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Motivational Climate and Self-Handicapping in Elite Junior Golf

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Contents

Abstract ................................................................................................................................. 1

1.0 Introduction .................................................................................................................. 2

2.0 Theoretical framework ................................................................................................. 3
  2.1 Achievement goal theory (AGT) .................................................................................. 3
    2.1.1 States of goal involvement .................................................................................... 3
    2.1.2 Goal orientation .................................................................................................... 4
    2.1.3 Motivational climate .............................................................................................. 5
    2.1.4 The hierarchical approach to achievement goals .................................................. 6
  2.2 Self-handicapping as a concept ................................................................................... 7
  2.2 Research on AGT and self-handicapping ..................................................................... 9
    2.2.1 AGT and self-handicapping .................................................................................. 9
    2.2.2 Motives for self-handicapping ............................................................................. 11
    2.2.3 Self-handicapping in sport .................................................................................. 16
  2.3 The purpose of the study ............................................................................................. 19

3.0 Method ............................................................................................................................. 20
  3.1 Participants .................................................................................................................... 20
  3.2 Measures ........................................................................................................................ 20
    3.2.1 Goal orientation .................................................................................................... 20
    3.2.2 Motivational climate check .................................................................................. 20
    3.2.3 Behavioral self-handicapping .............................................................................. 21
    3.2.4 Self-reported handicaps ...................................................................................... 22
    3.2.5 Putting performance ............................................................................................. 22
  3.3 Competition vs. practice condition ............................................................................... 23
    3.3.1 Motivational climate ............................................................................................. 24
  3.4 Procedure ....................................................................................................................... 25
  3.5 Data analyses ................................................................................................................ 26

Attachments ......................................................................................................................... 27

Reference List ....................................................................................................................... 34
Abstract
The main objective in this study was to investigate if self-reported handicaps and behavioral self-handicapping are influenced by perceptions of the motivational climate. Our secondary objective was to investigate if self-handicapping strategies (self-reported and behavioral handicaps) are influenced by performance. We observed 22 (9 female and 13 male) elite junior golfers (mean hcp. = 4.18) in a golf putting task. Participants completed a putting exercise twice, the first time doing it as a competition, and subsequently doing it as a putting exercise to improve putting skills. Behavioral self-handicapping (measured by four specific behavioral cues for golf putting) was analyzed through video footage of the two conditions. Subsequent to completing both conditions, participants were given the opportunity to self-report handicaps. Results revealed that self-handicapping was not influenced by perceptions of the motivational climate. However, a negative relationship between putting performance and self-handicapping was found. Further, the standard multiple analysis revealed that performance was a significant (negative) predictor for self-reported handicaps, and also for one of the four behavioral self-handicapping cues. The findings suggest that reporting handicaps after a poor performance is a self-handicapping strategy to enhance our private self-esteem and self-image.

Keywords: Motivational climates, elite junior golfers, self-handicapping
1.0 Introduction

We live in an achievement-oriented society, where the outcome of a performance situation has powerful effects on the individual. Success in a performance situation may increase self-esteem, bring out positive feelings such as happiness and pride, and motivate us to continue doing the activity. Failure may bring out feelings of incompetence, sadness and shame, lowered self-esteem, and lack in enthusiasm towards the activity. The outcome of a performance has large effects on how we feel among others. As we reach adolescence, we are in a heightened state of self-consciousness, and the concern regarding how one appears to others, particularly to peers are at a high priority (Urdan & Midgley, 2001).

Sport represents an environment in which performance can have favorable positive outcomes as mentioned above but also the complete opposite with negative outcomes. In sport we are evaluated most of the time. Consequently, the athletes evaluate their own ability and often compare their ability with their opponents. When athletes central concern is directed on how others perceive their ability, strategies to appear able, or at least to avoid appearing unable, are likely to be used (Convington, 1992). Creating a handicap upon oneself or verbally claiming that one is handicapped (Leary & Shepperd, 1986) is regarded as one these strategies. In the case of failure, the handicap is an excuse for the poor achievement, and in the case of success the self-handicapper can collect extra credit for the successful achievement despite having the handicap. This seems to be a “win win situation” for the athlete. However, these types of strategies have been linked to poor adjustment and underachievement when used as a long term strategy (Zuckerman, Kieffer, & Knee, 1998; Gadbois, 2011).

Research has linked self-handicapping to different kinds of motivation too (e.g.; Elliot, Cury, Fryer, & Huguet, 2006; Ommundsen, 2004; Ryska, Yin, & Boyd, 1999). In the following pages we will outline both self-handicapping as a concept and delineate why different motivational qualities might affect the use of self-handicapping. Theory and research findings pertaining to self-handicapping and motivation will build the foundation for the current investigation.
2.0 Theoretical framework

In the first section of the theoretical framework, achievement goal theory (AGT) and self-handicapping will be described as theories and concepts. Self-handicapping and AGT came to be a part of the sport psychology research in the 70s (self-handicapping) and the 80s (AGT), and has been subject to many research projects over the years. The second section will include research on the two topics and their relationship, followed by research on motives for self-handicapping and self-handicapping in sport.

2.1 Achievement goal theory (AGT)

The achievement goal theory (AGT) is often used as an applied theory to measure and understand motivation in sport. The theory is applicable when the goal is to maintain or enhance motivation, irrespective of skill and ability level (Nicholls, 1989; Nicholls, 1984), and is grounded in the conception that people are motivated by demonstrating abilities. According to Nicholls (1989) motivation comes from the desire to demonstrate abilities to others or to ourselves. By demonstrating abilities we get the feeling of competence. The desire to demonstrate ability to ourselves or to others is determined by how we define competence in the given activity. In some activities we feel that demonstrating skill and effort for ourselves enhances our competence. Other activities may give the feeling of competence when we demonstrate ability normative to others. In other words, before engaging in an activity, we subjectively define the criteria for enhancing competence, and thereafter the direction of demonstrating ability. The conception where competence is defined as demonstrating ability normatively (i.e. compared with others) is termed an ego conception, and the one where we demonstrate ability to ourselves is termed a task conception (Nicholls, 1984).

