

How structured and unstructured sport activities aid the development of expertise in volleyball players

COUTINHO, Patricia, MESQUITA, Isabel, DAVIDS, Keith
<<http://orcid.org/0000-0003-1398-6123>>, FONSECA, Antonio M. and CÔTÉ, Jean

Available from Sheffield Hallam University Research Archive (SHURA) at:

<http://shura.shu.ac.uk/12315/>

This document is the author deposited version. You are advised to consult the publisher's version if you wish to cite from it.

Published version

COUTINHO, Patricia, MESQUITA, Isabel, DAVIDS, Keith, FONSECA, Antonio M. and CÔTÉ, Jean (2016). How structured and unstructured sport activities aid the development of expertise in volleyball players. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, 25, 51-59.

Copyright and re-use policy

See <http://shura.shu.ac.uk/information.html>

**How structured and unstructured sport activities aid the development of
expertise in volleyball players**

Coutinho, Fonseca, Mesquita, Davids and Côté

To appear in: *Psychology of Sport and Exercise* 2016

17 **Introduction**

18 In the past decades, researchers have sought to examine which particular attributes
19 contribute most to excellence in sport, acknowledging the important role played by early
20 developmental activities for the acquisition of skill and expertise (Côté, Baker, & Abernethy,
21 2007; Côté & Erickson, 2015; Côté, Erickson, & Abernethy, 2013; Ericsson, Krampe, &
22 Tesch-Romér, 1993). In a comprehensive paper, outlining an approach to the study of expert
23 performance, Ericsson, Krampe and Tesch-Romér (1993) concluded that expertise is
24 predicated on investment in intense, highly structured, specific and effortful activities, which
25 are not particularly enjoyable and designed to improve performance, defined as *deliberate*
26 *practice*. In their paper, the authors were particularly emphatic in declaring that "...high
27 levels of deliberate practice are *necessary* to attain expert level performance" (Ericsson,
28 Krampe, & Tesch-Romér, 1993, p392) (our italics). They also alluded to Simon and Chase's
29 '10-year rule' (p.366) as a basis for establishing expertise in various domains including sports,
30 and distinguished the relevance of deliberate practice from 'playful interactions' (p.368).
31 These ideas have gained prominence in the sport sciences, and a body of work has attempted
32 to show, that 10,000 hours (on average) of accumulated deliberate practice is a definitive
33 requirement for achieving an expert level of performance (e.g. Baker, Côté, & Abernethy,
34 2003b; Baker, Côté, & Deakin, 2005; Berry, Abernethy, & Côté, 2008).

35 Despite the prominence of the deliberate practice approach to expert performance, in
36 recent years a significant lack of clarity has emerged in key findings. For example, the notion
37 of a 10,000-hour 'rule' (Gladwell, 2008) has been heavily criticised for lacking substantial
38 support (e.g., MacNamara, Hambrick, & Oswald, 2014). A major problem is that measures of
39 variability in estimates of time spent in deliberate practice show great inter-individual
40 differences in response. Tucker and Collins (2012) pointed out that reported practice time
41 values ranged between approximately 3,200-23,000 hours in chess masters. Due to the large

42 variation in the number of hours needed in practice it has been suggested that the *nature* of
43 the practice activities undertaken by developing athletes is a far more important stimulus for
44 the acquisition of expertise, rather than the time spent practising (Davids, 2000; Hambrick et
45 al., 2014).

