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Athletes' Perceptions of Positive Development Resulting from Canadian Intercollegiate Sport: A Content Analysis

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Abstract

Governing bodies of university sport have adopted more holistic approaches to the development of their athletes (Canadian Interuniversity Sport, 2013; NCAA, 2015). To our knowledge, there has been little empirical effort made to describe and assess positive development in the Canadian Interuniversity Sport (CIS) context. In this study, we qualitatively examined positive development outcomes associated with athletes' participation in CIS sport programs. We conducted semi-structured open-ended interviews with 15 student-athletes (5 male, 10 female; M_{age} = 22, range = 17-26). To analyze the data, we performed a deductive content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) using positive development categories found within the Youth Experience Survey (YES 2.0; Hansen & Larson, 2005). Athletes discussed positive developmental outcomes consistent with all YES categories. Our results suggest university sport programs offer rich opportunities for developing skills, qualities, experiences, and relationships needed to become functioning members in our society.

Keywords

Positive Development, Emerging Adulthood, Qualitative Research, University Sport, Coaching

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Governing bodies of university sport have adopted more holistic approaches to the development of their athletes (Canadian Interuniversity Sport, 2013; NCAA, 2015). To our knowledge, there has been little empirical effort made to describe and assess positive development in the Canadian Interuniversity Sport (CIS) context. In this study, we qualitatively examined positive development outcomes associated with athletes' participation in CIS sport programs. We conducted semi-structured open-ended interviews with 15 student-athletes (5 male, 10 female; M_{age} = 22, range = 17-26). To analyze the data, we performed a deductive content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) using positive development categories found within the Youth Experience Survey (YES 2.0; Hansen & Larson, 2005). Athletes discussed positive developmental outcomes consistent with all YES categories. Our results suggest university sport programs offer rich opportunities for developing skills, qualities, experiences, and relationships needed to become functioning members in our society. Keywords: Positive Development, Emerging Adulthood, Qualitative Research, University Sport, Coaching

Governing bodies of university sport in North America have recently announced a more holistic approach to athlete development and have focused more attention on their athletes' academic success and personal and socio-emotional growth (Canadian Interuniversity Sport [CIS], 2013; National College Athletic [NCAA], 2015). For instance, the stated aim of CIS is to "inspire Canada's next generation of leaders through excellence in sport and academics" (2013, p. 10). Moreover, the National College Athletic Association (NCAA) has announced a partnership with the National Association of Academic Advisors for Athletics (N4A) to begin formally integrating academic and life skill programs, as well as practitioners trained to implement such programs within the NCAA (NCAA, 2015). Although university sport programs have altered their mission statements and have begun to implement programs that target positive development, the positive development of university athletes remains an understudied area of research.

The current knowledge on positive development through university sport stems from a limited number of studies conducted within the CIS context that have examined who is responsible for university athletes' development (i.e., Banwell & Kerr, 2016; Deal & Camiré, 2016a, Rathwell & Young, 2017), and what outcomes constitute positive development (i.e., Banwell & Kerr, 2016; Deal & Camiré, 2016b; Rathwell & Young, 2016). Banwell and Kerr (2016) interviewed eight Canadian university coaches about how they fostered positive development and found that coaches promoted development through reflection, mentoring, and forming close personal relationship with their athletes. Rathwell and Young (2017) interviewed 15 CIS athletes regarding who was responsible for their personal and socio-emotional development and found that athletes believed they were the main contributors to their own

development. However, athletes also identified their athlete peers and coaches as playing major roles in fostering their development. Likewise, through interviews with eight university athletes, Deal and Camiré (2016a) found teammates and coaches were important for facilitating volunteer opportunities and teaching athletes how to give back to their communities.

With regards to what constitutes positive development in the university sport context, Deal and Camiré (2016a, 2016b) considered athletes' contribution to their own wellbeing, as well as the well-being of others and their communities. They found that university athletes gained the necessary experiences through university sport to become contributing members of their societies. Others have defined positive development as the acquisition of life skills (Banwell & Kerr, 2016; Rathwell & Young, 2016; Rathwell & Young, 2017).

> Life skills are skills that enable individuals to succeed in the different environments in which they live, such as school, home and in their neighborhoods. Life skills can be behavioral (communicating effectively with peers and adults) or cognitive (making effective decisions); interpersonal (being assertive) or intrapersonal (setting goals). (Danish, Forneris, Hodge, & Heke, 2004, p. 40)

In general, previous research suggests that athletes (Rathwell & Young, 2016, 2017), as well as coaches (Banwell & Kerr, 2016) believe life skills are important indicators of positive development within the university sport context. However, one limitation of the aforementioned studies is that they provide little explanation on how life skills are understood and contextualized within university sport contexts. The current study will add to the literature by qualitatively examining university athletes' perceptions of life skills based on their lived experiences in CIS sport programs.

A popular quantitative measure of life skills is the Youth Experience Scale (YES 2.0; Hansen & Larson, 2005). Gould and Carson (2008) recommended using the YES 2.0 (Hansen & Larson, 2005) to frame the study of life skill development in sport settings because it provides an excellent example of the types of developmental facets that need to be considered. The YES 2.0 outlines six positive development categories (identity, initiative, basic skills, interpersonal relations, teamwork and social skills, adult networks, and social capital) and five negative categories (stress, negative peer influences, social exclusion, negative group dynamics, and inapropriate adult behaviour). Recently, Rathwell and Young (2016) provided quantitative evidence for the utility of using YES derived themes for assessing life skill development within two national samples of Canadian university sport athletes. For instance, average university athletes (n = 1116) believed they learned self-regulatory capabilities related to goal setting, effort, planning, and discipline, improved their creativity and ability to find new information, and developed teamwork and social skills through their involvement in university sport. Although their work provides a snapshot of the average university athlete's experience, there remains a need for qualitative work in this area to explore how YES-based developmental experiences are understood by university athletes. The current study will provide the first qualitative explanation of how university athletes understand YES-based themes as as they relate to their experiences in university sport. It is important to evaluate athletes' experiences in the CIS because of the vast number of individuals who are involved in these programs on a yearly basis. Every year, approximately 12,000 student-athletes participate in Canadian university sport programs that are offered across 56 different universities. Considering that CIS programs claim to promote success in athletics, academics, and in life (CIS, 2013), it is important for researchers to systematically evaluate these claims. The aim of the current study was to assess the CIS' claims about promoting success in life, using YES-based themes as our measure of success.

