One of the fundamental questions about human nature that psychologists need to answer is, ‘Why do we do things?’ We could simply answer, ‘because I want to’, ‘because I need to’, or even ‘because I just do’. However, although all these statements are useful starting points, psychologists are not satisfied with these answers, and seek to uncover the reasons underlying our experiences of wanting to, needing to or ‘just doing’ things. In this chapter, we can examine some basic types of human motivation, theories about specific motivators and research findings concerning what motivates us to participate and succeed in sport. A useful starting point is to examine intrinsic and extrinsic motivation.

Intrinsic and extrinsic motivation

An important distinction in types of human motives is that between extrinsic and intrinsic motivation. Extrinsic motivation results from external rewards. Intrinsic motivation comes from within the person. Both extrinsic and intrinsic motives are important in sport, and sport psychologists can work with both extrinsic and intrinsic motives to improve the performance of the individual. Intrinsic motives for taking part in sport include excitement, fun, love of action and the chance to demonstrate and improve our skills – in short, all the reasons that we enjoy sport.

Later in this chapter, we will discuss some techniques designed to increase intrinsic motivation. The reason these can be used so effectively to motivate athletes is that they directly affect our intrinsic motivation. Extrinsic motives can come in the form of trophies, prizes and less tangible rewards such as praise and status. Although there has been an enormous amount of research into how motivation can be improved in those already participating in sport, rather fewer studies have examined what motivates people to choose to take up sport. Older people were more motivated by psychological well-being than younger people. Men were more motivated by assertive achievement than women. These motives are all intrinsic rather than extrinsic, lending support to the idea that most people come to sport for reasons of intrinsic motivation. Of course, children’s motives for taking part in sport may be different from those of adults.

First year of college-level participation

They were asked about how much time they spent on training, the nature of their coaching and whether they had sport scholarships. The behaviour of coaches had the strongest effect on intrinsic motivation. Students whose coaches spent more time on technical instruction tended to display significant increases in their intrinsic motivation during the year. By contrast, those whose coaches threw their weight about experienced a decline in intrinsic motivation.

The additive principle

Generally, we tend to come to sport motivated more by intrinsic than extrinsic factors. However, extrinsic motivators have been used in an attempt to boost intrinsic motivation. The additive principle states that athletes low in intrinsic motivation can have their motivation boosted by adding some extrinsic motivation. However, this common-sense approach
has not been well supported by research. There are numerous case studies of athletes whose performance sharply declined as soon as they received lucrative contracts. Once we are safe, the next thing we need to worry about is our social needs, that is, to belong to a group and have relationships with others. When our social needs are satisfied, esteem needs become paramount. To satisfy them, we need to achieve, to become competent and to be recognised as so. Once this has been achieved, our focus will shift to satisfying our intellectual needs, which include understanding and knowledge. Next in Maslow’s hierarchy above intellectual needs come aesthetic needs, that is, the need for beauty, order and balance. The final human need identified by Maslow is for self-actualisation, that is, to find personal fulfilment and achieve one’s potential. According to Maslow, we are all striving to ascend the hierarchy of needs, but very few of us achieve self-actualisation. Sport, however, does provide a possible path to self-actualisation. Athletes who rise to the very top of their field, holding world records and championship titles, could be said to be self-actualised in that they have fulfilled their dreams and their potential. On the other hand, we should be careful not to equate self-actualisation with success. There are numerous sporting celebrities who, despite rising to the top of their chosen sport and appearing to fulfil their potential, have clearly not found personal fulfilment and have, by contrast, ‘gone off the rails’.

Achievement motivation

The link between the wish to achieve and sporting success is an obvious one. A strong wish to succeed in your chosen sport will be a huge asset in determining how hard you train and how hard you try in competition. All participation in sport involves achievement, regardless of whether you regard competition as important. You are in fact probably more likely to boost your performance by setting yourself goals of personal achievement, such as 80% of first serves in, 90% of penalties in the net, rather than goals of victory Some psychologists see the drive to achieve as innate, whereas others see it as acquired by experience. Some believe that the most important factor is to achieve success, whereas others emphasise the motive of avoiding failure. The most influential theory of achievement motivation comes from McClelland et al (1953) and Atkinson (1964).

The McClelland–Atkinson theory of need achievement The aim of the McClelland–Atkinson theory was to explain why some individuals are more motivated to achieve than others. The athlete’s intrinsic motivation is seen as the motive to achieve. Acting against this intrinsic motivation, however, is the motive to avoid failure. When faced with a task such as sport, we face an approach–avoidance conflict. We are motivated to approach and take part by our desire to succeed, but we are also motivated to avoid taking part by our desire to avoid failure. Our individual decision to participate in sport is determined by the relative strength of these two factors. This is shown in the following equation:

To McClelland and Atkinson, achievement motivation is a personality trait. For some of us, the desire to succeed far outweighs the fear of failure, and we are said to be high in achievement motivation. For others, the fear of failure is the more important factor, and they would be said to be low in achievement motivation. This personality trait is not the only factor that affects motivation. The situation is also important, specifically the probability of success and the incentive for success. Thus, even if athletes are low in achievement motivation, if the probability of success is high, and the rewards for success are great, they are likely to be motivated. Gill (2000) reviewed research on choice of high- and low-difficulty tasks and concluded that there is much support for the prediction
by the theory that high achievers seek out difficult tasks and low achievers prefer easier tasks. However, the theory does not reliably predict sporting performance. Of course, this does not mean that the theory is worthless. As Cox (2001) says, the value of measuring achievement motivation is not to predict performance, but to predict long-term patterns of motivation.