46 In a systematic review, Coutinho et al. (*in press*) have also indicated that there may be
47 potential negative consequences from early engagement in deliberate practice stimulated by
48 undertaking such a vast number of hours of intense training during early development, a
49 possibility acknowledged by Ericsson et al. (1993, see p.371). These consequences include
50 burnout, dropout, overuse injuries and lower levels of attainment (see also Baker, Cobley, &
51 Fraser-Thomas, 2009; Forsman, Blompvist, Davids, Konttinen, & Liukkonen, 2016; Fraser-
52 Thomas, Côté, & Deakin, 2008a, 2008b; Law, Côté, & Ericsson, 2007; Wiersma, 2000).
53 Consequently, some researchers have indicated that time spent in *deliberate play* during the
54 early stages of athlete development may be more important as a formative experience in
55 expertise achievement (for a review, see Côté et al., 2007; Côté & Erickson, 2015; Côté et al.,
56 2013). In contrast to deliberate practice tenets, deliberate play emphasises fun and enjoyment,
57 involving early developmental activities that are intrinsically motivating, and providing
58 immediate gratification (Côté, Baker, & Abernethy, 2003; Côté et al., 2007; Côté & Erickson,
59 2015; Côté et al., 2013).

60 These criticisms have led to the emergence of ideas about a number of developmental
61 pathways that athletes might benefit from engagement in during early years toward expert
62 performance (Côté, Murphy-Mills, & Abernethy, 2012; Ford, Hodges, & Williams, 2013).
63 For example, the *Developmental Model of Sport Participation* (Côté, 1999; Côté et al., 2003,
64 2007) suggests three different developmental trajectories, including: (1) recreational
65 participation through early diversification and deliberate play, (2) elite performance through
66 early diversification and deliberate play, and (3) elite performance through early

67 specialization and deliberate practice. Early diversification is based on the notion that
68 children “sample” a wide range of sporting activities that involve higher levels of deliberate
69 play and lower levels of deliberate practice before specialization (Côté, 1999; Côté &
70 Abernethy, 2012; Côté et al., 2003, 2007). In contrast, early specialization includes an early
71 start age in one sport and an early investment in deliberate practice (Baker, 2003; Baker et al.,
72 2009; Wiersma, 2000). Early-diversified sport involvement allows children to experience a
73 number of different physical, cognitive, affective, and psychosocial environments, which
74 may enhance the intrinsic motivation that stems from the fun, enjoyment, and competence
75 children experience in sport (Côté & Erickson, 2015; Côté & Fraser-Thomas, 2008; Côté,
76 Horton, MacDonald, & Wilkes, 2009; Côté et al., 2012).

77 Although the theoretical background developed around early specialization-deliberate
78 practice and early diversification-deliberate play has guided athlete development research in
79 the past few years, some empirical evidence has also demonstrated that sport participation
80 includes involvement in a number of other types of activities that differ from the original
81 definition of deliberate practice and deliberate play (Berry et al., 2008; Côté et al., 2013;
82 Ford, Ward, Hodges, & Williams, 2009; Ford, Yates, & Williams, 2010; Hopwood,
83 MacMahon, Farrow, & Baker, 2015). Accordingly, the concepts of structured and
84 unstructured activities have been used in literature (Berry et al., 2008; Fraser-Thomas et al.,
85 2008b) in order to consider the composition of sport activities and support the inclusion of
86 other important activities that are not considered in the original definitions of deliberate
87 practice and deliberate play. Structured activities involve formal *adult-led* sport activities that
88 include all kinds of organized training. In contrast to the original definition of deliberate
89 practice (Ericsson et al., 1993), structured activities may also include specific pedagogical
90 games designed to improve performance (Griffin & Butler, 2005; Launder, 2001; Light,
91 2006) (i.e. practice activities not performed alone), practice activities that are enjoyable,

