
Articles

Expressed Motives for Informal and Club/ Association-based Sports Participation

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In France today, few sociological/descriptive studies have been conducted that provide adequate information about sport participants' motives. The present study provides a scale for measuring four kinds of sport motivations: exhibitionism, competition, sociability and emotion, and playing to the limit. It was completed by 878 students from two levels of secondary education, from the Provence, Alpes, Côte d'Azur Region in Southern France. The internal and external validity of the motivational constructs/factors were examined. We tested students' motivations to participate in sport across 15 independent variables. The results supported the construct validity of the scale, revealed important sources of variation in motives and showed that across all groups, intrinsic motives were more important than the extrinsic motives.

KEYWORDS: *Construct validity, sport, motivation, competition, sociability, adolescence.*

"She has taken to beseeching me to stop going over the falls. What harm does it do? Says it makes her shudder. I wonder why. I have always done it—always liked the plunge, and the excitement, and the coolness." (Mark Twain, *The Diaries of Adam and Eve*)

Introduction and Literature Review

Sport has become a major attraction within leisure and tourism industries. Hence, studies of sports and leisure activity motivation, such as those on the motives for leisure travel (Crompton, 1979; Dann, 1981), are of increasing interest to both sports professionals and the tourist/leisure industries for sport and leisure planning, development and marketing.

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Sporting Participation in France

France has approximately 36 million active sport participants, representing 83% of the total population aged 15 to 75 (Jeunesse et Sports, 2001). However the number of participants registered with their national governing bodies of sport has been stable for several years at 13.7 million. The difference between these figures reflects two facts. First, for the last 30 years, the number of members of traditional French sports clubs has gradually plateaued (from a steady climb). Second, a considerable number of these participants play sport in informal, self-organized, contexts (CREDOC-FIFAS, 1994). The cultural studies approach developed in the Birmingham School in the UK (Andrews & Loy 1993; Clarke & Critcher, 1985; Fiske, 1989; Hebdige, 1988) requires one to consider the activities of groups of participants and social practices in terms of the degree of opposition to, or marginalisation from, the social practices of dominant groups. Although subcultural analyses (Donnelly, 1985; Beal, 1995) have been employed in some French studies, such studies have tended to do so in an implicit rather than an explicit manner (Calogirou & Touché, 1995).

A significant proportion of those participating in sport do so in both informal and formal settings (L'Aouset, Niel, & Griffet, 2003). However, the studies have tended to treat informal and formal participants as separate populations (Choquet, 1995). The present study on sports practice motivation aims to provide (a) a scale that is robust, reliable, and consistent to analyze the ethos of contemporary ways of sport practice; and (b) information useful to all areas of the tourist/sports industry concerning those factors which may attract and retain potential leisure/sports practitioners, whatever the setting of participation.

Motivation

Many authors have explored the "why" and "how" of the investment of the individual in leisure/sporting activities (Crompton, 1979; Gitelson & Kerstetter, 1990; Hamilton-Smith, 1987; Loundsbury & Polik, 1992; Prentice, 1993). One of the most common methods of analysis of motivation in leisure activities is to concentrate on the states and goals that the practitioners look to achieve (Manfredo, Driver, & Tarrant, 1996). Usually, these states and goals emerge from the results of factor analyses. However, this method is not without its critics. In a study on the motivations of golfers, Petrick, Backman, Bixler, and Norman (2001) deplored the fact that "many researchers have conducted their own factor analyses on motivational inventories and have reported dimensions of motivations that are unique to their particular study" (p. 57).

It is now usually accepted that the motivation is an interaction of internal factors (unconscious and conscious psychological compulsions) and external factors (social and familial gratification and recognition), within which are combined a variety of drives (basic drives, self-image, experience). Motivations also evolve and changes with time. Yet, in spite of numerous books

and methods designed to stimulate motivation, the concept of motivation itself is not always clearly defined. In the psychology literature, motivation is defined in many ways, mainly in behavioral terms (Gnoth, 1997). In the present study, we are more interested in the thought and emotional processes comprising motivation. For this reason we use the alternative concept of a motive proposed by Weber (1971): A motive may be defined as "a combination of meanings which seems to constitute in the eyes of the agent or of the observer the 'reason' for a behaviour" (p. 10). However, from the numerous studies in existence, whatever their orientation (behavioral, cognitive, etc.), we can glean the fact that motivations, or motives, for sports activities are highly diverse (Gitelson, 1990; Hamilton-Smith, 1987; Loundsbury, 1992).

Deci and Ryan (1985) distinguished "intrinsic" motivation from "extrinsic"/instrumental motivation. Intrinsic motivation is concerned with the pleasure of participating, the present moment in which the action is performed. Extrinsic motivation is concerned with future rewards or punishment (personal or social). However, few studies make such a distinction in the area of sporting activities. In our study the goal is to identify a full range of motives beyond just instrumental values (e.g., competition, domination of others, or the search for knowledge).