Conceptual Framework

The positive youth development framework (PYD) served as a broader conceptual guide for this study (Lerner, Almerigi, Theokas, & Lerner, 2005). The PYD framework is relevant because it is a strength-based framework that stresses the importance of interactions between individuals and their environments. We were interested in the positive development of university athletes within the context of CIS sport. According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, n.d.), youth are defined as "persons between the ages of 15 and 24 years." Although UNESCO offers an age range, they say that "youth is best understood as a period of transition from the dependence of childhood to adulthood's independence and awareness of our interdependence as members of a community" (UNESCO, n.d.). In line with the UNESCO definition of youth, university athletes are situated in the final transition period between childhood and adulthood. In the past 2 decades, Arnett (2000, 2006) coined this period as emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000, 2006). According to Arnett (2000), emerging adults (aged 18-25) have more independence than younger cohorts of youth (i.e., children and adolescents), but have yet to achieve standard markers of adulthood such as marriage and parenthood (Arnett, 2000). Although emerging adults represent the oldest cohort of youth, we propose the PYD framework is useful for examining development in university sport. Our rationale for using the PYD framework is that attending university is contended to be a developmental period associated with the delayed onset of adulthood (Arnett, 2000), and that universities are institutions designed to develop student's strengths (e.g., knowledge and skills) within this period so that they can succeed within society upon graduation. Thus, we deemed it most appropriate to use a strength-based framework that emphasizes how individuals interact with their environments and how such interactions can prepare individuals for adulthood.

The PYD framework has been used extensively for evaluating the positive developmental outcomes of sport programs in the past (Gould & Carson, 2008; Holt, 2007), with life skill development being a major focus of this research (Gould & Carson, 2008; Petitpas, Cornelius, Van Raalte, & Jones, 2005). However, nearly all PYD research in sport has examined youth and adolescent populations and has focused on recreational (e.g., Falcão, Bloom, & Gilbert, 2012; Weiss, Stuntz, Bhalla, Bolter, & Price, 2013), high school (Hayden et al., 2015; Kendellen & Camiré, 2015), and elite youth sport (e.g., Strachan, Côté, & Deakin, 2011; Wilkes & Côté, 2010). Although a wealth of studies on younger sporting cohorts exists, there remains a lack of empirical information on (a) which personal and socio-emotional competencies are developed within emerging adult sport settings (e.g., university sport), and (b) which of these competencies influence emerging adults' success in various other realms of life.

The aim of the current study was to qualitatively examine university athletes' positive development and the life skills they developed through their participation in CIS sport programs. Specifically, we aimed to document and describe the experiences of student-athletes and their perceptions of positive development related to their intercollegiate sport involvement using themes borrowed from the YES. Our specific research questions were (a) which YES-based developmental experiences and life skills are pertinent to the university sport context? and (b) which experiences and skills benefit athletes' lives outside of the sporting context? The current study provides the first in-depth qualitative assessment to our knowledge of positive developmental outcomes derived from the context of Canadian university sport. Moreover, this study offers one of the first qualitative examinations of the utility of YES-based themes when considering student-athletes' experiences and perceptions of positive development. Thus, the intended audience for this manuscript are life skill researchers who are familiar with conceptual frameworks such as the YES, who are also interested in how developmental outcomes manifest

in university student athletes. In terms of practitioners, the intended audience includes university coaches, student athletes, counselors and mentors to student athletes, and individuals with a vested interest in optimizing resources and support services for student athletes at Canadian universities (e.g., athletic directors).

Role of the Researchers

The present study was led by Dr. Rathwell as part of his doctoral dissertation under the supervision of Dr. Young. The current research project fits within Dr. Rathwell's primary research program, which aims to better understand the personal and psycho-social development of athletes within elite sport programs. Dr. Rathwell's interests on this subject stem from his involvement in elite sport as a child and adolescent. Dr. Rathwell was responsible for conceptualizing the research project, collecting and analyzing the data, and drafting the manuscript. Dr. Young is interested in athletes' and coaches' perspectives on conditions related to quality sport experiences, investigating these conditions through a psycho-social lens, as they apply to young adults in sport, as well as middle-aged and older adult sportspersons. Dr. Young helped inform the study design, assisted with the analysis and interpretation of the data, and co-edited drafts of this manuscript. Dr. Rathwell has significant experience interacting with university sport athletes as a mental performance consultant, and Dr. Young was head coach of an intercollegiate track program for several years. Informed by these experiences, as well as substantial prior research and empirical observation relating to Canadian university sport, both investigators are convinced there are a host of unique adaptive developmental outcomes from university sport, but both also clearly acknowledge maladaptive circumstances in university sport. Thus, they undertook this project by constantly bracketing/guarding against an overly flattering lens on student-athletes' experiences.

Method

The authors of this study ascribe to an interpretivist paradigm (Sparkes, 1992). Interpretivists assume that reality is individually constructed through the meanings attached to personal and social experiences. However, interpretivists also believe that knowledge can be developed through a process of shared interpretations, and that it is possible for commonalties to be found between individuals' perspectives. Therefore, we do not believe that our results are generalizable to all athletes in university sport. Instead, we believe the results are applicable to other university athletes situated within similar historical and cultural boundaries.

Participants

Ethical approval from the University of Ottawa's research ethics board was granted before participants were recruited. Prior to this study, 605 university athletes completed an online survey in which they reported quantitative data for their perceived developmental experiences using a modified version of Hansen and Larson's YES 2.0 (Rathwell & Young, 2016). To be eligible for this study, athletes' data were screened to ensure they (a) were a member of a CIS sanctioned team and (b) perceived high instances of positive development experiences attributable to varsity sport. With respect to the latter criterion, athletes needed to have an average score of five or above (out of seven) on the six positive categories of the YES 2.0. The reason for this criterion was that it was important to first have evidence that athletes experienced positive development before exploring how such development is fostered within university sport settings.

Following screening, 34 athletes met the criteria and were invited to participate in this study. Fifteen agreed to participate (5 male, 10 female; M_{age} = 22, range = 17-26), hailing from 12 universities, located across six different provinces (i.e., Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia) in Canada. All athletes were registered in full-time studies and represented different sports: cross country (n = 3), soccer (n = 3), ice hockey (n = 2), rugby (n = 2), volleyball (n = 2), curling (n = 1), football (n = 1), and track and field (n = 1). In Canada, university athletes are only eligible to play sport for 5 years. The sample consisted of 3 first-year, 2 second-year, 4 third-year, 1 fourth-year, and 5 fifth-year eligible student-athletes. In total, four of the athletes were registered in graduate programs, and 11 were registered in undergraduate programs.