2.1.1 States of goal involvement

It has been argued that in an achievement situation the individual will, at a given time, be either ego or task involved (Treasure et al., 2001). When the individual is ego involved, she conceives ability as demonstrating superiority to others, and demonstrates competence through doing better than others in achievement tasks. If one can demonstrate ability with little effort, this is evidence of even higher ability. Thus, the
ego involved individual is inclined to use the least amount of effort to realize the goals in the activity (Roberts, Treasure, & Kavussanu, 1997). The ego involved individual will often choose easy tasks to be sure of success, or an extremely difficult one. Failing in an extremely difficult task will not reveal poor skills, and with some luck one can demonstrate superior abilities (Roberts, Treasure, & Conroy, 2007). On the flip side, when the individual is task involved, she conceives ability as being self-referenced, and she demonstrates competence through improvement, mastering new tasks, and doing better than she did previously. The individual is interested in learning new abilities and mastering exiting challenges. Persistence towards completing the task when things get difficult is also a characteristic for the task involved individual. Learning is associated with high effort (Roberts et al., 2007). Consequently, a poor performance will not affect the individual emotionally if there was a large amount of effort, and some learning. What’s important to note is that goal involvement is a state like experience, which takes place in the present and can change quickly depending on how perceptions of environmental cues are processed (Gernigon, d'Arripe-Longueville, Delignières, & Ninot, 2004).

2.1.2 Goal orientation
The individual’s goal involvement can change rapidly between ego and task in an achievement situation (Gernigon et al., 2004). However, Nicholls (1989) suggest that individuals are predisposed to act in an ego or task involved manner. These predispositions are called achievement goal orientations. Individual differences in orientations may be a result of socialization through an ego or task involving context in the home or experiences in significant achievement contexts such as physical activities (Roberts et al., 1997). An individual’s predisposed goal orientation does have some stability over time (Roberts, Treasure, & Balagué, 1998). However, they are cognitive schemas that are dynamic as information to one’s performance on the task is processed (Roberts et al., 1998; Treasure & Roberts, 2001). The two orientations are orthogonal in that individual can be highly ego and task oriented, low in both, or higher in one and low in the other (Roberts et al., 1998; Roberts, Treasure, & Kavussanu, 1996). Roberts (2001) suggests that goal orientations often are specific to the given activity. The assumption is that the orientation has some degree of generality, but that the individual can learn to be ego or task involved in a particular task.
2.1.3 Motivational climate

The individuals current state of involvement is influenced by the predisposed goal orientation (ego or task oriented), but also by environmental cues (performance or mastery climate) (figure 1). Environmental cues and the environment surrounding the individual were given the term motivational climate by Ames and Archer (Ames, 1992; Ames & Archer, 1988). The motivational climate is used to describe what type of goal involvement that is fostered in the achievement context. There are two types of motivational climates; a mastery involving climate and a performance involving climate. The mastery climate refers to a structure that supports learning and improvement of skills, effort, cooperation, and overcoming and mastering new challenges. A mastery climate is self-referenced, in that it focuses on improving one’s personal best. Conversely, a performance involving climate promotes an ego involvement, and refers to a situation that foster public comparison between individuals, intra-team competition, and a punitive approach to poor or bad performances and awarding successful individuals.

Figure 1. Model of achievement goal theory. Adapted from “Stress in Elite Sport: A motivational Perspective” (p. 14). by F.E. Abrahamsen, 2007, Oslo: Dissertation from the Norwegian School of Sport Sciences. Copyright 2007 by the Norwegian University of Sport and Sciences. Adapted with permission (Abrahamsen, 2007).

Studies have shown that perceptions of a mastery involving climate report a more adaptive pattern of achievement strategies (i.e. less likely to avoid practice), beliefs
about the purposes of sport (i.e. the development of social skills), and conceptualization of perceived ability (i.e. endorsed an improvement oriented conception of ability), than individuals that do not perceive the climate as mastery involving (Ommundsen & Roberts, 1999). Perceptions of a performance climate has been found to be strongly related to non self-determined forms of situational motivation, such as extrinsic motivation and amotivation (Parish & Treasure, 2003). A meta analysis of 14 studies ($n = 4484$) revealed that perception of a mastery climate are associated with more adaptive motivational and affective response patterns than perceptions of performance climate in the contexts of sport and physical education (Ntoumanis & Biddle, 1999). A mastery climate is likely to optimize positive responses (i.e. well-being, sportsmanship, persistence, task perseverance, adaptive achievement strategies) and diminish negative responses (i.e. overtraining and self-handicapping) (Kuczka & Treasure, 2005; Miller, Roberts, & Ommundsen, 2004; Ommundsen & Roberts, 1999; Sarrazin, Roberts, Cury, Biddle, & Famose, 2002; Standage, Treasure, Hooper, & Kuczka, 2007; Standage, Duda, & Ntoumanis, 2003; Treasure & Roberts, 2001). Results from studies have shown that perceptions of the motivational climate are a stronger predictor of cognitive and affective responses, than predisposed goal orientations (Duda & Nicholls, 1992; Treasure & Roberts, 2001).

2.1.4 The hierarchical approach to achievement goals

The hierarchical approach to achievement goals is based on the premise that approach and avoidance motivation represent fundamentally different strivings (Elliot, 1999). This approach to AGT is grounded in a 2 x 2 model were mastery and performance goals has a function of approach and avoidance (Elliot & McGregor, 2001).

Performance-approach goals refer to individuals who are ego involved and focused on the pleasant possibility of demonstrating competence (Roberts et al., 2007). Performance-avoidance goals refer to individuals who are ego involved and focused on the unpleasant possibility of incompetence (Roberts et al., 2007). Mastery-approach goals refer to individuals who are task involved and focused on outperforming your personal best (i.e. improving and learning) (Roberts et al., 2007). Mastery-avoidance goals refer to individuals who are task involved but focused on not making mistakes and doing worse than a previous performance (Roberts et al., 2007). These are individuals who are perfectionists striving for flawlessness, and athletes focused on maintaining
their skill level as they get older and near the end of their career (Elliot, 1999; Elliot & McGregor, 2001).

The relationship between AGT and self-handicapping has been the subject to many studies. Recent studies have included the 2 x 2 model in this research. However, the present study will not include this model. Excuse making and self-destructive behaviors can be used as a strategy to protect against failure or enhance success (Tice, 1991). Individuals who are ego involved are interested in comparing their performance to others (Nicholls, 1989). Self-handicapping is therefore a strategy that may be attractive for individuals who are focused on comparing performances. Whereas, individuals who are task involved and focused on improving their own skills and overcoming new and exciting challenges (Nicholls, 1984), may not have the same drive to engage in self-handicapping. This relationship will be described more in detail in the research section.