The Four Dimensions

The four factors are competition (which is a priori distinguished from the second factor), exhibitionism, sociability, and "playing to the limit." These motives were chosen because of the motives previously validated in the literature; these four best reflected the theoretical standpoint of the present study. Two of these factors are extrinsic: competition and exhibitionism represent the rational/instrumental values of modernity; the other two represent the intrinsic/aesthetic values of post-modernity (Maffesoli, 1995; Recours & Dantin, 2000). These four factors are explained below.

Competition. In competition the reasons for participation are often assumed to be instrumental (Deci & Ryan, 1985). What is involved here is the notion of accomplishment derived from feeling that one is stronger than others. The definition of an extrinsic motivation is the fact of an activity having been undertaken for one or more specific reasons beyond the enjoyment of the activity itself. The psychologist Joan Duda (1992, p. 71) explains that "given the preponderance of extrinsic rewards in sport (e.g. trophies) and the point that people may participate to "prove themselves" rather than for the love of the game, intrinsic motivation may not always be at the forefront of sport involvement."

Exhibitionism. Perhaps this dimension is the least ambiguous with regard to its instrumental status. While in the case of the preceding dimension, victory is experienced in a personal manner, here it is necessary to show one's superiority. Although some participants (particularly some females) do not want to be watched (James, 2000), this is not the case for all. Some

participate in order to be seen and to impress spectators. Zuckerman and Link (1968) were interested in this dimension (but only in so far as it is an independent variable and as a trait of personality) and they identified a positive correlation between the scale of sensation seeking and the need for exhibitionism.

Sociability. Some studies on sport seeking to capture the meaning of activities have been developed at a micro-social level of analysis. By focusing on “underworlds of signification” (Berger & Luckmann, 1986; Schütz, 1971), “everyday life” (Maffesoli, 1995), or “idioculture” (Fine, 1979), such studies show members of a social world to be linked by shared perspectives, a language and activities which are their own, shared communication network, and bonds that go beyond a desire to compete. Some studies on sports participation also combine culturalist approaches and perspectives which place emphasis on shared experience (Andrews & Loy, 1993; Green, Hebron, & Woodward, 1990; Griffet, 1994). Deci and Ryan (1985) noted the need to be linked to others (“relatedness”) as a determinant of motivation. Vallerand and Thill (1993) incorporated this notion of relatedness in their hierarchical model of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation in sporting practices. However, quantitative studies which use this concept or an equivalent are rare. For example, Brière, Vallerand, Blais, & Pelletier (1995, p. 471), in their work, do not take this factor into account, arguing that “this motivational determinant has not yet been subject to empirical study”. But, it can be said that (a) it is not because there have been few empirical studies using this concept that it may not apply and (b) that a review of the leisure motivation literature supports “relatedness” as a motive for engagement. Much work has examined camaraderie, peer/group acceptance and other similar social constructs (e.g., Kahle, Kambara, & Rose, 1996; Shoham & Florenthal 2000; Wakefield 1995). A review by Dimanche and Samdahl (1994) also provides some interesting thoughts on the symbolic meaning of group interaction.

Playing to the limit. In relation to the dimension identified by Zuckerman and Link (1968) concerned with the search for danger, risk and adventure, it is important to state that the essential characteristic which distinguishes adventure—a characteristic also found in agon type play (as defined by Caillois, 1967)—is the simultaneous presence of opposing forces of equal strength. Simmel (1912) defined adventure as an experience marked by its ambiguity and equivocation. The concept of “playing to the limit” is taken from Griffet (1994). In this theoretical perspective adventure appears as a liminal experience, “or the playing of games to the limit” (the limit of one’s ability). An image of this is provided by the elite climber Gary Tribout in an interview when he explained that his pleasure is less intense when he dominates a climb, and more intense when he is working to his limits and the slightest error will result in a fall. At this moment of decision, time accelerates and emotions surge (Jankélévitch, 1963). It is the role of decisions made at the limit which is the target for evaluation in this study. The concepts of playing to the limit and challenge should not be confused. While they may seem to be closely related, the difference is important and real. Here we

define a challenge as a difficult task in which the goal is to win; this places the emphasis on a future event. The essence of a challenge is a promise of future reward; the essence of playing to the limit is a reward in the present moment.

Independent Variables

The variables included in the present study were chosen because all have been shown to exercise an effect on leisure activity in the literature.

The variable "residential area" described the town in which the subjects lived. This variable distinguished between mountainous areas, seaboard areas and the plains. Dumazedier (1962) found a change in the preferred vacation destination of the French, from countryside to seaside, before and after the mid-1950s. The reasons for this change were many, but seem to have at their basis a sea change in mentality (Maffesoli, 1995); an effect which forms one of the underlying themes of the present study. The effects of sex and age are well researched. For example, males score significantly higher than females on the subscale of "thrill and adventure seeking" (Ball, Farnill, & Wangeman, 1983; Zuckerman & Link, 1968) whereas females exhibit a more self-determined motivational profile than males (Vallerand & Thill, 1993). Crompton, Vedlitz, and Lamb (1981) found an interaction between age and sex and the width of activity range (number of different activities practiced), such that females seemed to become more eclectic with age (between ages 11 and 18) whereas males became more focussed.