Data Gathering

Interview guide. Data were collected by the primary researcher using semi-structured open-ended interviews that lasted on average 57 minutes (range = 40-77 minutes). All interviews were recorded using a Dictaphone. Seven in-person and eight Skype interviews were conducted. The interview guide (see Appendix) was piloted with two CIS athletes. The pilot interviews were recorded and reviewed to ensure the interview questions (a) were understood by athletes, (b) allowed athletes to elaborate on YES 2.0 categories in detail, and (c) allowed athletes to differentiate amongst YES 2.0 categories. To help discriminate among the categories, we refined questions to be more open-ended and used colloquial language. The final interview guide consisted of four sections. The first section contained opening questions to introduce the topic and to initiate discussion (e.g., What does it mean to you to be a varsity athlete?). The second section addressed personal and socio-emotional development experiences and life skills, which were informed by the six positive categories of the YES 2.0 (Hansen & Larson, 2005). These questions were framed in colloquial terms. For example, to capture identity, we asked: Have you had experiences that have allowed you to get to know or to think about who you are? The third section had questions related to transfer. Whenever participants described experiences, qualities, skills, or relationships acquired in university sport, they were specifically questioned as to how each outcome influenced their lives outside of sport. For instance, if athletes stated learning time management strategies through sport, they would be asked: Do you use the time management strategies you learned outside of sport? Since our focus was on the positive developmental outcomes, we did not ask about each of the individual negative categories. Instead, we asked about any negative experiences with a broad open-ended question (i.e., Did you have any negative experiences related to being a varsity athlete?). The fourth section contained concluding questions which gave athletes opportunity to include additional information they believed relevant or missing from the interview guide. Please see the Appendix for the interview guide.

Data Analysis

In this study, a directed content analysis was used to identify, analyze, report, and discuss the data (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) as it related to the categories of the YES 2.0 (Hansen & Larson, 2005). The goal of directed content analysis is to validate or conceptually extend existing frameworks (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). A directed content analysis was appropriate for this study because we aimed to validate and extend themes borrowed from the YES when considering student-athletes' experiences and perceptions of positive development related to their intercollegiate sport involvement. The first step of the directed content analysis involved transcribing each interview verbatim. During this process, Dr. Rathwell became immersed in the data and familiarized with the depth and breadth of its content. The interview was then

analyzed line by line and broken down into codes comprising words, sentences, or entire paragraphs that conveyed the same idea and related to the same topic. For example, "We set goals with our coach every two weeks. We set short and long term goals" was identified as a unique code. A total of 1095 codes were identified. Each code received a tag that that was relevant to its content and was collated into one of the seven YES 2.0 categories. For instance, the aforementioned code was given the tag "setting goals with coach" and was collated into the YES 2.0 category that represented "initiative." The final step involved creating subcategories within each YES 2.0 category. Specifically, 39 subcategories were formed by grouping together codes that were similar in content and meaning (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). For example, the code "setting goals with coach" was combined with "setting goals with sport psychologist" and other similar codes under the subcategory "goal setting." Table 1 displays a summary of the categories and subcategories.

Table 1: Categories and sub-categories of developmental outcomes discussed by Canadian university athletes

Identity (15/15)	**Teamwork and social skills (15/15)**
Social awareness (10/15)	Working with others (13/15)
Well rounded identity (10/15)	Conflict resolution (13/15)
Lessons about one's self (10/15)	Leadership (10/15)
Improved confidence in one's self (7/15)	Understanding others (5/12)
Initiative (15/15)	Learning one's role (4/12)
Time management (15/15)	Respect (3/15)
Goal Setting (11/15)	Learning to work with coach (2/15)
Effort (8/15)	Learning second language (1/15)
Accountability (1/15)	**Adult network and social capital (15/15)**
Emotions and cognitive skills (15/15)	Networking (15/15)
Emotional regulation (15/15)	Personnel and resources to help with school (9/15)
Emotional experiences (7/15)	Volunteering and community involvement (8/15)
Learning from setbacks and failures (7/15)	**Negative experiences (15/15)**
Mentally stimulating aspects of sport (6/15)	Stress due to lack of time (13/15)
Mental skills training (3/15)	Conflicts with other athletes (10/15)
Importance of rest and recovery (2/15)	Missing out on non-athletic opportunities (3/15)
Interpersonal relationships (15/15)	Insufficient attention from coaches (2/15)
Relationships with athletes (15/15)	Little to no playing time (2/15)
Athletes understand each other (14/15)	Physical stress (2/15)
Family support (5/15)	Poor diet (1/15)
Close relationships with coaches (3/15)	Being on a losing team (1/15)
	Death of teammate (1/15)
	Financial issues (1/15)

Note: The bolded text represents YES 2.0 categories. The un-bolded text represents the sub-categories. The numbers found inside of parentheses represent how many of the participants discussed each category and subcategory.

Validity

Establishing validity involves an attempt to enhance the accuracy of qualitative findings (Yardley, 2008). In this study, we compared independent researchers' coding and used participant feedback as external checks to the research process (Yardley, 2008).

Comparing researchers' coding. Dr. Rathwell coded the 15 athlete interviews into 1095 individual codes and placed each code within one of the seven identified YES 2.0 categories. Next, Dr. Young was provided with a list of seven identified YES 2.0 categories along with the operational definition for each category. Using this list, Dr. Young was instructed to read all the transcripts and place 250 (about 23%) randomly-selected codes into one of the YES 2.0 categories. A comparison analysis was performed to determine inter-rater reliability between the two coders—a Cohen's kappa (Cohen's κ) of .81 indicated strong inter-rater reliability (Hruschka et al., 2004). Therefore, the two researchers were interpreting the codes into the higher order themes borrowed from the YES 2.0 similarly.

Participant feedback. To improve the credibility of the data, participants were allowed to verbally add, modify, clarify, or exclude any comments or ideas at the end of their interview (Yardley, 2008). Further, each participant was sent a full verbatim transcript of the interview via email and was invited to add, modify, clarify, or exclude any comments or ideas. Participants were told that if they did not respond to the email, that it would be interpreted that they were satisfied with the interview and transcript. In total, 11 participants responded to the email and indicated that their personal interviews and transcripts were representative of their experiences, views, and beliefs. Additionally, four participants chose not to respond to the email and it was assumed that they had no issues with their interviews or the transcripts.

