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When Winners Need Help: Mental Health in Elite Sport

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3 What connects these individuals Frank Bruno, Dame Kelly Holmes, Marcus Trescothick and 4 Clarke Carlisle? If you said are all are winners you would be correct, if you said all are elite 5 sports individuals you would also be correct, but there is something else that connects these 6 elite-level athletes. They have all reported having mental health concerns either whilst 7 performing or shortly after retiring. Boxer Frank Bruno has bipolar disorder and depression 8 and has been admitted to psychiatric wards 3 times in the last 12 years. Dame Kelly Holmes 9 was battling depression in the lead up to the 2004 Olympics. Marcus Trescothick was playing 10 cricket for England when depression forced his retirement. In 2014, Clarke Carlisle attempted 11 to take his own life by jumping in front of an oncoming lorry and was later admitted to a 12 psychiatric unit for depression. These elite sportspeople are not alone, the list could have 13 included Gary Speed, footballer and Manager who took his own life in November 2012 after 14 battling with depression or Terry Newton, Rugby league player, who also sadly took his own 15 life in 2010, after being sacked and being found to have used performance-enhancing drugs. 16

17 Mental Health in Elite Sporting Contexts

18 Elite athletes are perceived to be highly mentally functioning individuals, given their elite 19 status. Most notably elite athletes are known for positive mental attributes, such as being 20 mentally tough, resilient, focused, confident, and composed (Holland, Woodcock, Cumming, 21 & Duda, 2010; MacNamara, Button, & Collins, 2010). However, there are an increasing 22 number of anecdotal reports suggesting elite athletes, like the rest of us, are vulnerable to an 23 array of mental illnesses such as depression, anxiety, eating disorders, obsessive-compulsive 24 disorders, addictions, and substance misuse. But why are elite athletes, who are considered to 25 have positive mental attributes, vulnerable to mental health difficulties? To discuss this 26 question, it is important to consider the environmental and social contexts in which elite sport 27 operates. Specifically, in elite sport, both competition and training environments are highly 28 controlled and pressurised. As such, elite athletes often experience a loss of personal 29 autonomy, disempowerment, and experience unique pressures in the form of competitive 30 achievement, staying physically healthy, remaining injury free, retaining or winning a new 31 contract, or being selected regularly by their coach. The elite sporting environment can 32 facilitate identity foreclosure whereby athletes shape and influence their view of self, merely 33 within the parameters of an athletic identity. High athletic identity has been associated with

34 psychological distress and depression when the function of athletic identity has been 35 removed, for example, competitive burnout (Cresswell & Eklund, 2007) injury (Appaneal, 36 Levine, Perna, & Roh, 2009) and retirement (Wippert & Wippert, 2008). Some elite sporting 37 environmental cultures may perpetuate maladaptive normative eating practices, particularly 38 in lean appearance or weight management-related sports, or promote risk-taking behaviours 39 in the form of hazardous drinking, drug use and pathological gambling in order to cope with 40 mounting stress and anxiety (Reardon & Factor, 2010). For example, in the case of eating 41 practices, current Manchester City manager, Pep Guardiola, exiled some of his players from 42 the first-team, when returning to pre-season training, until they met certain weight targets 43 (BBC, 2016). For some players, such punitive rules may promote maladaptive weight loss 44 practices that perpetuate disordered eating.

45 From a social perspective, elite athletes are under great pressure for being positive 46 role models, living up to fans expectations and being media 'personalities'. With the advent 47 of 24-hour news and social media, elite athletes are under increasing social scrutiny regarding 48 their competitive endeavours and their personal lives, and the pressure to interact with fans 49 may also be a significant stressor. Elite athletes, therefore, need to cope with continued 50 professional and personal media interest and may need to adjust their everyday living and 51 lifestyle decision-making, placing unique strain upon their personal life. It would be remiss of 52 sport governing bodies and national governments, therefore, to assume that the elite sporting 53 communities are less vulnerable to mental illness, simply because of their elite status and 54 perceived positive mental attributes (Junge & Feddermann-Demont, 2016). But this principle 55 could also be applied at the other end of the elite athletes' career, it has been found that 56 retired athletes may also be prone to distress and sleep disturbances (van Ramele, Aoki, 57 Kerkhoffs, & Gouttebarge, 2017). Both the environmental and social contexts can potentially 58 form a toxic a mix that can expose elite athletes to mental health issues. To reduce this 59 vulnerability, it is important that mental health professionals operating in elite sport 60 understand the athletic context, both environmental and social, to develop and implement 61 bespoke interventions that protect elite athletic populations from undue risk of mental ill 62 health.

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64 Sport as a Protective Factor for Mental Illness: Fact or Paradox?