92 organized competition, observing others perform or engaging in activities that may lead to
93 implicit learning (Maxwell, Masters, & Eves, 2000). Contrary to structured activities,
94 unstructured activities include informal *youth-led* activities, developed in play environments
95 like backyard or street games of basketball, football or hockey with siblings and friends. An
96 important element of unstructured activities is that they provide an opportunity for children to
97 hang out together and have fun playing games, which are often spontaneously created and
98 adapted to specific locations and contexts in mind (like quiet streets, public parks or school
99 yards, outside school times). In contrast to the original definition of deliberate play (Côté,
100 1999; Côté et al., 2003, 2007), unstructured activities may also include spontaneous fun
101 activities that are monitored by youth in their free time with the goal of improving skills or
102 performance (e.g. basketball player practising shooting on her own in the backyard) (Côté et
103 al., 2013). These activities are not systematically or pedagogically planned and are
104 characterized by their extrinsic value of skill development (Côté et al., 2013). Unstructured
105 activities may also include other informal play or physical activities like riding a bike or
106 playing tag. This is an important distinction since unstructured activities comprise a high
107 degree of novelty and variability exposing children to new physical, social and emotional
108 situations, also allowing them to explore their independence and enhance their organisation
109 and leadership skills (Côté et al., 2003, 2007; Côté & Erickson, 2015; Côté et al., 2013).
110 Furthermore, flexibility in the structure and form of games provide children with the freedom
111 to invent, adapt, and negotiate rules (and other characteristics), which promote the
112 development of important characteristics of expertise in sport, such as innovation, creativity,
113 adaptability, and flexibility (Côté & Erickson, 2015; Côté et al., 2013; Davids, Araújo,
114 Seifert, & Orth, 2015; Ford et al., 2013; Memmert, Baker, & Bertsch, 2010). Bernstein
115 (1967) proposed that such features form a hallmark of skilled behaviour, which he termed
116 *dexterity*. Despite the obvious functional relevance of this type of activity, little attention has

142 data, but also by interpreting the meaning that athletes place on events, processes, and
143 structures behind their development in sport (Poczwadowski, Diehl, O'Neil, Cote, & Haberl,
144 2014; Readdy, Raabe, & Harding, 2014). By providing athletes with the freedom to use their
145 own words when explaining their perceptions of their development in sport we aimed to
146 enhance and complement existing data in this research field (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Miles
147 & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 2002; Silverman, 2000).

148 *Participants*

149 To achieve our aims, coaching staff members of 18 volleyball clubs in Portugal were
150 recruited to help select participants for the study. The sample included 30 highly skilled and
151 30 less skilled volleyball players (15 male and 15 female for each group). Participants were
152 selected based on two main criteria: (a) being no younger than 23 years old (peak
153 performance in volleyball is achieved in the mid to late twenties; Balyi & Hamilton, 2004),
154 and (b), having a minimum of 10-years of sport-specific experience in volleyball, but with no
155 prior limitations on the number of reported hours spent in sport participation. Additional
156 criteria that we used to characterise the sample of highly skilled participants included:
157 playing in the premier league (Helsen, Starkes, & Hodges, 1998; Low, Williams, McRobert,
158 & Ford, 2013), belonging to a senior national team (Baker et al., 2003b; Hayman, Polman,
159 Taylor, Hemmings, & Borkoles, 2011; Memmert et al., 2010) and being ranked amongst the
160 best volleyball players by national team coaches (Baker, Côté, & Abernethy, 2003a; Berry et
161 al., 2008). The less skilled players were regularly involved in recreational volleyball and had
162 never been part of a senior national team.

163 All procedures followed the guidelines stated in the Declaration of Helsinki and were
164 approved by the ethics committee of the first author's institution. Players were contacted
165 personally or by telephone and were provided with an overview of the study – 100% of the
166 players contacted agreed to participate in the study. Prior to the beginning of the study, all

167 players were given information sheets that informed them about the purpose of the study and
168 signed consent forms.

169 *Data Collection*

170 An adapted version of the retrospective interview procedure suggested by Côté,
171 Ericsson and Law (2005) was specifically designed to examine the sport participation
172 histories of these Portuguese volleyball players. The interview design sought to gain an in-
173 depth understanding of players' general patterns of activity involvement (training patterns)
174 during their sport development. The procedure included closed- and open-ended questions to
175 collect quantitative and qualitative data on participant training patterns throughout
176 development, specifically considering their early developmental sport activities (i.e. the
177 amounts of structured and unstructured activities undertaken). The interviews were conducted
178 by the primary researcher in a quiet area, familiar to participants and free from distractions, in
179 a face-to-face format, and took approximately 2 hours to complete. All interviews were audio
180 recorded and transcribed verbatim.