Social status can dictate the ease of access to certain leisure activities. For example, golf is often seen as a "rich man's sport." However this view is not universally held (Kuentzel & Heberlein, 1997). This inconsistency has pushed social status into those categories most often studied by sociologists. The antagonism inherent in the meeting of orthodox and popular cultures is a common point in the approaches of cultural studies and Marxist sociology. It is here that the dynamism of a culture is found and this dynamism is expressed by the opposition of styles of leisure practice between the dominant group and those more marginalised. Bourdieu (1984) used the notion of habitus to explain the same phenomenon. He claimed that, for sports participants, motives are socially determined. The middle classes, for example, may use physical activity in an instrumental way: to gain, or to achieve. For our purposes, this model seems appropriate to describe the activities and motivations practiced within an institutionalized environment (activities that Bourdieu described as an "incorporated social game"). In other words, it is game context in which the goal is to be as good as possible, to stand out from the crowd, to win. However, this model may be less appropriate to understand the development of sporting activities in less structured environments.

Many French studies show that the type of educational program followed is strongly biased by social class (Baudelot & Establet, 1971; Berthelot, 1983; Boudon, 1973). However, over and above the element of social class there

exist different group mentalities which are unique to age cohort (Dubet, 1991). These group mentalities may be expressed in physical and sporting activities.

Nationality/race was included in the present study because leisure activities are sometimes “vehicles of social change, based on race and class issues” (Bialeschki & Walbert, 1998; Floyd & Shiness, 1999). Also, family structure and support have often been linked to sporting participation (Caldwell & Darling, 1999; Zeijl, Poel, Du Bois-Reymond, Ravesloot, & Meulman, 2000).

Whether termed “social learning” (Bandura, 1986), “social interaction” (Mead, 1934), or “internalisation of social norms” (Elias, 1978), the behavior of individuals is influenced by their social environment and rule system. Different environments reign in different sporting disciplines. How this affects sporting motivations remains to be discovered. In France, sporting activities involving elements of play, sensation and shared experiences are on the increase. Griffet and Roussel (1999) showed that these types of sporting activities tend to be played in less formalized environments. This implies that the notion of frequency of play, sometimes used in motivation research, is ambiguous because it refers to practice in a formal environment. Thus, a low frequency score may reflect lack of practice, or equally, a higher level of practice most of which takes place in an informal environment. Hence, in the present study we took into account both frequency of practice and formal/informal context. Equally, there may be confusion between frequency and regularity of play. The irregular practice of a sport only during the summer months, but every day therein, may be construed as frequent or infrequent practice depending on one’s point of view. To avoid any possible confusion, the present study took into account both of these independent variables. The linear regression analyses were designed to highlight the respective contributions of each variable.

Hypotheses

The goal of the study is to measure the types of motives discussed and to examine their association with selected background characteristics.

- H1: Duda (1992) claimed that the extrinsic motivation is the most important motivation in sport involvement. It will have a relatively high probability in the formal settings (club/association-based sports participation).
- H2: Extrinsic motivation has a relatively lower probability in the informal settings (informal sports participation).
- H3: Girls do not take part in sport with the same motivations as boys: boys are more exhibitionist and “players to the limit” (which is linked to what Zuckerman and Link (1968) called the search for danger and adventure).
- H4: Social determiners (social status, nationality) will not explain contemporary motives for sport participation.
- H5: The sports variables (expertise, frequency, type of sport) will not explain contemporary motives for sport participation.

Methods

Most interpretative work draws on small scale studies and little attention has been paid to the means of using categories derived from such small scale studies in sport to analyze large scale samples through quantitative analysis. Here we follow an approach analogous to that of Peretti-Watel (2001) who sought to use inductively generated categories from the qualitative/interpretive studies of Becker (1963) on marijuana use, testing them in a quantitative study employing a large sample.

Scale Elaboration

First, 12 semi-directed interviews were conducted to gather historical data from sports practitioners about their motivations and emotional rewards with regard to their sporting activities. More precisely, these interviews examined the nature of the sensations and emotions elicited by their activities and the localization of these sensations in terms of place (mental, physical) and time (during activity or afterwards). Respondents were selected at the University of the Mediterranean to represent both formal and informal participation. During interviews, subjects were asked to talk about their sport. Each phrase corresponding to one of the dimensions noted above. Any ambiguities in the phrases were removed. Of the original 107 phrases, 64 were removed, leaving 43 which were presented in random order as a first draft of a Sports Motivation Scale.

Second, the scale was pre-tested on 18 sportsmen/women (climbers at the Centre Régional d'Education Physique et Sportive in Aix-en-Provence). It was decided to use a general question to introduce each item (e.g. "What I like in the sport I practice most is . . ."). A seven point Likert type scale was used (1 = I don't agree at all; 7 = I totally agree). After administration of the questionnaire, subjects were interviewed in order to isolate and modify any problematic items, or questions. For example, in a question relating to the level of expertise of the subject, the phrase "I don't know what level I am" was replaced by the phrases "I am not classed (competitively)" and "I don't participate in competitions" as the initial phrase caused some confusion between subjective ability and objective ability (the French tending to interpret questions of ability level in purely competitive terms). This third phase led to a refinement of the scale items.