In March 2015, the then deputy Prime Minister Nicholas Clegg launched the Mental Health

66 Charter for Sport and Recreation; the Professional Footballers Association, Rugby Football

67 League (RFL), Lawn Tennis Association (LTA), United Kingdom Athletics (UKA),

68 Professional Cricketers' Association (PCA) and the Professional Jockeys Association (PJA)

69 were some of the sporting bodies signing up to the charter. The charter was set up to promote

70 wellbeing, adopting good mental health practices, and trying to prevent discrimination on

71 grounds of mental health. Primarily the charter was designed to raise awareness of mental

health and to help promote the idea that sport and exercise can be used as a preventive

73 measure in mental health.

74 In linking elite sports and elite sports personalities to this charter and from the way 75 much of the evidence was presented, an onlooker may conclude that individuals involved in 76 elite sport must somehow be immune to mental health issues. The reality could not be further 77 from the truth. There is no clear evidence to suggest that elite athletes have lower rates of 78 mental health disorders than the general community (Gulliver, Griffiths, & Christensen, 79 2012). As such, the impression that elite athletes are more 'mentally healthy' is a paradox. 80 Indeed, as alluded to earlier, several factors specific to elite sport could increase their 81 vulnerability to mental health disorders. If sport does have protective properties, by the time 82 an individual reaches elite status the protective nature of sport has been eradicated, and to 83 some extent elite athletes are left just as vulnerable to mental health issues as those not 84 involved in any sport. Worse still they are unable to use sport, as a form of treatment. We are 85 told consistently by the media and many governments agencies that regular sport 86 participation will help extend our lives, better still we will have a healthier more active old 87 age if we regularly participate in sport. The facts appear to show that sport for most may help 88 prevent or mitigate the effects of some aspects of mental health. The paradox however is that 89 elite sport participation may be detrimental to mental health. For example, Allison Schmitt an 90 Olympic freestyler had every reason in London 2012 to feel proud of her achievements, she 91 had won silver in the 400-metre freestyle, and had gained bronze in the 4 x 100 metre 92 freestyle relay, and she walked away with a gold medal in the 200-metre freestyle, having 93 lead the pack from the beginning and finishing 2 seconds ahead of the second-place 94 competitor. She walked away from the pool with a new American record, an American hero, 95 and a gaping grin. This feeling of euphoria soon melted away however, just a few months 96 later she started to notice in herself classic symptoms of depression (Crum, 2016). Schmitt 97 states that "I didn't really understand it... everything had always seemed to go my way... I 98 had great friends, great family I had success in the sport... but at the same time I wasn't 99 happy... I couldn't understand why I was unhappy... why would I be depressed? ... I have no reason to be depressed." (Crum, 2016). In the same article, sport psychologist Scott 100

101 Goldman of Michigan University stated that feelings of loss are common after a major

102 sporting event. When years of effort suddenly materialise, it seems logical to emerge

103 underwhelmed or confused by what the future holds. This is one example of the unique and

104 paradoxical nature of elite professional sport.

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106 Mental Health and Transitions in Elite Sport

107 According to the charity MIND, people aged between 16-34 have a 1 in 4 chance of meeting 108 the clinical criteria for one or more mental health disorders, which is precisely at the time 109 when many elite athletes are in their early, mid or latter stages of their professional sporting 110 career. Unsuccessful negotiation of transitions across the lifespan can potentially increase the 111 risk of mental illness (Lee & Gramotney, 2007a, 2007b). Transitions can be understood as 112 experiential and developmental. According to Schlossberg's (1981) seminal paper, 113 experiential transitions can be triggered by physical, social or physiological changes that 114 result in a change of assumptions about self and subsequent behaviour. For example, an elite 115 adolescent athlete may experience a change in physical context (e.g., moving away from the 116 family home), taking on a new social role (e.g., academy player), or experience physiological 117 changes (e.g., puberty). In contrast, an older adult athlete may experience a move to a lesser-118 ranked team (i.e., physical context), used as a back-up/ utility player (i.e., social role) and 119 experience the onset of ageing and physical decline (i.e., physiological change). It is 120 important that any experiential transitional change be viewed in relation to developmental 121 changes. Wylleman and Lavallee (2004) have documented four athletic developmental 122 transitions 1) initiation age (6-7): transition into organised competitive sports; 2) 123 development age (12-13): transition into intensive level training and competitions; mastery 124 age (18-19): transition into highest level or elite sport, and 4) discontinuation age (28-30): 125 transition out of competitive sport. As an example, a development transitional change from 126 amateur level competition to more professional intense academy-level competition is 127 characteristic of an adolescent athlete, whereas a discontinuation transitional change is 128 synonymous with and older adult athlete retiring from elite training and competition. 129 Difficulties in coping with experiential and developmental transitions in the world of elite 130 sport could expose athletes to mental health issues, as these transitions can adversely affect 131 assumptions one has about oneself and that of the wider world. It has long been recognised 132 that during adolescence, early adulthood, and older adulthood, athletes must cope with events 133 or issues that are typical of their phase of development (Arnold & Sarkar, 2015). In view that