Results and Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine the experiences and life skills that student athletes developed through their participation in CIS sport programs. In this section, athletes' quotes are discussed within YES 2.0 categories and information in parentheses provides the title of each subcategory. Due to space constraints, we focus our discussion predominantly on subcategories mentioned by at least ten athletes (see Table 1). We were also interested in which experiences and skills benefit athletes' lives outside of the sporting context. Thus, in each section, we explore whether the outcomes discussed within the YES 2.0 categories influenced athletes lives outside of sport. Finally, we provide a general discussion about the transfer of outcomes within the section labeled "Influence Outside of Sport." Participants were assigned pseudonyms to credit their comments while protecting their identities. The number of participants who described a particular coded subcategory is indicated within the text in parentheses next to each subcategory title.

Identity

Athletes' identities were influenced by their athletics, academics, and experiences outside of university. Through their experiences within their different roles, athletes said they learned who they were and what they believed in (n = 10; lessons about one's self). For example, John learned that he wanted to work with kids through the opportunities that were afforded to him through the athletics department:

> Through sport and being in the sport complex all the time, I realized I wanted
> to work with people. I wasn't sure in what capacity at first, but I narrowed it
> down over time. By the end of my third year, I was the assistant coordinator at

the sport camp and that is when I realized I wanted to work with kids. So being around my sport helped me realize what I wanted, what my career goals were, and what my aspirations were.

Athletes also felt it was important to have a well-rounded sense of self and to not focus too heavily on one area of life (n = 10; well-rounded identity). For Carl, a well-rounded sense of self meant being passionate about other areas of life beyond just sport:

My varsity experience taught me that you need to be a well-rounded person. You need to be flexible and to have a general passion for everything you do. So, I learned to care about what I'm doing as an athlete and about what I do outside of athletics. By that I mean, what I do in school and other things as well. You can't just conform to sport.

Many participants believed their varsity identity brought with it a sense of responsibility. They described how varsity athletes were identifiable members of their university, and thus, were aware their personal behaviors could influence public perception of their teams and universities. Accordingly, many athletes monitored their behaviors and acted in ways that were congruent with the values of their teams and universities (n= 10; social awareness). Veronica noted how she learned to consider how her behavior could influence perceptions about her team and university:

Our coach always emphasized how we had to behave when we had our uniform on. Just little things, like not drinking when in team gear, being respectful while you are out [socially], or being respectful to other teams. You are part of something bigger and the reputation of your whole school can be affected by how you act.

Although many athletes were cognizant of their affiliation to their school and spoke to how it influenced their lives outside of sport, Veronica was the only athlete who discussed internalizing social values of other organizations that she was a part of outside of sport. She purposefully behaved in a manner that was consistent with her employer's brand:

I learned a lot about respecting others when I am affiliated with something. And this is something I carry forward to the rest of my life. I am affiliated with my work brand now, and when I wear my work polo, it is the same as when I wore my team jacket. When I have that polo on, I am not just a (health professional), I am representing our whole company. I need to be respectful and reliable. Those are lessons I have taken from sport.

According to Arnett (2006), identity formation is important for university-aged athletes as they are positioned within the developmental period known as emerging adulthood. Spanning 18 to 25 years of age, it is characterized as "the age of identity explorations" (p. 6). Consistent with Arnett's theorizing, the current athletes were afforded ample opportunities to discover new interests; they highlighted how enacting multiple roles as a student, an athlete, a teammate, an employee, and a friend allowed them to learn who they were as persons.

Our CIS athletes were aware their actions could affect their university's reputation. Eisenberg, Cumberland, Guthrie, Murphy, and Shepard (2005) found that, as adolescents enter into adulthood, they are more likely to behave in prosocial ways to gain approval from others. Likewise, athletes in this study monitored their behaviors and acted in accordance with the

values of their universities in order to maintain a positive public image. Thus, the athletes were not just concerned with preserving their own images, but also enacted social responsibilities to preserve the images of their teams and universities. The current result suggests university athletes' reasoning for engaging in prosocial behaviors is multifaceted, and that having an influence on public perceptions of others might heighten athletes' awareness and likelihood of behaving pro-socially.

Although most athletes internalized the social values of their universities, only one athlete did so with an outside organization. The other athletes may not have been exposed to alternative organizations. However, because Veronica was an older athlete, she may have developed more sophisticated reasoning related to prosocial behaviors. Regardless of why behaviors were altered, these results suggest experiences in varsity athletics taught athletes important qualities related to social awareness and responsibility, which are both indicators of positive development in emerging adulthood (Eisenberg et al., 2005; Hawkins, Letcher, Sanson, Smart, & Toumbourou, 2009). Altogether, our CIS athletes understood identity as the evolution of a global varsity athlete identity that was (a) consistent with the pro-social values of their universities, and (b) was shaped through social experiences within different contexts in which athletes experimented with their varsity athlete identity.

Initiative

As a result of the dedication required to succeed in varsity athletics, participants described learning to invest concerted effort towards the things that were important to them. Since athletes valued both their academics and athletics, they needed to learn how to manage their time effectively through purposeful scheduling and planning in order to thrive in both environments (n = 15; time management). Aaron discussed how he learned to initiate strategies that enabled him to balance sport and school by writing out his schedule and creating to-do lists:

> It's all about organization and getting set up with a white board or a calendar. Just writing to-do lists, when things are due [in school], and when I need to work on projects. If it's a big project, I break it down into stages and write down what needs to be done by when. Then, I will be like "OK, I know I have (sport practice) on those days, so I can't work on it then."

Aaron further elaborated on how he used the same strategies refined as a student-athlete to stay on task at work:

> I use the same skills at work. The first thing I do is make a list of what I need to do because I will forget it otherwise. The next thing I do is add little notes and other things like that to my list. So that is something that definitely carries to different contexts.

Although all athletes used time management skills during the sport season, some said they were not busy enough to use them in the summer. As Kelsey put it, "I use the time management strategies I learned during school months, but I don't really need to in the summer."

Most athletes described using goal-setting strategies within the context of sport (n = 11; goal setting). Caroline described setting specific goals in practice:

> I like to set stages of goals for myself. So, not just longer-term goals. I focus on small things so I can be more aware of one aspect. Like "this practice I am going

to shoot with my left foot." That way I find it easier to focus for that hour or two on the field. Afterwards, I can be like "I did this" or "I didn't do this, so I need to work on it again."

Athletes were divided when it came to setting goals outside of sport. On one hand, some athletes learned to initiate goal-setting techniques at school and at work. For instance, Chelsea commented on how she transferred her goal setting for sport to her academic work:

We always set goals for our sport season and I think I kind of fed off of that a little bit. So, I would use those strategies for my school work as well. Like, I would set little daily goals for what school work I wanted to get done before practice, or what I wanted to accomplish from an academic standpoint while I am away at a meet.

