Elliot and McGregor's 2 × 2 model is in its infancy but, to date, has been generally aligned with theoretical predictions. An intriguing exception is that such work still points to a vulnerability associated with an emphasis on ego/performance approach goals (Nien & Duda, 2006) – similar to the pattern for ego goals in research based on dichotomous goal models (e.g., Dweck, 1999; Nicholls, 1989).

In contrast to what has been the case for ego (approach or otherwise!) goals, more consistent results have emerged in regards to perceptions of an ego involving motivational climate as particularly shaped by the coach. More specifically, a perceived coach-created ego involving motivational climate tends to correlate with negative cognitions, affective responses, and behavioural patterns (see Duda & Balaguer, 2007, for a review).

#### 2.2. Self-determination Theory

Self-determination theory (SDT; Deci & Ryan, 1985; Ryan & Deci, 2000) is concerned with the determinants and implications of behaviour that is regulated by personal choice and volition in contrast to behaviour engaged in for controlling

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reasons. SDT distinguishes between reasons for our motivated action, namely intrinsic motivation, extrinsic motivation and amotivation, which vary along a self determination continuum.

As the individual participates in the activity because s/he wants to and enjoys the activity, intrinsic motivation represents the most self-determined regulation (Ryan & Deci, 2000). In the case of extrinsic motivation however, the impetus of engagement is tied to the consequences of one's involvement and thus separate from the inherent appeal of the activity in question. Deci and Ryan (1985) propose that there are different types of extrinsic regulations which differ in their degree of self endorsement, ranging from external regulation (participate for extrinsic, instrumental reasons), introjected regulation (participate for internalised external regulations or self-imposed sanctions) and identified regulation (participate out of choice to reach some valued outcomes but activity not deemed inherently enjoyable or interesting). When amotivation is evident, feelings of self determination are absent and there are no intrinsic or extrinsic reasons underpinning behavioural engagement (Deci & Ryan, 1985).

Deci and Ryan (1985, 2000) have proposed that intrinsic motivation and more self-determined forms of extrinsic motivation (e.g., identified regulation) correspond to adaptive motivational processes and psychological functioning, and thus lead to positive achievement outcomes. Motivational regulations low in self-determination (e.g., external regulation and amotivation), on the other hand, are expected to link to negative responses.

Similar to achievement goal frameworks (Ames, 1992), SDT (Deci & Ryan, 1985) gives significance to the potential influence of environmental factors on motivational processes. In particular, the autonomy-supportive [i.e., the degree to which choice is given, extrinsic contingencies are minimized, and the perspectives, values and goals of the individual are considered by the significant other(s)] and social-supportive [i.e., the degree to which the significant other cares for and respects the individual] are assumed to be positive predictors of self-determination. The influence of the social environment on motivational regulations is assumed to work through the satisfaction of three basic psychological needs, namely people's needs to feel competent, autonomous, and related to others in a meaningful and respectful way (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

#### 3. Motivational processes and well-being

We now turn to work on the relationship between motivational processes and well-being in sport. This literature suggests that whether or not athletes' welfare is advanced or compromised via sport engagement is dependent on the *quality* of their sport motivation.

The concept of well-being is indeed very complex as it incorporates both optimal experience and optimal functioning (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Contemporary understanding of well-being appreciates that not feeling bad (e.g., experiencing negative affect) is *not* simply the opposite of feeling well (e.g., experiencing positive affect) and distinguishes two perspectives. First, there is a hedonic perspective on well-being, which revolves around the obtainment of happiness and pleasure and avoidance of physical and/or psychological pain. A second conceptualisation of well-being is termed eudaimonic. Eudaimonic well-being is witnessed when the individual is fully functioning, self-

-actualised, and experiencing personal growth (Ryan & Deci, 2000). This facet of well-being has been captured in studies examining self perceptions and affective/cognitive responses such as level and stability of self-esteem and subjective vitality (i.e., a "positive feeling of aliveness and energy"; Ryan & Frederick, 1997, p. 529).

The concern in our sport research has been on the interplay between the subjective coach-created environment (pulling from both AGT and SDT), ensuing motivational processes, and the prediction of hedonic and especially eudaimonic well being among athletes. For example, grounded in achievement goal theory (Nicholls, 1989), research has indicated that an over-emphasis on ego goals or a pronounced ego-involving climate are associated with physical and mental health problems in sport such as steroid use, the aetiology of disordered eating, and exercise addiction (see Duda, 2001, for a review). Reinboth and Duda (2004) examined the relationship of the perceived motivational climate (in terms of its task- and ego-involving features) and perceptions of ability to indices of psychological and physical well-being among 265 male adolescent football and cricket players. We found contingent self-worth (i.e., basing one's overall evaluations of self worth on athletic achievement), physical and emotional exhaustion associated with one's participation (which is endemic to burnout), and reported physical symptoms (e.g., reported colds, stomach aches) to be positively predicted by perceptions of an ego-involving climate. Satisfaction/interest in sport was positively related and physical symptoms negatively linked to perceived ability and perceptions of a task-involving atmosphere. Reported self esteem was lower among the low perceived ability athletes participating in an environment that was perceived to be high in its ego-involving features.