Third, this new version was tested on a sample of 397 adults and adolescents (sports participants and non-participants). The preliminary analysis of these data allowed a final refinement of the scale which involved the removal of non-pertinent items. Factor analysis showed there were more than the four dimensions. Items were kept only if they loaded at greater than .50 in one factor and less than .40 in all other factors. Several loaded at the same time in competition and exhibitionism dimensions. They were removed. The final scale comprised 13 items.

Following the steps outlined above, a statistical validation of the final version of the scale (i.e.: Cronbach's alpha > .60 and < .90, eigenvalue >

1, percentage of variance explained $> 60\%$) reached the required levels. Details of the last administration of the questionnaire are explained below.

Administration of the Questionnaire

The questionnaire was administered to 900 pupils (completed by 878 pupils: response rate = 97.6%) of *collèges* in year 3, normally 14 or 15 years of age ($n = 433$) and pupils of *lycées* in their final year, normally aged 17 to 18 ($n = 445$), in 19 *collèges* and 11 *lycées* in 14 towns from the Provence, Alpes, Côte d'Azur region. This region in the south of France encompasses coastal, countryside and mountainous areas. The questionnaire was distributed by members of the research team between the 23 March 2001, and the 13 April 2001, in the school classrooms of the pupils. The pupils were collectively informed that all responses to the self-administered questionnaire would be anonymous and confidential and that the questionnaires were to be completed individually.

The respondents had to also provide answers relating to 15 independent variables. The first of these, "school districts", represents the geographical location; this served to locate the individual as living in a mountainous area, on the coast or in between these two. Gender and age, degree to which respondents are involved in formal sport (registered in clubs) or informal sport, as well as their preference in respect of formal or informal sports practice when they do both, were also considered amongst the independent variables. In relation to sport the following also constituted independent variables: (a) the type of sport; (b) the level of expertise of the respondent; (c) the frequency of participation; (d) the regularity of participation; and (e) whether or not they participated in formal competitions. In terms of their academic orientation, pupils were asked which type of baccalaureate program (for those in *lycée*) they were following or (for those in *collège*) they intended to follow. In the French education system students choose at the age of 15/16 to follow one of a number of baccalaureate programs with a specialty in either arts and humanities, science, economics, or professional/vocational education. The variable education program thus has four values. Pupils in the sample attending *collèges* had not yet made their choice of baccalaureate program and thus their intended choice was used for this variable. The traditional variables relating to the family context of respondents were also employed: socio-economic status; father's nationality; and also the involvement of parents in the sporting practice of their child (whether or not they accompany the child when they participate in sport).

Analysis

Internal validity. Separate factor analyses were performed for male and female sports participants (the non-participants were eliminated from the study). Factor extraction was determined by eigenvalues greater than one. A Varimax rotation was used to generate the final matrices, the items being

assigned to a particular factor when loading on that factor was greater than .50 and less than .40 on all other factors. In this way, all items were assigned to factors. Internal consistency was measured by calculating Cronbach's alpha for each of the dimensions identified by the factor analysis.

All independent variables (seven socio-demographic, seven describing the activity, one describing social support, nine concerning subjects' attitudes to sport and sporting success) were included in a series of multiple linear regression analyses. Unless otherwise indicated, significance level for all analyses was the $p < .05$ level.

Results

Factor Analysis and Motivation Scores

The factor analysis produced four factors for the males. These factors were identical to the four dimensions determined a priori (Table 1). These included extrinsic/instrumental dimensions (competition and exhibitionism) and two intrinsic/aesthetic dimensions (sociability/sharing experiences and playing to the limit). The factor analysis for females produced only three factors. In this case, the competition and exhibitionism factors were combined and the mean values of the two scores were used.

All items loaded greater than .60 in their factor, and less than .40 in all other factors. Hence, no item is strongly associated with more than one factor. All Cronbach's alphas scored between .60 and .90 (Table 2). This means, items within each dimension were associated but not redundant. All eigenvalues were greater than 1, and the percentage of variance explained was greater than 60%. Thus, the required levels were reached and the scales can be used to measure the intrinsic and extrinsic targeted dimensions of sport participation. Table 2 shows that among males, the mean score for competition ($M = 5.18$, $SD = 1.72$)—was significantly higher ($t(768) = 7.57$, $p < .0001$) than that for exhibitionism ($M = 4.19$, $SD = 1.90$). In addition, there was little difference among male respondents in regard to the importance ascribed to competition ($M = 5.20$, $SD = 1.71$), sociability ($M = 5.11$, $SD = 1.49$), and playing to the limit ($M = 5.26$, $SD = 4.87$). Among females, however, a clear motivation hierarchy was evident. Sociability was the most important motive ($M = 5.62$, $SD = 1.31$) for participating in sports, followed, in order, by playing to the limit ($M = 4.87$, $SD = 1.42$), and competition/exhibitionism ($M = 3.84$, $SD = 1.42$).

Table 3 shows that all four motives were moderately, but significantly, correlated with one another (the results here are for the sample as a whole). The two most highly correlated dimension were competition and exhibitionism ($r = .54$).