Conversely, others set superficial goals outside of sport or, like Kelly noted, "I don't really set goals outside of sport."

Larson (2000) maintained that initiative is a pre-requisite for adult membership in Western societies. Further, Larson (2000) claimed that initiative is not guaranteed to develop unless activities are structured, and individuals (a) participate for personal motives, (b) devote thought and effort toward mastering environmental demands, and (c) direct their effort towards goals over time as they face setbacks, re-evaluations, and adjustments of strategies. We put forth that university sport is an activity in which athletes (a) choose to participate, (b) devote thought and effort toward improving, and (c) work toward personal and team goals while adjusting to successes and failures. These circumstances engendered a need for the athletes to effectively develop initiative by setting goals and managing their time during the sport season. Conversely, activities outside of sport may not have satisfied Larson's criteria or lacked structure, which may explain why some athletes did not manage their time or set goals in non-sport contexts. In sum, CIS athletes defined initiative outcomes as their self-directed efforts towards overcoming academic, athletic, and life demands; which required them to develop and use skills related to planning, scheduling, and goal setting.

Emotions and Cognitive skills

From a conceptual lens, Hansen and Larson (2005) grouped emotions, cognitive skills, and physical skills under the umbrella term "basic skills." In this study, we felt it was unnecessary to probe about physical skills since their development is inherent to university sport. In addition, compared to youth participants in Hansen and Larson's study, our CIS athletes' emotional and cognitive experiences were complex and nuanced to the university sport experience. Thus, we felt the label of "basic skills" was not a fair representation of our data and renamed this category as "emotions and cognitive skills," which are both original components of Hansen and Larson's "basic skills."

Athletes expressed how successes and failures in sport triggered emotional experiences that were more varied and intense than in other areas of life. Being exposed to intense emotions regularly helped the athletes become more efficient at regulating their emotions in sport (n = 15; emotional regulation). Karen described how sport afforded a platform for ample opportunities to practice controlling her emotions:

Our coaches used to rate us [on emotional regulation] after every game on a five-point scale. I was consistently a 3 or above. Last year, I had a consistent year because I was good at getting into an emotional state where I could

perform. I really worked at that. I found out what that state was and then I really worked at being able to get there.

Athletes elaborated on how their emotional regulatory skills derived from sport helped improve their performance in work and school. For instance, Karen noted that she used the skills learned in sport to stay calm when things went awry when teaching youth groups at sport camp:

The other day I had my worst work session ever. I had an awful group and I let my emotions get the best of me. The next day I was a bit scared, but I changed my mindset. I was like "this session will go better," and it did. So, I do use the same strategies at work, because it's just me and 15 crazy little girls and I have to be emotionally ready for that. I have to be in the right mind set to perform in that environment as well.

Only one athlete said she was able to regulate her emotions in sport, but had issues exporting those skills to other environments. Kelly seemed at a loss when thinking about how she could regulate her emotions when things went wrong at school:

I don't really have to regulate my emotions outside of sport. I am pretty easy going and I don't get rattled that often. Except in school when I am not doing well. Then that sucks but, what are you going to do?

The athletes believed that participation in university sport afforded them unique opportunities to experience and practice regulating emotions in a safe and controlled environment. These results reveal experiences that may partly explain the evidence of one study: following college graduation, former athletes had higher levels of emotional intelligence as well as career success after college graduation than their peers who did not participate in college sport (Sauer, Desmond, & Heintzelman, 2013). Our results align with prior work in which athletes retrospectively testified how their work lives benefited from emotional regulation skills learned in high school sport (Kendellen & Camiré, 2015). However, athletes in Kendellen and Camiré's study rarely discussed transferring their skills to school. In our study, athletes identified school as a primary venue where they benefitted from self-regulatory skills learned in sport, which may reflect the fact that university is more academically challenging than high school and that university student-athletes are more prescient of the need to frequently apply such emotional regulation skills. Overall, emotions were understood by CIS athletes as experiences of varied and intense emotions, which needed to be regulated to perform in academia, athletics, and in life. For this section, we considered only behaviors and strategies that athletes discussed as they related to learning how to regulate their own emotions. Discussions of experiences that challenged them to accommodate or negotiate the raw emotions of others around them were also present within the interviews, but are discussed under the teamwork and social skills theme.

No subcategories for cognitive skills were discussed by at least 10 athletes. Instead, athletes commented on a variety of cognitive outcomes. Some athletes described how sport taught them to treat disappointments, mistakes, and failures as opportunities to improve themselves (n = 7; learning from setbacks and failures). Others felt sport required intense thought when planning, running, and analyzing plays, scrutinizing personal and team performance, and learning new techniques and positional systems (n = 6; mentally stimulating aspects of sport). Some athletes described learning to mentally rehearse scenarios in sport and life (n = 3; mental skills). Finally, a couple of athletes explained how varsity sport taught them to manage their efforts effectively and to not over-exert themselves (n = 2; importance of rest

and recovery). Thus, a mix of cognitive skills were understood by CIS athletes in three ways: (a) as experiences that were intellectually challenging, (b) as important lessons learned from personal experiences, and (c) as mental skills developed that helped performance in sport, school, and life.

Adult Network and Social Capital

All athletes noted making important connections with successful adults through their involvement in varsity sport (n = 15; networking). They elaborated on different professional offers and potential future opportunities, as well as actual internships, co-ops, summer and/or part-time jobs, or experiences that they would not have if they were not varsity athletes. Julie described how connections made in sport opened doors for her to start coaching:

> I've had opportunities to coach and work with people from the (province) (sport) association. I was able to get my coaching certification, which is a great thing to have. I probably wouldn't have done that if I didn't meet people along the way who motivated me to start coaching and to get involved in the community.

Although all athletes made connections through sport that positively influenced their lives, only two athletes explicitly expressed learning the importance of networking skills and purposefully using them to make connections outside of sport. For instance, during her undergraduate degree, Julie was assigned a high school course to teach as an internship. Julie made it a point to network with the older teachers so that she could learn from their experiences:

> I taught last year, and most teachers were in their 40s and 50s. I didn't let that stop me from building relationships. Now some of them are professional mentors for me. They have taught me so much about teaching techniques and strategies. We still correspond regularly, even though I'm not teaching right now. We keep in touch and email each other about articles related to education. So, I made an effort and built relationships with these older teachers, whereas in the past, I probably wouldn't have put in the effort.