2.2 Self-handicapping as a concept

Berglas & Jones (1978) were the first to use the term self-handicapping to describe the process whereby the individual uses self-destructive behaviors to protect self-esteem. Berglas & Jones (1978) define self-handicapping strategies as “any action or choice of performance setting that enhances the opportunity to externalize (or excuse) failure and to internalize (reasonably accept credit for) success” (p. 406). In the case of failure the individual can use the handicap as an excuse for poor performance, and in the case of success you collect extra credit for the successful achievement despite having a handicap.

The origin of self-handicapping as a concept reaches back to classical psychological theories. Festinger’s (1954) social comparison theory hypothesizes that “there exists, in the human organism, a drive to evaluate his options and her abilities” (p. 117). Heider’s (1958) attribution theory posits a fundamental need for individuals to rationalize and make cause-effect analyses to understand the world we live in. These theories posit an idea that people have a need to know their abilities to understand and to gain control of ourselves and our surroundings.

In some conditions, Mettee (1971) found that people deliberately chose failure over success, based on the faire of non-accomplishable expectations for future performances.
A new conception to this area was proposed by Berglas and Jones (1978). Imagine that you are waiting to take an examination in a subject you find especially difficult and that you anticipate failing. If this is the case you might want to let people know that you for some reason did not prepare yourself for the exam. You might also show others that the subject does not interest you, and possibly that you have a massive hangover. Results from Berglas & Jones’ study (1978) revealed that when people are uncertain about the outcome of a performance, or has a fear of failing, they will engage in self-destructive behaviors. The participants in the study where to solve intelligence tests that was either solvable or unsolvable. Participants were told that they had done very well, regardless of the outcome. Before continuing with a second intelligence test they were given the choice of taking either a performance-facilitating drug which would improve intelligence, or a performance-inhibiting drug which would have the opposite effect. The results revealed that the participants who had succeeded on the solvable puzzles felt confident about their abilities and so they chose the performance-facilitating drug to improve on the task. Those who had succeeded on the unsolvable puzzles attributed their performance externally to luck and chose the performance-inhibiting drug in order to be able to excuse the potentially failure of the upcoming task.

Following in the direction of self-handicapping, Leary and Shepperd (1986) made a distinction between self-handicapping and self-reported handicaps. The difference between the two types lies in constructing a handicap onto oneself, and verbally claiming that one is handicapped. Leary and Shapperd (1986) note that “both constructing and claiming a handicap appear to serve an ego-defensive attributional function” (p. 1266). Specific examples of self-reported handicaps are claims of illness, lack of practice, sleeping problems, anxiety and injury (Hausenblas & Carron, 1996; Kuczka & Treasure, 2005; Rhodewalt, Saltzman, & Wittmer, 1984; Ryska et al., 1999; Standage et al., 2007; Thill & Cury, 2000). Verbal claims of handicaps can be true, or they may also be made up. Behavioral self-handicapping are on the other hand, are deliberate and observable acts that may directly hamper performance, such as performance inhibitors and withdrawal of practice time and quality (Berglas & Jones, 1978; Deppe & Harackiewicz, 1996; Elliot et al., 2006; Kolditz & Arkin, 1982; Rhodewalt et al., 1984; Tice, 1991).

Self-handicapping in scientific studies has been measured in two different ways. The first way is by using the Self Handicapping Scale (SHS; Jones & Rhodewalt, 1982). The
way the SHS works is that the participants is given a questionnaire that consists of questions which identifies the individuals dispositional level of self-handicapper. By scoring high on the SHS the individual is defined as a highly dispositional self-handicapper, and by scoring low, a low dispositional self-handicapper. We can then observe the participants behavior and document if high self-handicappers behave differently than low self-handicappers. The second way of measuring self-handicapping is by measuring behavioral and self-reported self-handicapping separately. Behavioral self-handicapping has been measured by the time spent to prepare for a performance task (e.g.; Elliot et al., 2006; Ntoumanis, Thøgersen-Ntoumani, & Smith, 2010). Self-reported handicaps have been measured by questionnaires which give the participant the opportunity to make excuses (e.g.; Bailis, 2001; Standage et al., 2007), and as such may be related with attribution process. Self-handicapping strategies are related to, but distinguishable from, attributions. Attributions is the process of assigning a cause to our own behavior, and that of others (Weiner, 1979; Weiner, 1985), whereas self-handicapping is connected to performance situations and is a proactive attempt to manipulate others' perceptions of the causes of performance outcomes. If a reported self-handicap occurs post-performance, it can be interpreted as a biased attribution. In contrast, if occurs pre-performance, it is not related to attributions. Behavioral self-handicapping does not related to attributions.

2.2 Research on AGT and self-handicapping

2.2.1 AGT and self-handicapping

Research supports the idea that there is no need to self-handicap in private settings (Kolditz & Arkin, 1982; Self, 1990; Tice & Baumeister, 1990). Individuals who engage in self-handicapping do so because they feel a threat to their public self-esteem (Convington, 1992) or because they find an opportunity to enhance their public self-esteem (Tice, 1991; Tice, 1993). The self-handicappers are interested in manipulating other’s perceptions of themselves (Kolditz & Arkin, 1982). In a private situation there is no reason to act in self-destructing ways, but self-handicapping might work as an impression management strategy in public achievement situations. This strategy is most likely to occur in a performance climate and with the ego involved individual who are interested in demonstrating ability to others. Ryska and collages (1999) were first to
suggest an association between achievement goals and self-handicapping and more authors have followed in the same direction (e.g.; Kuczka & Treasure, 2005; Standage et al., 2007). Studies on AGT and self-handicapping have documented that the motivational climate is a stronger predictor of self-handicapping than predisposed goal orientation (e.g.; Ntoumanis et al., 2010; Standage et al., 2007). The research is compelling in that the performance involving climate and ego orientation produces the self-handicapping behavior, whereas the mastery climate and task orientation diminish the behavior (e.g.; Ommundsen, 2006; Ryska et al., 1999).

As mentioned above, extensive research has investigated the role of achievement goals on self-handicapping (Coudevyille, Martins Ginis, Famose, & Gernigon, 2009; Elliot et al., 2006; Kuczka & Treasure, 2005; Midgley & Urdan, 2001; Ntoumanis et al., 2010; Ommundsen, 2001; Ommundsen, 2006; Ommundsen, 2004; Ryska et al., 1999; Standage et al., 2007; Thill & Cury, 2000). Collectively, this research demonstrates that individuals who compare their performance with others (ego involvement) are more likely to engage in self-handicapping. In contrast, individuals that are interested in learning new skills and mastering difficult challenges (task involvement), do not self-handicap. Task orientation has been established as a negative predictor of self-handicapping (Midgley & Urdan, 2001; Ommundsen, 2001; Ommundsen, 2006; Ommundsen, 2004; Ryska et al., 1999; Standage et al., 2007), whereas ego orientation has emerged as positive a predictor (Ryska et al., 1999). However, ego orientation has also been found to not correlate with self-handicapping (Ommundsen, 2001; Standage et al., 2007).