In a laboratory experiment involving a physical coordination task, Standage, Duda, and Pensgaard (2005) examined the effect of manipulated outcome (win/loss) and situationally-emphasised achievement goals on indices of hedonic and eudaimonic well-being. Participants in this study were 106 female and 74 male British university students (M age = 19.99; SD = 1.60) and each was assigned to one of four competitive conditions; (1) an ego-involving single competition, (2) an ego-involving 2-person team competition, (3) a task-involving single competition, and (4) a task-involving 2-person team competition. Results revealed that participants in the ego-involving individual competition setting revealed significantly less positive affect and subjective vitality and greater negative affect than the other groups.

Deci and Ryan's Self Determination Theory (2000) has laid the major foundation for other work addressing the interdependencies between environmental factors, motivation, and indicators of the welfare of athletic participants. Reinboth, Duda and Ntoumanis (2004) examined the relationship of dimensions of the coach-created environment (i.e., perceived autonomy support, task-involving, and social support) to intrinsic need satisfaction and indices of psychological and physical well-being among male adolescent athletes. The targeted dimensions of the coach environment differentially predicted satisfaction of the needs for autonomy, competence, and relatedness. When the athletes felt more autonomous and, in particular competent, they reported greater subjective vitality and satisfaction/interest. Satisfaction of the need for competence was negatively associated with reported physical symptoms. Similar findings have been reported in the case of Spanish youth and adult sport participants (Balaguer, Castillo, Álvarez, & Duda, 2005).

Recent research by Adie, Duda, and Ntoumanis (2006), involving adult athletes, extended this line of work be providing evidence for gender invariance of the hypothesized linkages between the social environment, basic need satisfaction, and well-being. In a longitudinal study of British university athletes, Reinboth and Duda (2006) examined the relationship between changes in perceptions of the motivational climate to changes in athletes' need satisfaction and reported well-being over the course of a competitive sport season. Controlling for Time 1 scores on the measure of the perceived motivational climate and the respective need, an increase in perceptions of a task-involving climate positively predicted an increased satisfaction of the needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness. Consonant with the tenets of the Self Determination framework (Deci & Ryan, 2000), changes in the satisfaction of the needs for autonomy and relatedness emerged as significant predictors of changes in subjective vitality.

#### 4. Motivational processes and moral functioning

Past research on athletes' perspectives on achievement (as reflected in their dispositional achievement goals) has found lower sportspersonship and greater perceived legitimacy of aggressive and cheating behaviours to correspond to lower task orientation and/or higher ego orientation (e.g, Duda, Olson, & Templin, 1991; Lee, Whitehead, Ntounanis, & Hatzigeorgiadis, 2001). That is, motivational processes seem to be relevant to whether sport involvement may be character-conducive or correspond to lower moral functioning. Other work, considering the potential influence of the social environment, has shown perceptions of a coach-created ego-involving motivational climate to correspond to heightened aggressive and rule-violating tendencies (e.g., Kavussanu, Roberts, & Ntoumanis, 2002; Ommundsen, Roberts, Lemyre, & Treasure, 2003).

In a recent study, Sage, Kavaussanu, and Duda (2006) determined the associations of task and ego goal orientations and moral identity to antisocial *and* prosocial judgements and reported behaviour among adult male footballers competing at recreational and semi-professional levels. Moral identity has been conceptualized as a self-schema or principle of self-regulation that provides an impetus to moral action (Blasi, 1984). This individual difference factor is assumed to hold implications for "when and why people act in the service of human welfare" (Aquino & Reed, 2002). Results revealed a task orientation to be positively associated with prosocial judgment only at low levels of ego orientation. Ego orientation emerged as a positive predictor of antisocial judgment and behaviour, whereas moral identity negatively predicted these variables.

#### 5. Motivational processes and concerns for society and the welfare of others

Potential interdependencies between motivational processes and indicators of athletes' wider concerns for society and others' welfare have been examined in two ways. One approach has been to determine the associations between achievement goals

and values. Rokeach (1973) has argued that values are grounded beliefs. According to Schwartz (1994), values reflect trans-situational (and universal) goals that serve as guiding principles for people's attitudes and ensuing behaviour.