Sport can facilitate linkages to community, as well as a sense of belonging amongst adolescent athletes (Fraser-Thomas & Côté, 2009). Athletes in our study also felt sport afforded opportunity to connect with their community. However, they also displayed an awareness of the potent social capital held by their connections, a unique aspect which was not present in adolescent athletes' accounts in previous research (Fraser-Thomas & Côté, 2009). This awareness was documented in their accounts of how they had profited or could profit in the future from their relationships with adults. Interestingly, the majority of athletes in our sample benefited from adult networks without discussing evidence of acquired networking skills. The current results provide initial evidence that mere participation in university sport affords athletes an awareness of positive social capital gained, even though many did not claim to have learned skills to tap this potential. One explanation for their inherited social capital may be that university athletes are privy to membership in an exclusive group of esteemed or well-connected alumni, simply by making the team. Altogether, our CIS athletes understood adult network and social capital as an increase in their personal and social worth by forming or improving relationships with important adults who could benefit their success in the future.

Interpersonal Relationships

Varsity athletes extensively discussed meaningful relationships during their university sport careers. All athletes spoke of a sense of community amongst the varsity athletes at their schools, and often referred to teammates as a second family (n = 15; relationships with athletes). To illustrate, Laura said "being on a varsity team is basically a family away from home. Especially with me being an international student, one of the most important things in my life here is having them to reach out to." Athletes' closeness coincided with their belief that other athletes were the only ones who truly understood what they were going through (n = 14; athletes understand each other). Gillian explained how sharing unique experiences with teammates made her feel more connected with them:

> They understand a part of your life that is very meaningful to you which is not easy to understand if you are not in it. They understand how you are always busy, how you can get stressed, and how you can be tired. They understand how you can get upset about the coach and that kind of thing. So, they know a side of you that isn't easy to understand if you are not on a team with them.

Very few studies have examined friendship in sport, and the majority have focused on youth and adolescent populations (e.g., see Partridge, Brustad, & Stellino, 2008). Within the context of youth and adolescent sport, Weiss and Smith (1999, 2002) identified six dimensions of quality friendships: self-esteem enhancement and supportiveness, loyalty and intimacy, things in common, companionship and pleasant play, conflict resolution, and conflict. In addition, Weiss and Smith (2002) found athlete friendships differed depending on age. Youth friendships (10-13 years old) involved spending time together and engaging in play, whereas, adolescent friendships (14-18 years old) embodied shared loyalty and similarities on values, beliefs, and experiences. In our study, athletes described that athlete friendships were the most significant relationships they formed at university and explained how negotiating similar sport experiences strengthened their relationships with their peers. The current results show the importance of athlete friendships for university-aged athletes and set a precedent for examining how friendships can influence athletes' sport experiences, as well as personal growth. Overall CIS athletes understood interpersonal relationships as their social support system which was composed of other athletes, their coaches, and their family members, whereas relationships formed with other athletes were particularly important.

Teamwork and Social Skills

Through their daily cooperative tasks in practices and games, athletes acquired the knowledge and interpersonal skills needed to work effectively with their teammates (n = 15; working with others). For instance, Kevin described how he learned to establish a positive team environment by being considerate of teammates and avoiding blame:

> Sometimes I do things that I might not voluntarily want to do in order to help build that social aspect of the team dynamics. I will do these little things to help us function better when we actually have to perform. I try to keep things light because the worst thing a captain can do is to start blaming other people. So, I try my absolute best to never let that happen, and I think that my teammates appreciate that.

Many athletes believed that social skills learned in sport helped them improve team functioning at work and on school projects. Kevin explained how sport taught him that getting along was important for group performance, an approach he applied while working with others in graduate school:

> Because I have been forced to do it in sport, I have become more comfortable now engaging people in random or spontaneous conversation at work in order to create those relationships. I am much more conscious now that a good working social relationship amongst colleagues can really make a difference, especially when things start to go wrong. If you are on good social terms then things tend to go a lot more smoothly. I guess I have sort of known that forever, but now I have actually seen it in action through sport.

Through their frequent interactions with teammates, often in emotionally laden situations, athletes described that conflict was inevitable. Therefore, athletes described acquiring the social skills needed to tackle problems as soon they occurred (n = 13; conflict resolution). For instance, John described learning to confront teammates for behaving inappropriately:

> I learned to confront guys who weren't pulling their weight or who had behavioral problems. And it was really about caring for the guys and making sure they were on track. For instance, there were some guys who were smoking a little too much, and it was about talking to them and letting them know it wasn't alright. In the past, I wouldn't have said anything and just let them figure it, but now I'm confident in my ability to steer them in the right direction.

Only one athlete felt her ability to deal with conflict depended on being in the sport environment and was not a life skill she could translate to other contexts. Karen said, "I think the ability to confront others is more of sport-specific skill for me." Conversely, many athletes said that having practiced conflict resolution with teammates helped them negotiate issues in class, at work, or in social situations. John described how he transferred his confidence to speak up:

> When I am with my group of friends I will certainly share my opinion if I think something is wrong. Even at work, I am not afraid and don't have to bite my tongue. I mean, I don't speak out of turn or act abrasively, but if I have an opinion and I think I am right and that it can be beneficial to the group or situation, then I will certainly share it. And a lot of that I learned from sport. I mean sometimes you have to take risks and just go for it. So, I definitely think I take those lessons and behaviors outside of athletics.

Athletes also believed they developed leadership skills through their participation in university sport (n = 10; leadership). They noted developing these skills through ample mentorship opportunities (with younger athletes) or formal and/or informal leadership roles on their teams. Justin explained how he gained leadership skills as a captain through his experiences mentoring younger athletes:

> As I have gotten older, I can kind of see as a captain now that I am kind of here to help bring in the new people. I am still worrying about myself, but there is a lot more focus on my teammates now. So, I try to lead and help mentor the younger people.

The athletes felt their sport leadership roles helped them transition into leadership positions on school projects and at work. Karen's confidence gained through her leadership roles in sport allowed her to comfortably address groups at work:

> I work with a lot of kids, so I am always in a leadership position now. I run groups all the time, and I feel I have really learned to get my point across. Part of it has come from my experience at work, but it all started with making sure that I was confident saying what I need to with my sport team. So, I kind of built that confidence as leader in sport first.

A popular lesson on leadership discussed was treating everybody as individuals. Leigh stated:

> I learned everyone has different ways of coping. So, I have to be really supportive and just understand everyone's situations when talking to them. Because we all have different external stresses and different things we are dealing with on a personal level.