The results (Table 2 and 4) show that (a) the extrinsic motive targeted still explains most (i.e. a third) of the variance; (b) the strength of the relationship between the extrinsic motive targeted and the independent variables is the more important. It is perhaps the reason of its frequent use by researchers.

TABLE 1
Varimax Rotated Factor Analysis: Factor Loading of the 13 Items

	Factor 1 et 2 (Competition/Exhibitionism)			Factor 3 (Sociability)		Factor 4 (Playing to the Limit)	
	Female	Male Competition	Male Exhibition	Female	Male	Female	Male
"What I like in the sport I practice most is:"							
<i>Factor 1a: Competition</i>							
—obtaining the best ranking or the best position possible	.77	.80	.26	.04	.08	.08	.10
—overcoming one or more of my opponents	.79	.80	.27	.15	-.05	.14	.12
—being victorious	.80	.85	.04	.07	.02	.14	.17
<i>Factor 1b: Exhibitionism</i>							
—impressing the persons who are watching me	.81	.24	.85	.04	.02	.01	.10
—attracting attention	.81	.17	.87	-.05	.04	.18	.02
—the positive reactions of spectators	.71	.26	.82	.12	.10	.09	.09
<i>Factor 3: Sociability</i>							
—having a good time with friends	.03	.01	.12	.78	.81	.05	-.01
—sharing the same experiences with people I appreciate	.06	-.03	.10	.75	.66	.22	.40
—sharing intimate moments with other sportsmen or sportswomen	.14	.08	-.02	.68	.79	.03	.06
<i>Factor 4: Playing to the limit</i>							
—the conflicting feelings (for example when I want to try something but at the same time I am scared)	-.03	-.08	.11	.23	.16	.68	.65
—confronting obstacles that I think I can conquer without being sure that I can or not	.17	.19	.02	.14	.40	.74	.53
—attempting actions which represent the maximum difficulty for me	.27	.27	.07	.09	-.01	.72	.74
—the actions I attempt when I don't know if I'll make it or break it, that means the actions close to the breaking point	.10	.15	.15	-.03	.12	.78	.63

Note: To avoid contamination of responses, items were not ordered by factors in the questionnaire.

TABLE 2
Eigenvalue, Percentage of Variance Explained, Mean, SD, Internal Consistency of the 13 Items Scale

	Factor 1 et 2 (Competition/Exhibitionism)			Factor 3 (Sociability)		Factor 4 (Playing to the Limit)	
	Female	Male Competition	Male Exhibition	Female	Male	Female	Male
Eigenvalue	4.4	4.1	2.1	2.0	1.3	1.4	1.0
Variance explained	33.9	31.5	48.1	49.6	57.7	60.3	65.7
Mean	3.84	5.20	4.23	5.62	5.11	4.87	5.26
SD	1.71	1.71	1.88	1.31	1.49	1.42	1.24
Alpha	.87	.83	.85	.62	.67	.74	.62

TABLE 3
Matrix of Correlations

		Sociability	Playing to the Limit	Exhibitionism
Playing to the limit	<i>r</i>	.4106		
Exhibitionism	<i>r</i>	.2019	.3037	
Competition	<i>r</i>	.1678	.3509	.5362

Descriptive Statistics/Independent Variables

Our sample comprised 432 males (49.6%) and 439 females (50.4%). The mean age was 15.2 years ($SD = .83$) for those in their last *collège* year and 18.0 ($SD = 1.03$) for those in their last *lycée* year. Socio-economic status of heads of household was representative of the region. Non-sports participants numbered 161 (18.7%). The most popular sports were football (19.3%)—almost entirely practiced by males, dance (10.4%)—almost entirely practiced by females, and tennis (8.9%). Thirty-nine percent of pupils practiced more than one sport (19.8% irregularly and 19.4% regularly). Ninety-two percent considered their sport a leisure activity. Forty-four per-

TABLE 4
Descriptive Results

	Sex		School	
	Female	Male	College (14-17 years)	Lycée (17-20 years)
Sports participant	74.4%	88.1%	80.6%	81.9%
Sports non-participant	25.6%	11.9%	19.4%	18.1%
Regular practice	40.3%	61.1%	59.8%	43.9%
Irregular practice	31.9%	26.2%	20.8%	38.0%
Competitive context	21.4%	49.1%	43.3%	28.8%
Non competitive context	49.7%	36.8%	35.9%	52.2%
Formal context preferred	26.4%	41.7%	40.2%	29.1%
Informal context preferred	30.5%	34.3%	69.3%	37.1%

cent practiced their sport at a competitive level. Forty-five percent preferred belonging to a private club or school club. Thirty-six percent preferred to practice informally with friends (outside a club environment). Six percent preferred to practice alone. Only three percent preferred to practice informally with members of their family. Fifty-four percent practiced their activity between one and two times per week (34.1% between three and four times per week; 12.1% more than four times per week).

Generally (Table 4), females showed a preference for informal practice environments, males preferred more formal practice environments. Both *collège* and *lycée* students preferred to practice in informal contexts. However, a greater percentage of the *collège* students practiced competitively than non-competitively. For *lycée* students, however, the inverse was true: a greater percentage preferred to practice non-competitively than competitively. It may be that parental constraint is the governing factor here. The older students being more free to exercise their personal choices.