134 mental illness can occur at any point during a person's lifespan, the adoption of an athletic 135 developmental lifespan perspective should help foster a more nuanced understanding of 136 mental health vulnerability across athletic age boundaries. In the general mental health 137 literature, it is recognised that many first episodes of mental health disorders occur during 138 mid to late adolescence and young adulthood (Rutter & Smith, 1995) and if left untreated can 139 predict problems in later adulthood. It would appear advisory therefore, that sports 140 practitioners should closely monitor athletic experiential and developmental transitions of youth and academy level athletes, and maybe make mental health checks as important as 141 142 physical health to ensure young athletes remain both mentally and physically healthy. 143 However, the prevalence of mental health issues in elite sport is not yet clear for adolescent 144 athletes or indeed across the athletic lifespan.

To date, not enough is known about the prevalence and risk factors associated with mental illness across the lifespan of elite sports participation. Therefore, it is important that practitioners in the psychological community investigate critical transitional periods and associated mental health risk factors that are developmentally specific to elite athletes. Doing so will help inform and tailor mental health interventions to meet the developmental needs of the elite athletic population.

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152 Mental Health and the Difficulty of Seeking Help

153 There are several barriers to seeking help for mental health issues not just within elite sports 154 but also within the general public. Poor health literacy is one such barrier, in this regard not 155 having sufficient knowledge about where to seek help is a major obstruction to recovery 156 (Abram, Paskar, Washburn, & Teplin, 2008). Individuals may find it difficult to distinguish 157 between real distress and normal distress, and may lack the necessary psychological 158 awareness to disentangle these issues (Boyd et al., 2007). In other words, at what point do 159 you call for help? This is a difficult question to answer. Often knowing when to call for help 160 depends on the individual and what 'normal' behaviour looks like. There also maybe a lack 161 of awareness about where or who to ask for help (Gulliver et al., 2012). 162 Stigma has been implicated as one of the major barriers to seeking help, particularly amongst 163 those living in small social populations (Abram et al., 2008) such as elite sports communities.

164 Sometimes it is the very people around you, the ones that you should be able to turn to for

- help, are the very ones it's most difficult to confide in. It has been shown that athletes may
- 166 be stigmatised by fellow athletes and coaches as being weak, or even by the general public

167 (Kamm, 2005). Indeed, professional coaches are reluctant to refer athletes to a mental health 168 professional because of the apparent stigma (Watson, 2006). Male athletes have reported 169 negative assessment of other males who seek counselling from a psychotherapist, but not 170 from a sports psychologist; the former being an expert in clinical mental health, while the 171 latter have expertise in performance enhancement (Gulliver et al., 2012). This appears to 172 demonstrate contrasting perceptions relating to clinical and performance psychology practice 173 and thus may contribute to a lack of uptake to seek and receive mental health sport among 174 male athletes. Research suggests that some people may avoid reporting issues of mental-175 health due to self-stigma and negative attitudes for seeking help (Lannin, Vogel, Brenner, 176 Abraham, & Heath, 2016). However, male athletes in particular seem motivated not to seek 177 help simply because of the stigma surrounding mental-health.

178 Several organisations in the UK have recognised that mental health is an important 179 issue. The Professional Footballers Association (PFA) has set up a 24-hour hotline so that 180 professional footballers can seek help regarding their mental health. They have an impressive 181 website dedicated to those in professional football who feel they may benefit from support. 182 But recently goalkeeper Steve Harper was critical of the PFA for not doing enough for 183 players in relation to mental health concerns, for this he was labelled 'emotional' by Pat Lilly 184 of the PFA. Pat Lilly says his comments were taken out of context, nevertheless, a 185 professional footballer felt unsupported, and abandoned when he needed help, and was 186 derived publically for talking about mental health provision. It is possible that Steve Harper 187 was unaware that the PFA website existed, but it is also possible that a website may not be 188 the most appropriate platform for either this type of message or that the messages were 189 inappropriate. Maybe the message and support needs to be available at a more local (i.e., 190 dressing room) level.

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192 Conclusions

193 It is accepted that taking part in sport can be beneficial for physical health, it is also 194 accepted that taking part in a sport can have beneficial aspects to our mental health. However, 195 there are an increasing number of anecdotal and empirical reports suggesting elite athletes, 196 like the rest of us, are vulnerable to an array of mental illnesses such as depression, anxiety, 197 eating disorders, obsessive-compulsive disorders, addictions, and substance misuse. From a 198 social perspective, elite athletes are under great pressure for being positive role models, living 199 up to fans expectations and being media 'personalities'. They work in a highly competitive, 200 performance driven and controlled environments that shapes their personal identity. If

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