181 **Quantitative data.** Quantitative data were collected in a series of tables and charts
182 designed to assemble the information in an accessible and intuitive profile for both the
183 primary researcher and the athlete. Training patterns were examined from a developmental
184 perspective by calculating means of reported number of structured and unstructured activities
185 experienced as well as the number of hours spent in these activities. Structured activities were
186 defined as all sport activities undertaken in a formal, organised training setting such as a club,
187 sport school or other organization, supervised by an adult (a coach or teacher) and had
188 performance enhancement as their primary focus (examples: volleyball in a club, karate in a
189 private martial arts school, swimming lessons with a personal trainer). Unstructured activities
190 were proposed to involve voluntary play or physical activities undertaken in an informal
191 environment, monitored and regulated by youth or someone involved in the activity, in which

192 the main purpose is to maximise enjoyment (examples: riding a bike, street basketball,
193 backyard soccer, playing tag). These activities were analysed taking into account three
194 developmental stages: 8 to 12 years, 13 to 16 years, and 17 to 20 years. These developmental
195 stages were selected after a preliminary quantitative analysis of the data, in which some
196 specific patterns differentiating participant development were highlighted. The
197 developmental model of sport participation (Côté, 1999; Côté et al., 2003, 2007) was also
198 used as the theoretical background to define each individual's developmental stages. Finally,
199 the Portuguese volleyball federation competitive system was used to validate the age values
200 of each stage. Accordingly, the first stage (8-12 years), second (13-16 years), and third (17-
201 20 years) stages matched the different stages of training of the Portuguese volleyball
202 federation.

203 **Qualitative data.** In order to facilitate participants' ability to discuss their sport
204 development they were invited to use their own words to describe and explain in more detail
205 their sport experiences throughout development. Main questions focused directly on their
206 past developmental sport activities such as: "Could you elaborate on your sport involvement
207 during childhood and adolescence by discussing experiences that you feel were significant
208 for you?" Probing and follow-up questions were used to encourage athletes to expand their
209 answers such as "Can you give me a specific example of how this type of activity was
210 performed?" In sum, the qualitative part of the interview allowed athletes to focus on their
211 previously identified sport experiences (quantitative part) and provided understanding of
212 those experiences.

213 *Data Analysis*

214 **Statistical analysis.** All variables examined from a developmental perspective used a
215 4 x 3 (Groups x Stages) analysis of variance with repeated measures (RM ANOVA). In this
216 study, we considered four groups (i.e. highly skilled male, highly skilled female, less skilled

217 male and less skilled female) and three different stages of development (i.e. 8-12 years, 13-16
218 years, and 17-20 years). Specifically, RM ANOVA was used to analyse training patterns (i.e.
219 number of structured and unstructured activities practised, number of hours of structured and
220 unstructured activities practised per year). Post hoc analyses were conducted using
221 Bonferroni tests and effect sizes were determined using eta-squared values (η^2). Greenhouse-
222 Geisser adjustments were applied to violations of the sphericity assumption. To assess the
223 reliability of the information provided by players in this study, follow-up interviews were
224 conducted with 25% of the sample (15 players – three highly skilled male, four highly skilled
225 female, four less skilled male, and four less skilled female). Pearson product-moment
226 correlations were calculated between the information collected in time one and time two, and
227 showed high correlations that varied between .702 and .995. Specifically, number of
228 structured activities ($r = .971$), hours of structured activities ($r = .995$), number of
229 unstructured activities ($r = .813$), and hours of unstructured activities ($r = .804$) showed high
230 level of consistency between the information reported in the two interviews.