Results of Multiple Regression Analyses

Multiple regression analysis (Table 5) revealed that region of residence, educational programme, socio-economic status, level of expertise, and frequency of participation were not significantly related to sport motivations. Regression analyses, however, showed that motives were significantly related to gender, age, nationality of father, parental support. Motives were also related to different indicators of sport participation.

Males were more likely than females to assign importance to competition/exhibitionism. Females, in contrast, were more strongly motivated by sociability than males. In the citation from the *Journal of Adam* (opening quote), Mark Twain implies that playing to the limits is more widespread among males. Here our results accord with those of Zuckerman and Link (1968) who found that males scored significantly higher than females on his "Thrill and Adventure Seeking" and "Disinhibition" scales. Nevertheless, for females, playing to the limits was still an important factor.

Age was associated with competition/exhibitionism but not sociability and playing to the limit. Further analysis shows that competition/exhibitionism motives decreased in importance as the age of students increased. However, these relationships were not linear. Figure 1 shows a dip between the ages of 16 and 17 (Newman-Keuls: $p < .01$). This effect may be due to maturation occurring between the ages of 16 and 17 years. Whatever the reason, the results show that the motives hierarchy stays the same, and the differences between intrinsic/aesthetic and extrinsic/instrumental motives increase with age. This is consistent with L'Aoustet et al. (2003) when they observed that socio-economic status of heads of household influences the participation of the *collégiens*, but not the participation of the *lycéens*. Thus, the instrumental/rational values, which are the values of modernity (Maffesoli, 1995), could stem from parental values. And the aesthetic values, which

TABLE 5
Multiple Linear Regressions Analyses for the Entire Sample

	Multiple Linear Regression n°1 MOTIVE 1 (Competition/Exhibitionism)			Multiple Linear Regression n°2 MOTIVE 2 (Sociability)			Multiple Linear Regression n°3 MOTIVE 3 (Playing to the limit)		
	B	t(684)	PValue	B	t(684)	PValue	B	t(684)	PValue
Intersect of slope 'B'	-24.44	-0.48	0.63	12.65	0.27	0.78	64.82	1.50	0.13
Geog. area	-0.01	-0.38	0.70	0.04	1.07	0.29	0.05	1.57	0.12
Sex	0.25	4.24	0.00	-0.26	-4.81	0.00	0.14	2.71	0.01
Age	-0.10	-2.96	0.00	0.05	1.54	0.12	0.00	0.10	0.92
Type of educational Programme	0.02	0.42	0.67	0.06	1.46	0.14	-0.02	-0.45	0.65
Socio-econ status of Household.	0.01	0.19	0.85	-0.03	-0.85	0.40	-0.04	-1.30	0.19
Nationality of father	0.04	0.27	0.79	-0.24	-1.85	0.06	-0.16	-1.29	0.20
Child in care	1.15	3.08	0.00	-0.14	-0.41	0.68	-0.36	-1.13	0.26
Parental support	0.12	2.82	0.00	0.08	1.95	0.05	0.05	1.50	0.13
Competition	-0.72	-5.05	0.00	-0.16	-1.26	0.21	-0.33	-2.75	0.01
Level of expertise	0.12	1.21	0.23	0.06	0.63	0.53	-0.04	-0.52	0.60
Preferred context of participation	-0.18	-2.24	0.03	0.02	0.26	0.80	0.06	0.81	0.42
Frequency of participation	0.02	0.97	0.33	0.00	0.14	0.89	0.03	1.71	0.09
Type of sport	-0.07	-2.78	0.01	0.00	-0.07	0.95	0.02	0.96	0.34
Regularity of sporting activity	-0.04	-0.27	0.79	-0.30	2.50	0.01	0.25	2.20	0.03
	R = .46 R ² = .21 F(14,684) = 13.06 p < .0001			R = .26 R ² = .07 F(14,684) = 3.65 p < .0001			R = .27 R ² = .07 F(14,684) = 3.79 p < .0001		

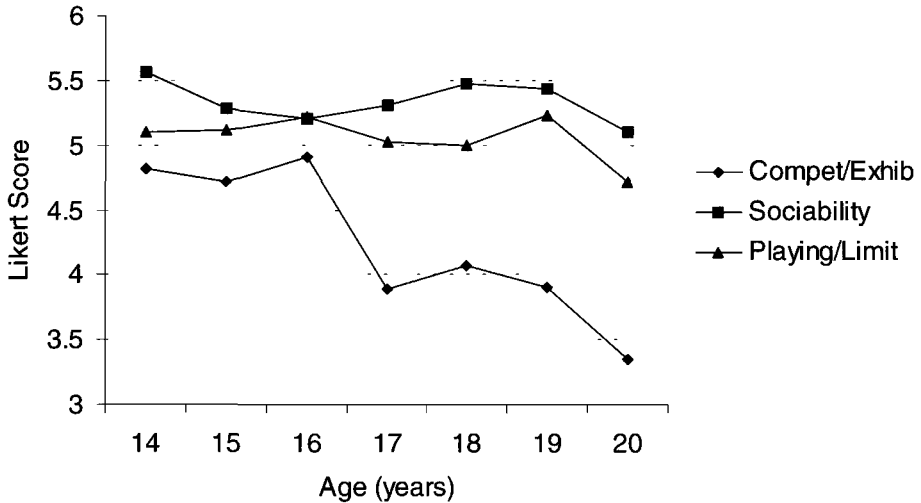


Figure 1. Mean Likert scores by age and motive dimension R Rao (18,1827) = 3.50; $p < .0001$

are the values of post-modernity, could be a result of contemporary ethos values.