Lee, Whitehead, Ntoumanis, and Hatzigeorgiadis (2001), in a study of young adolescent male and female athletes, examined whether achievement goal orientations (task and ego) mediated the relationship between values and ethical attitudes in sport. Lee and colleagues employed the Youth Sports Value Questionnaire to tap the young athletes' moral values ("I try to be fair"), competence values ("I use my skills well"), and status values ("I win or beat other people"). The ethical attitudes that were examined included commitment to one's sport engagement, respect for the conventions of the sport (e.g., rules, officials, opponents), cheating or attitudes toward breaking the rules, and gamemanship or trying to take an advantage over your opponent that is within the rules (Lee et al., 2001). Lee and colleagues (2001) found that the relationship of status values to attitudes toward cheating and gamemanship was mediated by the athletes' degree of ego orientation. Task orientation emerged as a mediator of the link between competence values and the pro-social attitudes of commitment and convention. Moral values emerged as direct and positive predictors of pro-social attitudes.

Balaguer, Duda and Castillo (2003), among a large sample of Spanish athletes, examined the interrelationships between sport and classroom goal orientations (and associated beliefs about the causes of success; i.e., task and ego theories of achievement) and students' life values. A task perspective on academic achievement was positively associated with the value of self-transcendence (i.e., comprised of benevolence and universalism). An ego goal emphasis in the sport setting corresponded negatively to an emphasis on this life value.

With respect to implications for our understanding of the motivation and concerns for the wider good, another direction in the research has been to ascertain the links between achievement goals and athletes' perceptions of what the purposes of sport engagement should be. A number of studies (e.g., Duda, 1989; Balaguer, Duda, & Castillo, 2004) have revealed a task orientation to be positively associated with the view that an important function of sport is to foster an active lifestyle, work ethic, and "good citizenship". The beliefs coupled with an ego orientation regarding the desired socialisation effects of sport are quite different; namely, this goal perspective has been associated with the views that sport participation should lead to greater social status and feelings of personal worth.

#### 6. Well-being and civic responsibility

According to Aristotle, "true happiness (which in Aristotle's thinking seemed to reflect eudaimonic more than hedonic well-being) is found in the expression of virtue – that is, doing what is worth doing" (Ryan & Deci, 2001, p. 145). Thus, it is reasonable to expect a synergy between the experience of well-being and responsible citizenship. If broken in body, mind, and/or spirit, it would seem difficult for an athlete to reach beyond his or her immediate troubles and try to actively engage in society and make the world a better place.

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In a study of Swiss citizens, Frey and Stutzer (1999) found economic wealth to be a poor predictor of eudaimonic well-being. Pertinent to the present issue though, they also reported a positive link between well-being and citizens' engagement in the democratic process (e.g., voting). Duda, Balaguer, and Castillo (2006), in research on an elite sample of Spanish athletes, found that indices of well-being (i.e., self esteem and life satisfaction) corresponded to greater reported civic responsibility.

## 7. Motivation, well-being, moral functioning and concerns about society: Pulling it all together

In a study based on achievement goal frameworks (Dweck, 1999; Elliot, 1999; Nicholls, 1989), Duda, Balaguer, and Castillo (2004) determined the interrelationships between goal orientations (task, ego approach and ego avoidance) and active citizenship among elite Spanish sport participants. We also considered the possibility that moral motivation (i.e., empathy and moral identity; Schulman, 2002) may be relevant to athletes' attitudes regarding citizenship and reported engagement in civic matters. The former variable was tapped via items such as "It's no use worrying about current events/public affairs; I can't do anything about them anyway (score negatively) and It is my responsibility to get involved to make things better for society". Athletes reported involvement in community service, awareness of and concern about current events, political active, etc. reflected greater civic engagement. Based on structural equation modelling, we found individual differences in empathy and moral identity to positively predict athletes' degree of task orientation. Empathy emerged as a negative predictor of ego goal orientation. A positive and negative path respectively linked a task and ego orientation to attitudes toward civic responsibility. Finally, attitudes toward civic responsibility corresponded positively to reported civic engagement.

#### 8. Some final thoughts

In the views of Ryan and Deci (2001, p. 161), "perhaps the concern of greatest importance for humanity, [are the] relations between personal well-being and the broader issues of the collective wellness of humanity and this planet" (Ryan & Deci, 2001, p. 161). Based on the work highlighted in this chapter, we would argue that an extrinsic, hedonic desire for pleasure and ego-involved concerns for superiority may compromise athletes' personal welfare and their concern for the well being of others in sport and society at large. This research, however, also suggests that self determined sport engagement, in which athletes desire to improve their capacities rather than prove superiority, can maximise their psychosocial development, personal growth, and eudaimonic well-being. We propose that such a sport involvement allows people to be freely agentic, to see beyond their own concerns, and be able physically, psychologically, and emotionally consider the welfare and try to act in behalf of others. It is our hope that a more task-involving and autonomy supportive sport experience can play an important role toward this larger collective goal and contribute to a shared humanity.

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The preparation of this chapter was partly funded by the Ministerio de Educacion y Ciencia, Programa Salvador de Madariaga (PR2006/0365)