**Achievement orientations**

The most influential and researched approach to motivation in sport psychology, as well as in other arenas such as educational psychology, is Nicholls’ (1984) theory of goal or achievement orientations. Nicholls makes the important distinction between two styles of achievement motivation, task orientation and ego orientation. These appear during different stages of psychological development. They result from the ways in which athletes explain their perceived ability. Task orientation appears at 2–6 years of age. Children at this stage tend to judge their sporting competence on the basis of how well they performed the task at the last attempt. Crucially, their judgements of their performance are strongly influenced by their effort; that is, if they try hard, they think they have done well. However, a change takes place in the way children come to view their sporting competence at around 6 years. Ego-oriented children base their judgement of their competence on their success relative to their peers. As adults, we have access to information about both our past performances and the performances of others to judge our competence. Task and ego orientations are not mutually exclusive and can exist in the same person. However, some athletes prefer to rely on past performance whilst others prefer to look at performance relative to others. Athletes can be classified as task-oriented or ego-oriented according to these preferences. Table 8.1 compares the characteristics of task and ego-oriented athletes. Both task and ego motives can be helpful to the athlete. However, as we can see from Table 8.1, a task orientation has the advantage of greater persistence in the face of adversity. One way in which sport psychologists can enhance athletic motivation is to help athletes develop a healthy blend of task and ego orientations. In a recent study of golfers, Steinberg et al (2001) compared the progress of 72 novice golfers who were assigned to one of four training conditions. In the first condition, training focused purely on competition; in the second, it was based purely on task mastery; in the third, there was a balance between mastery and competition; and in the fourth, there was no systematic orientation toward tasks or competition. After 6 weeks, Task-oriented Ego-oriented Criterion for judging success Past personal performances Comparison with others Judged cause of success Practice and skill development Chance and natural ability Response to difficulty/failure Persistence Cheating

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Reflective exercise Practise your creative thinking from what you have read about task and ego orientations. Design a training programme for your own sport. Consider how you will use task and ego incentives to motivate trainees.

**Attribution theory**

Because we have a desire to understand the world around us, we have a powerful tendency to make attributions about the causes of events and behaviour. This means that we come to a conclusion about why something happened or why someone behaved or performed in a certain way. We make attributions about our own behaviour and about the behaviour of those around us, whether or not we have the evidence to arrive at accurate conclusions. In this chapter, we are chiefly concerned with the attributions we make about ourselves.

Internal and external attributions Broadly, we can make two types of attribution, internal and external. Internal attributions place the responsibility for behaviour or performance with the individual, whereas external attributions place the reasons in the situation. Consider the following
example. A college rugby team has just returned home after their first match, having lost 72–0. They have the unenviable task of explaining the score to others. They make a number of internal or external attributions to explain

Self-serving bias means that we are likely to attribute success to effort and failure to bad luck. Weiner’s model gives us a starting point to work with athletes to correct their attributions. We may wish to shift the attributions of lazy athletes toward the unstable-internal position so that they realise more effort is needed. We may also wish to shift the attributions of depressed athletes away from a stable-internal position, so that they cease to blame their lack of ability. This is examined further below when we look at the idea of learned helplessness. Altering an athlete’s Pathological motivation and sport It is unusual to be involved in sport psychology if we don’t feel positively about sport. One of the consequences of this is that we often find it difficult to consider sporting behaviour in a bad light. Most of the time, we think that being highly motivated to participate and achieve in sport is a good thing. However, sometimes when it is possible to be too motivated. We might think of motivation as pathological when it leads to overtraining and burn-out, or when athletes compromise their health in pursuit of sporting excellence, as in effecting rapid weight loss.

Burn-out is associated with the personality characteristic of perfectionism. A degree of perfectionism is of course essential in maintaining the motivation to perform at elite level. However, there appear to be different types of perfectionism, and not all are positive. Frost et al (1993) distinguish between positive achievement strivings and maladaptive evaluation concerns. Positive achievement strivings are associated with high personal standards and organisation. They broadly represent the positive aspects of perfectionism. Maladaptive evaluation concerns, on the other hand, are associated with excessive concern over mistakes, self-doubt and concern with parental criticism. It appears to be maladaptive evaluation concerns that are associated with burn-out.

Summary and conclusions

Human motivation is complex, and it has been addressed by a series of theories. An important distinction is that between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. Contemporary research shows that intrinsic motivation is the more important factor for most participants in sport, and that in most cases adding extrinsic motivation reduces rather than enhances overall levels of motivation. In a classic theory, Maslow has produced a broad spectrum of human motives in an attempt to describe the entire range of human motivation. The main usefulness of Maslow’s approach is in illustrating the breadth of motives for taking part in sport. Modern theories of motivation are narrow in focus and concentrate on the cognitive aspects of motivation. The most influential theory is currently Nicholls’ theory of achievement orientations. This distinguishes between athletes who focus on the mastery of skills and those who focus more on their performance relative to others. The former is widely agreed to be the more successful style, and psychologists have an important role to play in fostering mastery orientations. Two other approaches have emerged as important in working with athletes to improve motivation. Attribution theories are concerned with the ways in which athletes decide why they performed as they did. By reattribution training, we can help athletes develop healthier attributions; that is, to attribute failure to effort rather than ability. Self-efficacy is the individual’s belief in his or her abilities. Success, feedback, verbal persuasion and reattribution training can all boost self-efficacy. Of course, all the traditional theories of motivation assume that high levels of motivation are a good thing. A radical alternative approach considers the harm that can result from very high levels of motivation, including burn-out and eating problems.
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