Influence of the family environment and of ethnic identity. The effect of socio-economic status of head of household was non-significant for all motives for participation. The results did not support the approach based on socio-economic status which is most closely associated with the work of Bourdieu (1984). As indicated in the discussion of results above socio-economic status of head of household showed no statistically significant relationship with motivation. Bourdieu's approach thus fails to explain sporting activities as an element of culture.

The greater the interest of parents in the sporting activities of their children, the greater the importance ascribed to competition/exhibitionism and sociability. We had hoped to show that children having parents born outside France would be more likely than the others to be motivated by sociability (sport, like language, being a means of socialization). But here the results show the opposite ($t(631) = 2.27, p < .05$): the sons of fathers from North Africa seem to eschew socializing. This may reflect a general feeling of being denigrated and stigmatized.

The results of the multiple regression show a positive relationship between competing in competitive activities and competitive/exhibitionism motives. In contrast, participation in competitive activities was negatively related to the playing it to the limit motive. Likewise, there were significant and positive relationships between regularity of sporting activity and motivations pertaining to sociability and playing it to the limit. No significant effects of *level of expertise* or frequency of participation on motivation were

found. To investigate how motivations differed for the different *types of sport* practiced by our subjects, all those sports practiced by less than 10 subjects in our sample were excluded. For the resulting 12 categories, the only motivational factor that showed a significant effect was competition/exhibitionism. Here, football, basketball and tennis players scored higher than joggers and skiers (Newman-Keuls, $p < .05$).

In order to control for the effect of the variety of contexts, we requested that respondents indicate their *preferred context for participation*, and the context in which they actually participated (i.e. formally in clubs/associations, informally alone, informally with friends, informally with family). Almost 60% of those who participated in at least one sport, when participating in their principal sport, did so in the context of a formal sporting organization (37.2% only participated in such organizations, while 20% combined formal and informal participation). Results showed that there was a significant relationship between competition/exhibitionism motive and the institutional context within which individuals prefer to participate. This motive decreased according to the following sequence: from a preference for participation in a formal sports organization, to "I am unable to choose", to informal participation with friends, to informal participation alone, to informal participation with members of my family.

Discussion

The statistical validation of the scale reached the required levels. However, the internal consistency of the questionnaire (Cronbach's alpha), while remaining within satisfactory limits, was not as high for sociability and playing to the limits as for competition and exhibitionism. This was due to the fact the questionnaire contained a minimum number of items in order to facilitate its administration. Regarding playing to the limits, which seems to us to be much more complex than that of the other concepts, we included four items. However, in spite of this, the internal consistency for the male group was weak as we had to split our total sample in two for the analysis by gender. We expect that with a larger sample the alpha value would exceed .70.

Our results showed that females were much more likely than males to be motivated by sociability. Extrinsic/instrumental motives (competition/exhibitionism) were far less important as sport motivations for women than they were for men. Also, among women there was a blending of competition and exhibitionism motives. The psychological literature has shown that females are more self-determined than males in education (Vallerand & Sénécal, 1992), leisure pursuits (Pelletier, Vallerand, Green Demers, Brière, & Blais, 1995) and interpersonal relationships (Blais, Sabourin, Boucher, & Vallerand, 1990). Reasons put forward to explain this phenomenon take into account both innate, genetic differences and acquired cultural differences. For the females, the motive of competition/exhibitionism scores was below the midpoint (four) of the Likert scale, implying that females rate this motive negatively. In contrast, among males, the competition and exhibitionism mo-

tives were rated higher than four, implying these two motives had positive connotations. For many females, the idea of showing off is inconceivable. This is consistent with James (2000) who observed that "body image is a big issue during adolescence and many girls are unhappy with their physical appearance" (p. 263). In a study of Australian youth, 62% of boys were reported to be happy with their body weight, while 66% of girls thought that they were overweight (Institute for Child Health Research, 1995 cited in James, 2000). This is also consistent with French findings (CFES, 1998). One can understand that the need for exhibitionism, at least in non-pathological cases, is inconsistent with a poor physical self-image. Additionally, males were significantly more likely than females to prefer participating in sports in a formal, competitive context. Having greater experience competing, they may have been in a better position to distinguish competition from exhibitionism.