Self-handicapping and achievement goal theory has also been examined through the hierarchical 2 x 2 perspective (performance-approach, performance-avoidance and task goals) (e.g.; Elliot et al., 2006; Midgley & Urdan, 2001; Ommundsen, 2006). These studies have revealed that people that perceive the climate as performance-avoidance involving are more likely to self-handicap compared to people that perceive performance-approach involvement, and that people that perceive mastery involvement are even less likely to self-handicap compared with people that perceive performance-approach involvement. This relationship may be explained by how people want to appear able or not to appear unable when exposed to a performance involving climate (Convington, 1992). When exposed to a mastery climate with a self-referenced focus, self-handicapping decreases in frequency.
The salience of situational cues in the environment is important determinants for the adoption of goal involvement (Gernigon, d'Arripe-Longueville, Delignières, & Ninot, 2004). Results have demonstrated that perceptions of the motivational climate are a stronger predictor of cognitive and affective responses, than predisposed goal orientations (e.g.; Duda & Nicholls, 1992; Treasure & Roberts, 2001). Perceptions of the motivational climate, therefore, is an important determinant of the way individuals make decisions, acts, and thinks about achievement. Again, the same pattern is found with self-handicapping. When measuring both dispositional goals and perceptions motivational climate, the climate emerges as the primary predictor of self-handicapping. 

The performance involving climate is considered as the main positive predictor of self-handicapping (Midgley & Urdan, 2001; Ommundsen, 2006; Ryska et al., 1999; Standage et al., 2007) and the mastery climate the main negative predictor (Kuczka & Treasure, 2005; Midgley & Urdan, 2001; Ntoumanis et al., 2010). Midgley and Urdan’ (2001) study on students in classrooms, argue strongly that the message to teachers are clear: “what the teachers do in the classroom makes a difference, regardless of students’ personal goals” (p.72). Ryska and colleagues (1999) found that team motivational climate (mainly performance climate) emerged as the primary predictor of situational self-handicapping (i.e. excuse making and effort expended), and reported that: “these finding suggests that the motivational aspect of the team environment to which the athlete is exposed is more important in the development of self-handicapping behavior than the athlete’s own motivational disposition” (p. 420). Thus, when motivational climate are the only measured component, people that perceive the climate to be performance involving are more likely to engage in self-handicapping compared with people that perceive a mastery climate (Coudevyille et al., 2009; Elliot et al., 2006; Thill & Cury, 2000)

2.2.2 Motives for self-handicapping

Berglas and Jones (1978) captured the essence of self-handicapping when they discovered the element of uncertainty in their study. The participants that attributed their performance to luck after the first test were the ones that chose the performance-inhibiting drug before the second test. In situations where one is uncertain of the outcome of a performance, fear of failure can easily become the main focus. Self-
handicapping can therefore be a strategy for reducing the negative affect prior to performance (Snyder, 2010).

Reduction in anxiety levels before an achievement situation can have a significant effect on how we experience the activity. Individuals who self-handicap may provide themselves with the “breathing room” needed to become absorbed in the activity and to experience the activity as enjoyable (Deppe & Harackiewicz, 1996). Deppe and Harackiewicz (1996) had participants compete against each other in a pinball competition in pairs of two. Results showed that participants who scored higher on the SHS practiced less than participants who were rated as low self-handicappers on the SHS. The participants that engaged in self-handicapping behavior reported greater enjoyment in the activity and also became more involved in the task, rather than fearful of failure. Deppe and Harackiewicz (1996) argue that “self-handicaps may provide the “breathing room” some individuals need to become involved in the task and to experience the task as pleasant” (p. 874). These results must be carefully analyzed. Even though self-handicapping reduces anxiety, as a long term strategy, it has been linked to poor adjustment and underachievement (Zuckerman et al., 1998; Gadbois, 2011).

The pressure is usually larger in front of events that are perceived as important. Imagine how you feel before an event that is a part of your self-concept (e.g. a professional golfer competing in a major golf tournament), compared to an event that is not a part of your identity (e.g. a professional golfer participating in a small and friendly soccer tournament). Coudevyille and collages (Coudevyille, Martins Ginis, Famose, & Gernigon, 2008) utilized participants that were at a “sufficiently competitive level to ensure that they would feel that they had a personal investment in the experimental task and its outcome” (p. 306) to control for this effect. Different results have been found when studying perceived event importance. Standage and his collages (2007) did not find significant results between perceived event important and self-handicapping. Kuczka and Treasure (2005) found a significant negative relationship between perceived event importance and self-handicapping. It is important to note, however, that although the relationship in Kuczka and Treasures (2005) study was significant, the mean for event importance was marginally below the mid-point of the self-handicapping scale. Perception of event importance, has however, been documented to be positively related to self-handicapping (Bailis, 2001; Deppe & Harackiewicz, 1996;
Rhodewalt et al., 1984). The motive for self-handicapping before important events, is to weaken the link between the individual and the potential poor performance (Snyder, 2010). Bailis (2001) found that wrestlers and swimmers high in dispositional self-handicapping (high score on SHS) practiced less compared with low self-handicappers prior to important events. These differences in the two groups will in terms of achievement goal theory be linked to ego and task involvement. An individual that is focused on the result an upcoming important event (ego involvement) will by more motivated to self-handicap than an individual that is focused on working on team strategy and skill improvement (task involvement).

Performing in front of an audience (public setting) compared to working on a task in total privacy is significantly different when it comes to self-handicapping. Public settings will elicit self-handicapping, but private settings will not (Self, 1990). Berglas and Jones (1978) did not find significant differences between public and private settings in their original study. However, Koldiyz and Arkin (1982) argued that the private setting in the original study were in fact not private at all. In a replication of the original study, but with total anonymity and privacy in the private setting, they found that self-handicapping only took place in the public setting (Kolditz & Arkin, 1982). These results have been documented by other studies as well (e.g.; Tice & Baumeister, 1990). The fact that individuals only use self-handicapping in public settings suggests we engage in manipulating others’ perceptions of ourselves. Self-handicapping may therefore act as an impression management strategy (Kolditz & Arkin, 1982).