Our CIS athletes' accounts are in accordance with findings wherein former high school athletes believed their interpersonal skills were developed in high school sport and improved their ability to work with others at subsequent life stages (Kendellen & Camiré, 2015). However, our findings provide greater detail about the specific interpersonal skills (i.e., conflict resolution, leadership) that were refined through sport within the emerging adulthood stage. In addition, our results suggest that it is through sufficient practice while working with others in emotionally rich situations that athletes develop interpersonal skills related to teamwork. Thus, in the section pertaining to "Emotions and Cognitive Skills," we identified how athletes learned to regulate their own emotions through sport and apply these skills elsewhere (an ego-centric view). In this section, athletes described how they learned social skills to accommodate and negotiate others' emotions via their experiences with team members in emotionally-charged situations related to university sport.

When discussing leadership, many athletes articulated qualities that appeared consonant with transformation leadership, especially those related to individualized attention (Avolio, 2011). Hoffmann and Loughead (2015) found that when university athlete mentors possessed transformational qualities, their mentees believed they were receiving more guidance related to their professional and personal growth. The current study reveals that serving as a mentor or holding a formal/informal leadership position provides university athletes with a unique opportunity to practice such leadership qualities. In total, the CIS athletes understood team work and social skills as the ability to work with groups of people, which required leadership qualities, skills related to conflict resolution, as well as the ability to create positive working environments.

Negative Experiences

Although they had overall positive varsity experiences, all athletes acknowledged negative experiences related to being a student-athlete. The most prevalent challenge was stress related to perceived lack of time, especially when traveling (n = 13; Stress due to lack of time). Caroline explained how traveling with the team made it difficult for her to keep up with her schoolwork:

> When we went to Nationals, we were away for a week or so and we missed school. Then trying to catch up on the school you missed, or getting work done

> like midterms that people missed. Just trying to catch up and knowing that you are going away for pretty much every weekend in season. So, scheduling and balancing your whole life around (sport) and then also trying to do school at the same time can be a bit hectic.

Another challenge athletes faced was conflict between players (n = 10; Conflicts with other athletes), which often was exacerbated once the starting lineup was decided. Meagan explained:

> We have a couple of players who strongly dislike each other and it shows on the field. The coaches put up our starting line ups Thursday. On Friday, we have a practice, and we play on Saturday. And some girls won't show up on Friday if they are not playing. And then in practice, you are thinking "ok, so because you are not on the starting roster, you are not going to support us? You won't help us get better as a team?" It can be really frustrating.

This study is not the first to highlight adverse experiences associated with participation in school sport programs. Research has shown that stress related to balancing school and sport demands (e.g., unable to study enough), and negative interactions among teammates are common experiences for university athletes (Abedalhafiz, Altahayneh, & Al-Haliq, 2010; Kimball & Freysinger, 2003). Our results add to the literature by specifically identifying that athletes are most stressed when spending extended time away from their studies to travel for games, and that conflict between athletes may be intensified when athletes receive deferential playing time.

Influence Outside of Sport

When the current study was conceptualized, life skills were defined as "skills that enable individuals to succeed in the different environments in which they live, such as school, home and in their neighborhoods. Life skills can be behavioral (communicating effectively with peers and adults) or cognitive (making effective decisions); interpersonal (being assertive) or intrapersonal (setting goals)" (Danish et al., 2004, p. 40). Pierce, Gould, and Camiré (2016) have since broadened the definition of life skills to encompass "a range of personal assets, including psychological skills, knowledge, dispositions, and identity constructs or transformations" (p. 195).

The positive developmental outcomes discovered within this dissertation support Pierce and colleague's (2016) decision to broaden the definition of life skills in order to encompass assets that fall beyond the traditional definition of skills. Although there was evidence of identifiable skills and strategies that could be exported from sport to other contexts, there were also instances in which athletes identified knowledge (e.g., social awareness), identity transformations (e.g., experimenting within different roles) and relationships (e.g., adult network) that are not necessarily manifested as discrete, transferable skills that can be taken from sport and willingly translated to other environments. However, the current results intimate that even the newest definition of life skills (Pierce et al., 2016) does not capture all of the positive developmental outcomes in university sport. A worthy example that remains uncaptured is adult networks and social capital. By earning a spot on their university teams, the athletes inherited membership or privilege to an exclusive group of alumni who were willing to help them succeed in life. This exclusive membership occurred without necessarily having gained any new personal or psychosocial skills, knowledge, dispositions, or identity

transformations. Taken together, the results suggest that life skills are only a component of broad positive development attributed to university sport.

To date, the designation of life skill development in the sport literature has commonly been predicated on athletes' ability to transfer skills learned in sport to other domains of life (Gould & Carson, 2008; Theokas, Danish, Hodge, Heke, & Forneris, 2008). Athletes in this study spoke about skills, knowledge, experiences, and relationships developed through university sport. For every outcome discussed, athletes were probed about how the outcome influenced their lives outside of sport. Our results showed that many identifiable/discrete skills learned in sport were also being used by athletes in other realms of life. For example, Aaron applied skills related to scheduling and planning that he developed through sport to his work environment. However, this was not true for all athletes, and in fact, some athletes directly stated that they did not use skills they acquired through sport, outside of sport. For instance, Kelly stated she did not set goals outside of sport.

When interpreting our results on transfer, it is important to consider that despite failing to acknowledge the transfer of skills from sport to other domains, or even outright denying transfer, it is possible that our athletes may have been unaware of transfer occurring. Recently, Pierce et al. (2016) proposed that transfer occurs both explicitly or implicitly and that explicit transfer is purposeful and can be acknowledged by individuals. Conversely, implicit transfer is unconscious and is not acknowledged by individuals. Our findings suggest that university sport is a context in which athletes can learn transferable skills, but the transference of skills learned in sport to other life domains may not be guaranteed. However, our results should be interpreted as relating to evidence of explicit transfer only, since the self-reported nature of our data does not allow for the evaluation of implicit transfer of life skills.

Another explanation for athletes' inability to recognize transfer may be that the original conceptualizations of transfer were flawed. For instance, Hager and Hodkinson (2009) have called into question the validity of the metaphor of transfer for "trying to understand what happens when people learn something new and/or move into new and different situations" (p. 620). They noted that it is the learner who moves across situations and not a particular skill. Thus, they argue that as one moves from a context to another, they are not transferring skills, but rather entering a "transitional process of becoming" (p. 635) that is influenced by both contexts. When considering Hager and Hodkinson's (2009) definition, our results suggest that sport is an important context for university aged athletes as it affords them with rich opportunities to develop qualities, experiences, relationships, in addition to skills, that may improve their transitional process of becoming functioning members of society in sport and non-sporting contexts.