The multiple regression analyses allowed us to verify the external validity of the scale. On the one hand, our scale fits with common sense (e.g. joggers are less competitive than footballers) and on the other hand, that the present results accord with those in the previous literature (as discussed below). We note that, for sociability and playing to the limits, the R^2 (measure of the strength of the relationship) and the percentage of variance explained are weak. However, it is the very weakness of this relationship which is of interest when it is compared with that of competition. This weakness signifies that the motives of sociability and playing to the limit are quasi-invariant structures of activity. Such a result combined with the exhibited elevated mean scores (Likert scale) lead one to question the usual theoretical definitions describing the nature of sport.

From a methodological point of view, the flexible application of the scale should be noted. It is applicable to heterogeneous populations. Certain researchers (Havitz and Dimanche, 1997; Stewart, 1998) emphasize the necessity of taking into account all facets of the experience of leisure. The study described here seeks to clarify in an original manner some of these facets with two different populations (pupils of *lycées* and *collèges*). Our study reveals four sources of variation of motives: the framework within which the practice takes place (informal alone, informal accompanied, or in a formally organized setting), the nature of the activity (athletics, swimming, climbing etc.), individual characteristics (sex and age) and the level of social support.

It is possible that other independent variables exist which explain the motivation of sports practitioners, but in our sample certain results approaching significance remained under the required 05 level. Future research should take into account the necessity to increase sample size and to interview sports participants in general without being overly concerned with accurate representation of the native population. In the present study, for example, some results pertaining to family structure reached a high level of significance, but have not been reported due to our concerns over the small sample size.

Whereas the level of expertise and frequency of participation were non-significant in the multiple regressions analyses, the framework within which

the participation took place (formal or informal institution) had a significant effect. The more the participation takes place in a self organized, informal or primitive context, the more the motives of competition/exhibitionism become superfluous. Moreover, when we distinguish between competition and exhibitionism for the male group, it appears that it is only the motive of competition which reduces as the context becomes informal. The motive of exhibitionism is not affected. These results corroborate the findings of Travert (1997) when he described the difficulties experienced by footballers who play in informal games of soccer in open spaces around housing blocks in the most disadvantaged areas of the city of Toulon. These individuals had considerable reticence in their relationship with sporting institutions even though they played in a highly exhibitionist manner.

Both *collégiens* and *lycéens* preferred practice in informal context. Nevertheless, more *collégiens* practiced in a competitive than in a non-competitive context. The *lycéens*, on the other hand, were true to their preferences, practicing more in a non-competitive context than in a competitive context. Perhaps this is due to an influence of parents on the younger *collégiens* which disappears for the older *lycéens*. Parental context is linked to leisure participation (Caldwell & Darling, 1999; Zeijl et al., 2000). Our results show that the more parents are involved in the sporting activities of their children (accompanying them during their sporting activities), the more those children are competitive and exhibitionist. Going to watch a child participate, a parent is showing that their children's participation has importance for them. In return the child invests him/herself in the competitive character of the activity which is often the most demonstrative facet of this investment. If children are congratulated for their performances, this motive is thus positively reinforced.

Competition/exhibitionism was the only motive which changed with age. However, the observed decrease was not linear. Between the ages of 16 and 18 years a significant dip in the Likert score for competition/exhibitionism occurred, over and above the general trend, followed by a return to the initial reducing with age relationship (Figure 1). We suggest that this effect may be due to maturation occurring between the ages of 16 and 17 years, but also to the influence of parental values on children's participation.

Implications. Psychologists interested in motivational factors tend to be more interested in describing the influence of various factors (age, sex, etc.) on motivation and the effects of motivation on performance than in describing societal influences on sports participants. On the other hand, sociologists/ethnologists tend to focus on small groups of sports participants (e.g. surfers) and deduce that their overriding motivations are sensation-seeking and the desire to belong to a group. The results of these socio-ethnological studies are then generalised to the general population. These two methods of approach do not permit us to understand the motivations of the "average" (any member of society in general) sports participant with regard to their choice of sporting activity.

When male and female groups are combined, sociability is the most important motive followed by playing to the limit. The motive of competition/exhibitionism is often regarded negatively. The modern values may be due to the parental values. This supports Maffesoli's claim (1995) that in a post-modern context the value of distinction/concurrence is relatively unimportant. The values which are more important in postmodern societies are values centered on the experience and sharing of emotion.

This study corroborates similar studies on sport and the cultural activities of adults and adolescents and renders less valid certain criticisms of the efficacy of sport. Baudry (1991), uses extreme cases (e.g. the father who obliges his children, from the age of five years, to play tennis intensively) to make his point that the goal of competition, the destruction of one's opponent, also leads to the destruction of the sportsman through performance-enhancing drugs and/or sports injuries. The results show that the *collégiens* practicing competitively prefer informal practice environments. But when Baudry uses such extreme examples, he goes too far. Sporting practice in institutional environments, even if it is not chosen by the student as being that which he prefers, may be due more to a deal made with the parents than a strict imposition on their part. The present study allows us to counter such criticisms from those such as Baudry; only 8.3% of the children in our sample considered their sport as other than a leisure activity; hardly the reaction of press-ganged or hyper-competitive children. Also, the scores for competition and exhibitionism were often lower than those for the intrinsic/aesthetic motives of sharing experiences and playing to the limits, again suggesting that Baudry's ideas of the dominance of competitive values are not the whole story.

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