Jones and Berglas (1978) hypothesized that the self-handicapping phenomenon rests upon protection of self-esteem needs. However, Tice (1991) found that self-handicapping can also be used to enhance self-esteem. Whereas people with low self-esteem use self-handicapping to protect themselves from the threatening implications of failure, people with high self-esteem use it to enhance their esteem after a possible successful performance (Tice, 1991; Tice, 1993). Tice (1991) had participants take eye-hand coordination tests, and told the participants that they were measuring nonverbal intelligence. In the first condition the participants were told that the test could only identify people who were unusually low in this ability. Self-handicapping in this condition is useless for self-enhancement and can only work as a self-protective strategy. In the second condition participants were told that the test could only identify people who perform very well on the test. In this second condition the participants could
only enhance self-esteem by using self-handicapping. The results reveal that the participants high in self-esteem chose to self-handicap in the self-enhancement condition, and that participants low in self-esteem chose to self-handicap in the self-protection condition. Tice (1991) also measured the participants’ attributions as to why they chose self-handicapping. The results illustrated that participants high in self-esteem were significantly more likely than low self-esteem participants to agree with the statement “if I do not practice and do very well on the evaluation, that suggests that I have extremely high ability” (p. 719). Low self-esteem participants were significantly more likely than participants high in self-esteem to agree with the statement “if I do not practice much and do very poorly, that does not say much about my ability because I might have done better if I had practiced longer” (p. 719). People high in self-esteem are interested in enhancing their esteem even more, as opposed to people low in self-esteem who are interested in protecting their esteem. In terms of achievement goal theory one might predict that the performance-approach individual would be tempted to self-handicap in order to enhance self-esteem even more, and the performance-avoidance individual would self-handicap to protect self-esteem. Thus, the performance involved individual is more likely to self-handicap compared to the task involved individual (Midgley & Urdan, 2001; Ommundsen, 2006).

Jones and Berglas (1978) hypothesized that the self-handicapping phenomenon rests upon protection of self-esteem needs. However, Tice (1991) found that self-handicapping can also be used to enhance self-esteem. Whereas people with low self-esteem use self-handicapping to protect themselves from the threatening implications of failure, people with high self-esteem use it to enhance their esteem after a possible successful performance (Tice, 1991; Tice, 1993). Tice (1991) had participants take eye-hand coordination tests, and told the participants that they were measuring nonverbal intelligence. In the first condition the participants were told that the test could only identify people who were unusually low in this ability. Self-handicapping in this condition is useless for self-enhancement and can only work as a self-protective strategy. In the second condition participants were told that the test could only identify people who perform very well on the test. In this second condition the participants could only enhance self-esteem by using self-handicapping. The results reveal that the participants high in self-esteem chose to self-handicap in the self-enhancement condition, and that participants low in self-esteem chose to self-handicap in the self-
protection condition. Tice (1991) also measured the participants’ attributions as to why they chose self-handicapping. The results illustrated that participants high in self-esteem were significantly more likely than low self-esteem participants to agree with the statement “if I do not practice and do very well on the evaluation, that suggests that I have extremely high ability” (p. 719). Low self-esteem participants were significantly more likely than participants high in self-esteem to agree with the statement “if I do not practice much and do very poorly, that does not say much about my ability because I might have done better if I had practiced longer” (p. 719). People high in self-esteem are interested in enhancing their esteem even more, as opposed to people low in self-esteem who are interested in protecting their esteem. In terms of achievement goal theory one might predict that the performance-approach individual would be tempted to self-handicap in order to enhance self-esteem even more, and the performance-avoidance individual would self-handicap to protect self-esteem. Thus, the performance involved individual is more likely to self-handicap compared to the task involved individual (Midgley & Urdan, 2001; Ommundsen, 2006).

Urdan and Midgley (2001) note that: “regardless of one’s level of self-esteem, we believe that the primary motive for engaging in handicapping is a fear of failure and a fear of appearing stupid or less able than individuals believe they are, or than they want to appear to others” (p. 119). In their studies they have documented a negative relationship between performance and self-handicapping (Midgley & Urdan, 2001; Midgley, Arunkumar, & Urdan, 1996; Midgley & Urdan, 1995; Urdan, Midgley, & Anderman, 1998). A significant negative relationship has also emerged between perceived competence and self-handicapping (Ommundsen, 2001; Ommundsen, 2004). Collectively, these studies are compelling in that performance is another motive for self-handicapping.

Social comparison is a final issue considering motives for self-handicapping. Research on this area has shown us that individuals are more likely to self-handicap when their performance are compared with the performances of others, whereas individuals that invest their attention in the task at hand, are not likely to self-handicap (Thill & Cury, 2000).
2.2.3 Self-handicapping in sport

In Jones and Berglas (1978) first description of self-handicapping, they state that "self-handicappers are legion in the sports world, from the tennis player who externalizes a bad shot by adjusting his racket strings, to the avid golfer who systematically avoids taking lessons or even practicing on the driving range" (p. 201). Convington’s (1992) self-worth theory assumes that the search for self-acceptance is the highest human priority that, as applied to schools, one’s worth often depends on the ability to achieve competitively. The performance outcome in sports competitions are often the main focus. This is often led by the audience, media, coaches and parents that compare the athlete’s abilities and performance. Athletes compete against each other and are recognized for their performances relative to others, and the importance of producing results is discussed frequently. When the athletes central concern is directed on how others assess their ability, strategies to appear able, or at least to avoid appearing unable, are likely to be used (Convington, 1992). A typical example of the nature of this was illustrated by Berglas (1986), who described the case of a professional hockey player who began abusing alcohol subsequent to signing a contract that made him the highest paid athlete in the world. The hockey player’s motivation to “…hit the bottle" started when he feared that he could not perform to others' expectations” (p. 202). This athlete was unable to absorb himself in the task because the performance focus and social comparison was influenced too much on him.

Sport represents the perfect environment in which to examine self-handicapping. Self-handicapping is most likely to occur in situations that are perceived as important, that are public, when our performance are compared with others, and when we are threaten of the implications of failure or sees the opportunity to enhance self-esteem (uncertainty). The sport competition creates a situation where the athlete will experience all the predicting factors for self-handicapping. The paradox, however, of self-handicapping in any performance situation is that it may prevent us in performing at our best level. Bailis (2001) states that “for athletes who are high in dispositional self-handicapping, enhancing performance is not a paramount concern; protecting self-esteem and public image are” (p. 221). What self-handicapping does in a public performance situation is that it protects or enhances our public self-image.