231 **Content analysis.** All interviews were digitally recorded, transcribed verbatim and
232 checked for accuracy by a second member of the investigation team. Content analysis was
233 used to analyse the data. The procedure of content analysis followed the previously
234 established guidelines (Côté, Salmela, Baria, & Russel, 1993) within the academic literature
235 on athletic development. First, the interview transcripts were divided into units of meaning
236 (i.e. manageable pieces of text containing one unique point or theme; Côté et al., 1993).
237 Second, the units of information with similar meanings were grouped into more
238 comprehensive categories (Côté et al., 1993; Côté & Sedgwick, 2003), which allowed
239 organization and interpretation of the unstructured data. Third, the content of these categories
240 was re-examined carefully in order to search for commonalities and uniqueness according to
241 the meanings by which they were categorized. Raw data themes were then identified and

242 built upon into themes and categories. After the completion of this process, we analysed the
243 content using deductive techniques (Patton, 2002). The trustworthiness of the data was
244 enhanced through two main strategies. First, participants were asked to review their
245 transcripts for verification, which allow them the opportunity to add, delete, or rework any
246 data that they felt did not accurately reflect their intended communications (Miles &
247 Huberman, 1994). All informants agreed with the accuracy of their original communications.
248 Second, two members of the research team were involved in a collaborative approach within
249 the interpretational analysis, with regularly meetings to discuss the emerging categorical
250 organization system. This important process contributed to the trustworthiness of the data,
251 ensuring the interpretative validity while minimizing the risk of individual research bias
252 (Silverman & Marvasti, 2008).

253 **Results**

254 *Training Patterns Throughout Development*

255 **Structured activities.** Descriptive statistics for amount of structured activities
256 experienced and number of hours spent in these activities throughout development are
257 presented in Table 1 and Table 2. A significant effect for stage was found on participants'
258 reported number of structured activities ($F(2,112) = 22.938, p < .001, \eta^2 = .291$). Pairwise
259 comparisons of means across stages (Bonferroni adjusted alpha of $p < .001$) revealed that
260 players participated in significantly more structured activities during stage 1 ($M = 3.0$
261 activities/year, $SD = 1.8$) and stage 2 ($M = 2.3$ activities/year, $SD = 1.4$) than in stage 3 ($M =$
262 1.6 activities/year, $SD = 0.9$). There were no other significant main effects for the interaction
263 between expertise level and gender in this variable. Concerning participants' reported number
264 of hours spent in structured activities, a significant effect for stage ($F(2,112) = 14.903, p <$
265 $.001, \eta^2 = .210$) and interaction between expertise level and gender ($F(6,112) = 5.289, p <$
266 $.001, \eta^2 = .221$) was found. Pairwise comparisons of means across stages (Bonferroni

267 adjusted alpha of $p = .001$) revealed that players accumulated more hours of structured
268 activities in stage 2 ($M = 1419.0$ hours/year, $SD = 602.0$) and stage 3 ($M = 1750.0$ hours/year,
269 $SD = 897.1$) than in stage 1 ($M = 1079.0$ hours/year, $SD = 1113.0$). Moreover, highly skilled
270 male and highly skilled female players accumulated more hours of structured activities than
271 less skilled male players ($p = .011$ and $p = .030$, respectively).

272

273 (please insert table 1 and table 2 around here)

274

275 **Unstructured activities.** Descriptive statistics for amount of unstructured activities
276 experienced and number of hours spent in these activities throughout development are also
277 presented in Table 1 and Table 2. There were no significant main effects for stage and
278 interaction between expertise level and gender on players' reported number of unstructured
279 activities. Analyses of the players' number of hours spent in unstructured activities revealed a
280 significant effect for stage ($F(2,112) = 21.214$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .275$). Pairwise comparisons of
281 means across stages (Bonferroni adjusted alpha of $p = .010$) revealed that players
282 accumulated more hours of unstructured activities in stage 1 ($M = 1773.0$ hours/year, $SD =$
283 766.2) and stage 2 ($M = 1062.0$ hours/year, $SD = 588.1$) than in stage 3 ($M = 547.8$
284 hours/year, $SD = 109.0$).