Conclusion

Limited studies had identified the acquisition of life skills as an important marker of positive development within the Canadian university sport context (Banwell & Kerr, 2016; Rathwell & Young, 2016). However, little was known about what life skills looked like within the university sport context, and how they were understood by university athletes. The current study addressed this gap in the literature by offering an in-depth exploration of life skill development within the university sport context from the perspective university athletes. Our results supported Pierce and colleagues' (2016) broader definition of life skills (i.e., psychological skills, knowledge, dispositions, and identity constructs or transformations) as embodied by our athletes' detailed accounts of experiences relating to identity, initiative, emotions and cognitive skills, and teamwork and social skills. However, our results suggested a more encompassing definition is needed to capture the full spectrum of positive development resulting from university sport. Specifically, our finding indicated that the formation of

important personal relationships with others (i.e., athletes, coaches, alumni, and community members) should also be considered as positive developmental outcomes of university sport.

In this study, we used categories derived from the YES 2.0 to qualitatively describe athletes' perceptions of the skills, experiences, knowledge, and relationships gained through their participation in CIS sport. Since athletes' quotes were readily housed within the broader YES 2.0 categories, our results provided initial support for the use of YES-based categories in understanding positive development in emerging adulthood within the context of Canadian university sport programs. The support of YES-based themes for understanding university athletes' development is important to the field of positive development because it identifies a useful conceptual framework for guiding positive development research within the context of university sport, which is a novel area of research that is deficient in guiding frameworks.

Practical Implications

The current results provide support for the recent initiatives taken by the governing bodies of university sport in North America and suggest that university sport programs can provide a context that fosters positive development. The findings from the current study also provide contextual information on what positive developmental outcomes look like within the domain of university sport. These findings may benefit university sport programs by highlighting positive developmental outcomes that are worthy targets of interventions. Further, our findings suggest that the competencies and skills that athletes learn and apply in sport do not necessarily transfer to other areas of life. Thus, coaches should consider these results when teaching athletes personal and psychosocial skills within the context of university sport. If coaches want the skills acquired in sport to transfer to athletes' academic lives and personal lives, they may need to invest additional time and effort into explaining more concretely how the skills apply in different settings (Pierce et al., 2016). These results are also important to athletic directors. They suggest that additional programming should be offered to athletes that focuses on teaching skills that apply beyond sport. For instance, courses on goal setting and time management should incorporate strategies for the off-season and have dedicated workshops related to academic outcome and future professional application following graduation.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although the current study offered significant conceptual and practical implications, our results were not without their limitations. Since our interview guide and analyses were framed using the YES 2.0, which is a popular framework derived from younger cohorts, other facets related to emerging adult athletes' positive development may exist. Thus, one avenue for future studies would be to examine whether additional categories arise if a less targeted interview guide and an inductive analysis were used. Moreover, although the current study provides an overall positive depiction of positive development and skills gained through participating in university sport, it is important to note that the athletes were purposefully selected based on having positive experiences. Therefore, there remains a need for future research to examine athletes who had less-than-ideal experiences to gain a full understanding of the developmental landscape of university sport. Finally, the current results offered little information on what elements found within sport programs hinder athletes' positive development and did not provide information on strategies for overcoming barriers to development. Therefore, identifying the barriers to positive development, as well as strategies for overcoming them is a valuable line of inquiry for future researchers.

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Appendix

Athlete Interview Guide

Pre-interview routine
Introduction
Consent Form
Demographic Questionnaire
Opening question: *Briefly describe what it means to you to be a university athlete.*

Key Questions:

Identity:
1. *Through your participation in university sport, have you had experiences that have allowed you to get to know or to think about who you are?*
   - *Can you provide an example?*
   - *What did you learn about yourself?*
2. *Does this "identity" affect you in sport?*
   - *How? Examples?*

Transfer
3. *Does this "identity" affect you outside of sport?*
   - *Can you provide some examples?*

Negative Experiences:
4. *Did you have any negative experiences related to being a university athlete?*
   - *What challenges or issues did you face?*

Initiative experiences:
5. *Have you been able to manage or navigate any of these challenges?*
   - *How? Strategies or skills? (Goal setting, problem solving, time management, effort)*
   - *Other challenges that you have managed or navigated? Examples?*
6. *Can you provide an example of how you have used what you have learned in the context of sport?*

Transfer
7. *Do you use (what was learned) outside of sport?*

- *Can you provide some examples of how you use (what was learned) outside of sport?*

Emotional regulation:
8. *Through your participation in university sport, have you had experiences where you learned about your emotions?*
   - *Can you provide some examples?*
9. *Have you had experiences where you learned about regulating your emotions?*
   - *Strategies or skills?*
10. *Can you provide an example of how you have used what you have learned about regulating your emotions in the context of sport?*

Transfer
11. *Do you use (what was learned) outside of sport?*
    - *Can you provide some examples of how you use (what was learned) outside of sport?*

Cognitive skills:
12. *Through your participation in university sport, have you had experiences that have allowed learn something new that is both intellectual and meaningful to you?*
    - *Can you give some examples?*
    - *What did you learn? Skills or strategies for finding information?*
13. *Can you provide an example of how you have used what you have learned in the context of sport?*

Transfer
14. *Do you use (what was learned) outside of sport?*
    - *Can you provide some examples of how you use (what was learned) outside of sport?*

Team work and social skills:
15. *Through your participation in university sport, have you had experiences where you have been required to work with others*
16. *Have you encountered challenges or an awkwardness when working with others in sport?*
    - *How did you navigate these challenges or instances of awkwardness?*
17. *Do you use what you have learned in the context of sport?*
    - *How? Examples?*

Transfer
18. *Do you use (what was learned) outside of sport?*
    - *Can you provide some examples of how you use (what was learned) outside of sport?*

Positive relationships:
19. *Through your participation in university sport, have you had experiences where you have established meaningful relationships with others?*
    - *Examples?*
20. *How are these relationships meaningful?*
    - *Are these relationships different from those outside of sport? How?*

21. *Have these relationships influenced the ways you act towards others and or any social norms that you would follow in sport?*
    - *Examples?*

Transfer

22. *Have these relationships influenced your life outside of sport?*
    - *Examples?*

Adult network and social capital: *Define: Important adults who may benefit your success in the future.*

23. *Through sport, have you had experiences in which you developed your social capital by forming or improving relationships with important adults?*
    - *Can you give some examples of this?*
24. *Have these relationships influences your sport experience?*
    - *How? Examples?*

Transfer

25. *Have these relationships influenced your life outside of sport?*
    - *Examples?*

Concluding Questions:

26. *Would you like to add anything else related to our interview, or do you think anything is missing from the interview guide?*
27. *Do you have any final comments or questions?*

Author Note

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