Research has documented different self-handicapping behaviors in sport, including withdrawal of practice in front of important events (Rhodewalt et al., 1984), self-
reported handicaps such as claims of poor nutrition (Bailis, 2001), and the role of group cohesion where athletes high in dispositional self-handicapping report lower levels of group cohesion compared to athletes low in self-handicapping (Hausenblas & Carron, 1996). The presence of others and the perception of being compared with others are a big part of the sport environment and have been shown to be a predictor of self-handicapping (Thill & Cury, 2000). In this study the experimenters had participants learn golf in four different environments; task environment, learning, achievement, and one-on-one competition goals. As expected, the one-on-one competition goals environment generated more self-handicapping compared to the other environments.

Withdrawal of practice time and effort has been documented in the sport domain as well. In Rhodewalt, Saltzman, and Wittmer’s (1984) study, the SHS was used to examine swimmers and golfers dispositional self-handicapping tendencies. The examination of the two sports where done separately. In the case of the swimmers, all participants completed the SHS prior to the first competition of the season. Measures of event importance were done before every event. The coach, who was unknowing of the study’s agenda, did an assessment of the athletes’ practice effort before competition events. Results revealed that before important events, low self-handicappers increased their practice effort significantly compared to high self-handicappers. In the case of the golfers, the athletes reported the amount of practice before events, alongside event importance. These results showed that prior to important events, low self-handicappers spent significantly more time practicing than did high self-handicappers. Withdrawal of practice time and effort would in terms of achievement goal theory describe the ego oriented athlete. When the athlete is ego oriented, he is focused on comparing his performance to others. This self-handicapping strategy serves its purpose for the athlete. It protects against failure and enhances success. The task oriented athlete would not decrease practice time or effort in that the athlete wants to improve and learn new skills. If you want to improve and learn new skills, you have to practice.

Bailis (2001) found that the amount of practice before competition among athletes high in dispositional self-handicapping was reduced. In their sample of swimmers and wrestlers, the athletes reported greater enjoyment after reducing practice in front of important events. The same results appeared in Deppe and Harackiewicz’s (1996) study. Participants high in self-handicappers where more task oriented in addition to experiencing more enjoyment when withholding practice.
When giving athletes the opportunity to self-handicap, they report that their cognitive anxiety are facilitating to their performance (Coudevylle et al., 2008). However, when examining if self-handicapping has positive or negative effects on performance, studies have revealed different results. Elliot and colleagues (2006) found that both types of self-handicaps (self-reported and behavioral) had detrimental negative effects on performance on a basketball task. Although, when this study was replicated with a dart throwing task, Ntoumanis and collages (2010) did not find that self-handicapping influenced performance. In a similar vein, Coudevylle and collages (2009) found that self-reported or behavioral did not influence performance. However, another study found that behavioral self-handicapping may have had a negative effect on performance, whereas self-reported handicaps did not (Coudevylle, Martins Ginis, & Famose, 2008).

In a longitudinal study from the academic domain, self-handicapping was linked to poor adjustment and underachievement (Zuckerman et al., 1998), in that high self-handicappers performed worse academically compared to low self-handicappers. Furthermore, high self-handicapping resulted in poorer adjustment over time, and poorer adjustment resulted in higher self-handicapping over time. In a more resent study students reporting greater self-handicapping tendencies, scored lower on all tests in their courses (Gadbois, 2011).

In the sport domain, Bailis (2001) documented the performance of high and low self-handicappers throughout a four-month season. The performance was measured separately within the first and second two months of the competitive season. Results revealed a positive relationship between performance and SHS scores in the first two months of the season. In the two last months there were no significant results. As mentioned earlier, the participants in this study reported more enjoyment after self-handicapping. Performance and enjoyment taken together, Bailis (2001) argue that “benefits associated with self-handicapping thus appeared to outweigh costs for participants in university-level competitive sport” (p. 213). A key reason why these results contradict the ones from the academic domain (Gadbois, 2011; Zuckerman et al., 1998), is that an athlete whose performance suffers as a result of chronic self-handicapping will eventually lose the opportunity to participate at this level. Students in academic domain may underperform chronically without losing the opportunity to continue their education.
2.3 The purpose of the study

The participants in the present study are between the ages of 16-18. Adolescence is a time of heightened self-consciousness and concerns regarding how one appears to others, particularly to peers are at a high priority (Urdan & Midgley, 2001). A competition, even at practice, may be perceived differently in these years because of a heightened self-consciousness. The main focus is often on how one appears to others rather than the task at hand. However, experienced elite athletes might not be as influenced by competition because as you compete, you get acclimatized to competitions. To gather more knowledge of adolescents’ behavior and cognitions should be at great interest for coaches that coach elite athletes, so they can understand and coach their athletes in the best way possible.

Consequently, our main objective in this study was to investigate if elite junior golfers self-handicapping strategies (self-reported and behavioral handicaps) where influenced by the motivational climate. Our secondary objective was to investigate if their self-handicapping strategies (self-reported and behavioral handicaps) where influenced by performance. The present study intended to address three hypotheses. (1) We expected to see more behavioral self-handicapping in the competition condition, as well as more self-reported handicaps after the competition condition compared to the practice condition. (2) We predicted that changes in perceptions of perceived motivational climate would be followed by changes in self-handicapping. (3) We anticipated that there would be a negative relationship between changes in putting performance and changes in self-handicapping, both observed and self-reported.
3.0 Method

3.1 Participants
The participants in the present study were 22 (9 female and 13 male) students recruited from Norwegian golf high schools in age ranging from 16 and 18 years ($M = 16.95$, $SD = .84$), with a mean handicap of 4.18 ($SD = 4.82$). These players were part of the elite of Norwegian golfers and Norway has been one of the better junior nations internationally the last decade. 17 were competing at the top level in Norway, and the remaining 5 playing at the second highest golf-tour level.

3.2 Measures

3.2.1 Goal orientation
Individual differences in predisposed task and ego orientation were assessed by responses to the Norwegian version (Roberts & Ommundsen, 1996) of the Perception of Success Questionnaire (POSQ; Roberts & Balagué, 1989; Roberts et al., 1998). The POSQ is a 12-item scale consisting of six task (e.g. ‘I show clear personal improvement’) and six ego (e.g. ‘I outperform my opponents’) items. In the present study, the participant responded to the item ‘When participating in golf, I feel most successful when…’ All items were rated on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The POSQ has demonstrated adequate reliability in previous research (e.g.; Treasure & Roberts, 1994; Treasure & Roberts, 2001). Treasure and Roberts (2001) reported alpha coefficient of .86 and .89 for ego and task orientation respectively. The Norwegian version of POSQ has also demonstrated adequate reliability and internal consistency. Roberts and Ommundsen (1996) reported alpha coefficient of .79 and .81 for ego and task orientation respectively. In the present study, alpha coefficient for the POSQ did exceed .70 in both goal orientations (ego = .74 and task = .93, respectively).