285 *Understanding the Role of Structured and Unstructured Activities Throughout Player*

286 *Development*

287 **Structured activities**

288 **Early diversified sport participation.** Both highly skilled (male and female) and less skilled
289 (male and female) volleyball players mentioned having participated in significant amounts of
290 structured activities during their early sport development:

291 *Since I started practicing sports, it was a mixture of everything (sports) but nothing*
292 *too seriously or certain...then I definitely chose volleyball (HS female 1).*

293 *When I was young, I did swimming, football, and volleyball everything at the same*
294 *time. But then, when volleyball started to be more demanding and training loads was*
295 *higher I have to choose volleyball (HS male 5).*

296 **Early diversification with older peers.** Only highly skilled players (male and female)
297 mentioned having participated in structured activities with older peers/teammates:

298 *In all sports I have practiced I always had older teammates... I used to be the*
299 *youngest! (HS male 9).*

300 *Sometimes was difficult to adapt myself to that specific sport, because they*
301 *[teammates] were all older than me and they already know much more than what I*
302 *knew (HS female 13).*

303 **Volleyball participation with older teammates.** Only highly skilled players (male and
304 female) mentioned practicing volleyball with older teammates:

305 *Throughout my development in volleyball, I played and practiced all the time with*
306 *older teams (HS male 10).*

307 *When I was 16 I started to play in the adult team. I always played with older athletes*
308 *and this was very important for my development (HS male 1).*

309 *I played during all my development in older teams...when I was 15 I was already*
310 *practicing with the adult team and at that age I took part in my first official*
311 *competition in that team! (HS female 6).*

312 *All the girls were older than me...they were very important to me because not only I*
313 *learnt a lot with them, but also I learnt too quickly (HS female 4).*

314 **Unstructured activities**

315 ***Involvement in unstructured activities.*** Both highly skilled (male and female) and less
316 skilled (male and female) volleyball players mentioned having participated in unstructured
317 activities during their early development:

318 *I never was a quiet child. I played a lot with my friends during my childhood. My*
319 *parents were very poor and I never had the opportunity to have a PlayStation or*
320 *something like that. I had nothing to do. So, I just played, played, and played in the*
321 *street (HS male 5).*

322 *I think I started doing sports naturally. I lived in a small village and I could play a lot*
323 *in the street with my friends and neighbours (HS male 12).*

324 *I never was a quiet child. I loved play in the street! I couldn't stay too much time in*
325 *the computer... I needed to go outside and play, even if it was alone! (LS male 10).*

326 ***The potential of unstructured activities for expertise enhancement.*** Highly skilled players
327 (male and female) referred specifically to how unstructured activities provided an important
328 formative experience that helped them develop physically, technically, tactically, cognitively
329 and motivationally. They also directly implicated these experiences in their expertise
330 development and achievement:

331 *I reached expertise [in volleyball] because I played a lot in the street. I was not a*
332 *gifted athlete and I had my own difficulties in sport. But just because I played it a lot*
333 *in the street, I could develop my physical, technical, and tactical skills (HS male 1).*

334 *There are three major factors that helped me to reach expertise: first, because I loved*
335 *and still love volleyball; second, because I work really hard on it; and third, because*
336 *I play a lot in the street (HS male 2).*

337 ***Involvement in specific unstructured activities.*** Highly skilled players (male and female)
338 particularly indicated playing a lot of street volleyball and they emphasized the specific

339 contribution of this practice for their development. On the contrary, less skilled players
340 reported playing other activities rather than volleyball:

341 *Sometimes after the training session we went outside and play volleyball again. We*
342 *didn't even need anything. We held a thread somewhere or we use my grandmother's*
343 *gate as a net and play during all afternoon (HS male 4).*

344 *It is funny because the youth in my neighbourhood typically played football in their*
345 *free-times, in the break times at the school, in the street...but me and my friends were*
346 *never like this! We spent our free times playing volleyball! (HS male 8).*

347 *During my childhood, when I was at home I was always playing volleyball...even*
348 *alone! (HS female 7).*

349 *Apart from physical education in kindergarten and primary school, I played a lot with*
350 *my friends. I played football, I rode a bike, skateboarding, everything! But never*
351 *volleyball! (LS female 2).*

352 ***Involvement in specific unstructured activities with older peers.*** Only highly skilled players
353 (male and female) mentioned having played specific unstructured activities with older peers:

354 *I always played volleyball in the street with older peers. We used to play altogether*
355 *and I loved playing with them... (HS male 2).*

356 *When I played volleyball in the street there was a mixture of younger and older*
357 *youths. But I know that I learned a lot with the older ones... (HS male 9).*

358 *In that activities (street-volleyball) we played altogether, so there were younger and*
359 *older peers. But all I wanted was to play with the older ones because they played*
360 *better than me... (HS female 3).*

361 **Discussion**

362 In this study, we examined the developmental pathways of highly skilled and less
363 skilled volleyball players by exploring the formative nature of their sport experiences

364 (specifically the nature of structured and unstructured activities experienced) embedded
365 within a simultaneous analysis of expertise level and gender.

366 Analysis of participant training patterns revealed that volleyball players had an early-
367 diversified type of sport involvement with a greater involvement in structured and
368 unstructured activities during stage 1 and 2 (sampling and specializing years), and an increase
369 in the number of hours spent in structured sport activities during stage 2 and 3 (specializing
370 and investment years). These findings are consistent with the tenets of the developmental
371 model of sport participation (Côté, 1999; Côté et al., 2003, 2007) that suggests two sport
372 participation trajectories related to talent development: (1) elite performance through early
373 diversification and deliberate play, and (2), elite performance through early specialization and
374 deliberate practice. Furthermore, these findings are in line with results of empirical studies in
375 team sports showing early diversification as a possible pathway to both expert performance
376 and recreational participation (Baker et al., 2003a; Berry et al., 2008; Coutinho, Mesquita,
377 Fonseca, & Côté, 2015; Coutinho, Mesquita, Fonseca, & De Martin-Silva, 2014; Leite,
378 Baker, & Sampaio, 2009; Leite & Sampaio, 2012). The data suggested that sampling
379 different sports during the early years of athletic development provides a good foundation for
380 both highly skilled and less skilled sport engagement. The early diversification pathway has
381 been associated with several benefits, including a prolonged engagement in sport, more
382 enjoyable and positive early sport experiences, and a healthy physical, psychological and
383 social development (Baker, 2003; Baker et al., 2009; Côté et al., 2007; Côté et al., 2012;
384 Fraser-Thomas et al., 2008a, 2008b). An early-diversified sport involvement may also protect
385 athletes against the potentially negative consequences of early specialization such as physical
386 injuries, a decrease of enjoyment in sport, and dropout (Fraser-Thomas, Côté, & Deakin,
387 2005; Fraser-Thomas et al., 2008a, 2008b; Law et al., 2007). Beyond that, research has also
388 acknowledged the importance of engagement in unstructured activities during childhood for

389 an athlete's development (Côté et al., 2007; Côté & Erickson, 2015; Côté et al., 2013; Wood,
390 2013). These activities are personally directed, chosen freely and regulated by children,
391 providing them the opportunity to decide and to invent what to do and how to do it. This
392 experience leads to a complete, active, and intense involvement in the activity providing good
393 conditions for learning (Côté et al., 2013). Furthermore, the flexibility in the structure and
394 form of early sport experiences, as well as their high degree of novelty and unpredictability,
395 expose children to many new physical, social, and emotional situations, which provide a
396 platform for the development of metacognitive capabilities, learning and overall development
397 in sport (Côté et al., 2013; Wood, 2013).

398 While highly skilled and less skilled volleyball players reported participating in
399 essentially the same type of structured and unstructured activities, highly skilled players
400 accumulated more hours of structured practice throughout development. This finding is
401 consistent with results reported in previous literature suggesting a relationship between
402 investment in hours of practice and expertise achievement (Baker et al., 2003b; Baker et al.,
403 2005; Berry et al., 2008; Hopwood et al., 2015; Schorer et al., 2015). However, the total
404 number of hours of structured activities accumulated by highly skilled players (between
405 2,000 and 5,300 hours) is far less than the 10,000 hours suggested by Ericsson and
406 colleagues' original study (Ericsson et al., 1993) and popular books (e.g. Gladwell, 2008) as a
407 benchmark for attaining expertise. In fact, studies carried out in team sports have shown that
408 players have achieved expert performance after accumulating between 4,000 to 6,000 hours
409 of sport-specific practice (Baker et al., 2005; Berry et al., 2008; Soberlack & Côté, 2003),
410 supporting the recent clarification of Ericsson (2013) on highlighting that "there is nothing
411 magical about exactly 10,000 hours" (p. 534).