3.2.2 Motivational climate check
Fourteen items adapted from the work of Standage and colleagues (Standage, Duda, & Pensgaard, 2005) was used to assess the degree to which the participants found the
motivational climate to be mastery involving (seven items, e.g., “trying hard to improve was important” and “the test leader had us focus on doing our best”), or performance involving (seven items, e.g., “winning was emphasized” and “the focus was on being the best”). Responses were made using the item “In this test I felt that . . .” on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). This questionnaire has demonstrated adequate reliability in previous research at the alpha coefficient levels of .72 and .80 for task and ego orientation respectively (Standage et al., 2007). The questionnaire was originally made for team sports. Questions were therefore modified for the present study which involved an individual sport. Thus, two questions regarding team cooperation were removed, although the underlying concept was kept as close to the original as possible. Alpha coefficients for the motivational climate check in the present study did exceed $\alpha = .70$ (mastery = .76 and performance = .78) after question 10 (see attachment 4) was removed (table 1).

3.2.3 Behavioral self-handicapping

Behavioral cues caught on video were used to assess behavioral self-handicapping. In the video analysis, we were looking for behavioral changes which can be disruptive to putting performance. Performance disruptive behaviors were defined as: Loss of interest in the task, and/or decrease in effort. Behaviors that characterize loss of interest were defined as: “Using noticeable shorter time in the putting routine”, “Play and trying out new things during the task”, and “Using an unnecessarily long time between putting by looking elsewhere and/or on the other players”. Behaviors that characterize decrease in effort were defined as: “Loss of good posture and becoming slow and wobbly”. For example, after putting a poor putt, the participants would stop and take a deep breath. Then their shoulders and head would drop down. They would start looking around to check if anyone was watching them and/or on how the other players were putting. They would swing their putter through the air and walk slowly towards the balls to pick them up. Some participants changed their pre-shot-routine and started to putt differently.

These potentially destructive performance strategies/cues were selected by the authors (one of the authors having a Ph.D. in golf putting). The cues was listed and checked of when analyzing the players in the videotapes. This qualitative analysis was validated to make sure that the analyses were not subjective in the eyes of the author. The list of
cues was given to an external researcher who did the same analysis. One random player was picked out and assessed in the video footage. The results from the external researcher matched the results from the authors by 76%. The researchers would also be biased if they had known that what motivational climate (performance involving or mastery involving) they where analyzing. To protect against this bias, the videotapes were made anonymous in that the researchers did not know what motivational climate they were analyzing.

3.2.4 Self-reported handicaps

In this study we gave the participants questions that would measure self-reported handicaps after a golf putting exercise (Attachment 3). The purpose of the questions was to measure whether the participants made excuses after the exercise if they had an opportunity to do so. By handing out the questions after the achievement situation we also had a chance to cross-check the association between the behavioral self-handicapping cues, and their self-reported handicaps, without making the participants aware that we intended to measure self-handicapping.

The questionnaire included nine questions. These questions were designed to measure the participants’ self-reported handicaps after performance (e.g. “the other players were distracting” and “it was important for me to perform well in this test”). Responses were made using the stem “In this test I felt that….” on a five-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Questions that emphasize putting were also included in the questionnaire (e.g. “the rhythm and flow in my putting was poor”). Question 4, 1 and 7 (see attachment 3) were removed from the questionnaire to exceed the $\alpha = .70$ (table 1).

3.2.5 Putting performance

Putting performance was measured as a function of mean score and best score. The participants were told that the player with the best top score were the winner of the competition. Poor putting throughout the test with the exception of just a few exceptional puts could be therefore result in victory. However, the participant mean putting performance throughout the whole session was also noted.
3.3 Competition vs. practice condition

A simple golf putting test that is extensively used in Norwegian golf training was subject for the data collection. Two pieces of string were placed at one end of the putting surface with 20 cm of space between each other (Figure 4). There were a total of 9 markers to put from that stretched out in a 90 degree angle from the strings, with 90 cm between each other (Figure 3). The goal was to work your way back to the last marker. Everyone started at the first marker with three balls. If the player puts all three balls inside the two strings, he or she moves two markers back. If two balls stop inside, the player moves one marker back. With one ball inside nothing happens, keep on putting from the same marker. If the player misses all three balls, he or she has to move one marker forward (Figure 2). The time limit for the test is 15 minutes, and the player that has moved most markers backwards, wins the competition.

![Figure 2](image1.jpg)

**Figure 2.** 3 balls inside = 2 markers back, 2 balls inside = 1 marker back, 1 ball inside = put again from the same marker, 0 balls inside = 1 marker forward

![Figure 3](image2.jpg)

**Figure 3.** There were a total of 9 markers with 90 cm between each other
3.3.1 Motivational climate

The participants’ usual putting coach was the leader at the putting exercise, and is part of the credence of the ecological validity of the investigation. Participants were than to complete the exercise in two different conditions. The first condition was a competition and the second was a practice session. The winner of the competition was rewarded with a price (sponsored by The Norwegian Olympic Center). In this condition the lower half of the result order, had to wash and scrub the higher half’s golf clubs and shoes. Two separate instructions were given by the coach, naturally, as in any other normal training session that includes skill practice and competitions. The following manuscripts illustrate the instructions given by the coach:

**Competition condition**

… in this competition the most important thing is to be the best and not loose. You will be ranked in order, from best to worst. The lower half of the result order will have to scrub and polish the higher half’s golf clubs and shoes tomorrow. The best player, the winner, will receive a winning price. I will now explain the rules for the competition. No questions are allowed. Anyone who makes a mistake or does the test wrong will be disqualified and end up last in the competition.
**Practice condition**

… you are now going to do the same test again. But this time there is no competition. No one will receive prices and no one will have to polish or scrub anything. Instead, I am going to give you a task that will help you manage this exercise and improve your putting. The task is maintaining your rhythm, and using the same amount of time with every single ball. Focusing fully on your rhythm will help you manage this exercise. Try to do your best throughout the whole exercise. The rules are the same. Any questions?

### 3.4 Procedure

Prior to the collection of data, informed consent was obtained from the participants or the participants parents (under 18 years) in accordance with The Data Inspectorate guidelines. The participants’ dispositional goals were assessed two days before the day of the data collection by using the POSQ (Roberts & Ommundsen, 1996). The data collection took place on an indoor putting green. Participants completed the putting exercise twice, the first time doing it as a competition, and subsequently doing the same exercise as a putting exercise to improve putting skills. The difference between the two trials was in the way the coach presented the exercise. The results from the competition were presented publicly after the competition, the winner received the price, and the losers were announced for the rest of the group. None of this occurred after the practice condition. Participants were told that the authors were measuring how elite junior golfers experience a competition compared to a practice situation, so that coaches’ could gain more knowledge about the difference between the two.

After both trials, participants first completed the self-reported handicaps questionnaire, giving them the opportunity to make excuses, followed by the questionnaire assessing their perception of the motivational climate. Half of the participants participated in the study one week before the other half. Due to the risk of participants in the first group would leak the purpose of the study to the latter group, the authors debriefed all the participants after everyone had participated.
3.5 Data analyses

All the data was plotted into SPSS (Statistical Program for Social Sciences) 18.0 for analyses, and Microsoft Excel was used to compile the data into tables. Descriptive statistics with max and min score was done to control for typing errors of the data collection in SPSS. Two random samples of the data collection was selected and double checked.

Initial reliability analysis was conducted, and alpha coefficient (Cronbach, 1951) values were calculated for all the variables. If needed, questions were removed from the questionnaires to reach and exceed the $\alpha = .70$ criteria for acceptable internal consistency for the psychological domain (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994). The first analysis we conducted was a multivariate analysis (MANOVA). The MANOVA was calculated to identify if the two conditions were perceived differently. Univariate analysis (ANOVAs) was than calculated to determine if whether the participants differ in self-reported and behavioral handicapping perceived motivational climate and putting performance. Effect size was conducted to calculate the magnitude of difference between the means. Eta-squared ($\eta^2$) was used to measure the effect size. The correlation analysis was conducted to provide insight into the relationship between goal orientations, perceived motivational climate, mean score, best score, self-reported and behavioral self-handicapping. To examine whether the independent variables would predict variance in the dependent variables, we conducted a standard multiple regression analysis.
Attachments

- Attachment 1: Request for participation
- Attachment 2: Answer sheet
- Attachment 3: Self-reported handicaps questionnaire
- Attachment 4: Motivational climate check questionnaire (Standage et al., 2005)
- Attachment 5: Perception of Success questionnaire (Roberts & Ommundsen, 1996)
INFORMASJON OM FORSKNINGSPROSJEKT

Jeg heter Tord Nordbotten og studerer idrettspsykologi ved Norges idrettshøgskole. Jeg leder et prosjekt som vi kaller "Konkurranse og trenings miljø i elite junior golf". Hensikten med prosjektet er å finne ut hvordan golfspillere blir påvirket av konkurranse på trening kontra vanlig trening, og se hvordan utøverne oppfører seg i disse to formene for miljø. Prosjektet er et godkjent prosjekt ved Norges idrettshøgskole (NIH) og dr. Frank E. Abrahamsen er veileder for prosjektet.

Bakgrunn: I prosjektet vil vi se på de nevnte emnene blant elite junior golfspillere. Prosjektet er viktig å gjennomføre for å skaffe ny kunnskap og resultatene fra undersøkelsen er tenkt å publiseres i internasjonale vitenskaplige tidsskrift, uten at noen av utøverne i undersøkelsen vil kjennes igjen. Intensjonen er at kunnskapen skal komme trenere og utøvere til gode, slik at det blir lettere for trenere å legge opp treningen på en hensiktsmessig måte. Derfor håper jeg at du/dere vil delta i undersøkelsen.

Som forskere er vi også underlagt taushetsplikt og data vil behandles konfidensielt. Ingen opplysninger som publiseres vil kunne tilbakeføres til den enkelte deltaker.


Med vennlig hilsen

Tord Nordbotten

Mobil: 90888482

E-mail: ted.nord@gmail.com
Samtykkeerklæring: Jeg er villig til å delta i studien.

Underskrift dersom du er over 18 år

Underskrift fra foresatte dersom du er under 18 år
**Spørreskjema nr. 1**

**Plassering:** __

**Nummer:** __

**Alder:** ______

**Hcp:** ______

**Navn (SKRIV MED BLOKBOKSTAVER):**

_________________________________________________________________

*I dette spørreskjemaet ber vi deg om å svare på hvordan du opplevde denne testen. Det er ingen riktige eller gale svar.*

**I denne testen opplevde jeg at…**

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<td>3. Jeg hadde uflaks i denne testen</td>
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<td>6. Jeg var flink til å blokkere forstyrrelser når jeg puttet</td>
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<td>7. Jeg puttet bra på begynnelsen av testen, men dårlig på slutten</td>
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<td>8. Jeg er fornøyd med prestasjonen min i denne testen</td>
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<td>9. Det var viktig for meg å gjøre det bra i denne testen</td>
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## Spørreskjema nr. 2

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<td>8.</td>
<td>Lederen ba oss fokusere på å gjøre vårt beste</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Vi ble veldig oppmerksom på hvor dyktige hver enkelt av oss var</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Sukcessfulle spillere var de som fikk den beste scoren</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Spillerne følte at de konkurrerte mot hverandre</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>Lederen ba oss fokusere på vår egen prestasjon mer enn hvordan de andre gjorde det</td>
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<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Fokuset var på å lære øvelsen</td>
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<td>14.</td>
<td>Jeg/vi var oppmerksom på hvem som var skikkelig god (og skikkelig dårlig) blant spillere</td>
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</table>
I denne delen av spørreskjemaet ber vi deg om din oppfatning av hva egen suksess i golf innebærer for deg. *Det er ingen riktige eller gale svar.*

I golf føler jeg meg mest vellykket når:

<p>| | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Jeg slår andre (vinner over)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Jeg er helt overlegen</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Jeg er den beste</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Jeg gjør en god innsats</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Jeg viser personlig fremgang</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>Jeg gjør det bedre enn motstanderne mine</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>Jeg når et mål</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Jeg overvinner vanskeligheter</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Jeg når mine personlige mål</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Jeg vinner</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Jeg får vist andre at jeg er best</td>
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<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Jeg gjør så godt jeg kan</td>
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</table>
Reference List


Ref Type: Unpublished Work