412 In addition to these findings, in-depth analysis of how structured and unstructured
413 activities were specifically experienced throughout development revealed key important

414 differences between the groups. The current study extends previous findings by
415 demonstrating that, not only do highly skilled players spend more time in structured
416 activities, but they also were involved in these activities (in which the primary sport,
417 volleyball, is included) with older peers or teammates. Previous work has highlighted the
418 benefits of playing and practicing with older peers for athlete and expertise development
419 (Balish & Côté, 2013; Côté, MacDonald, Baker, & Abernethy, 2006; MacDonald, Cheung,
420 Côté, & Abernethy, 2009; MacDonald, King, Côté, & Abernethy, 2009). It could be argued
421 that the training environment and psychosocial climate induced by older peers improve
422 players' motivation to practice, promoting a deeper immersion in a sport activity, and
423 consequently leading players to a more active engagement in learning (Wood, 2013).
424 Furthermore, older peers and teammates can act as important role models affording players
425 the opportunity to form attitudes and behaviours through the process of observational
426 learning (Bandura, 1977), what Rietveld and Kiverstein (2014) have called the 'form of life'
427 in a domain of expertise. Notwithstanding, this finding could also possibly be viewed as a
428 result of the athletes' already superior talent at that age. In structured sporting programmes,
429 younger athletes who are highly skilled could be moved up to play with and compete against
430 older players because they are considered to be talented and their performance could be
431 profitable to the older team. Such a phenomenon could be considered an athletic career
432 transition (Alfermann & Stambulova, 2007), which is defined as a turning phase in career
433 development that manifests itself by sets of demands athletes have to meet in order continue
434 successfully in sport. Successfully coping with transitions improves the athlete's odds of
435 having a long and successful life in sport (Stambulova, 2010). Although little is known about
436 the potential of such a transition in sport (i.e. starting to play and competing with older
437 athletes), possibly due to the disconnection of talent development and career transitions
438 research (for a review, see Coutinho et al, *in press*), coaches and sport systems should

439 analyse carefully each particular case in order to understand and decide what is the best for
440 each individual athlete's personal and talent development.

441 Additionally, highly skilled players explained how unstructured activities might have
442 helped them developing physically, technically, tactically, cognitively and motivationally,
443 which could have been an important contribution to their expertise development and
444 achievement. From a skill acquisition perspective, involvement in this type of child-led
445 activities allow children to experience sports in various contexts with freedom to invent,
446 adapt, create, and negotiate activities and rules to suit to their own wishes and needs (Côté et
447 al., 2007; Côté et al., 2013). These factors promote a stimulating environment in which
448 athletes develop their physical, technical, and tactical attributes, but also learn the "game
449 smartness" that can be challenging to acquire within a more formalised, structured sport
450 training environment. Indeed, the development of dexterity (Bernstein, 1967) (i.e.
451 adaptability and creativity) promoted by the involvement in unstructured activities has been
452 posited as the mechanism supporting the empirically highlighted benefits of these informal
453 activities on skill acquisition and sport expertise (Berry et al., 2008; Côté et al., 2007; Côté et
454 al., 2013; Ford et al., 2009; Memmert et al., 2010). Interestingly, while the quantitative
455 results of this study did not show significant differences in the number and hours of
456 unstructured activities between groups, highly skilled players reported their engagement in
457 specific unstructured activities with older peers (i.e. volleyball play activities away from
458 supervising adults). Thus, it could be argued that skilled and less skilled players had a similar
459 quantity of unstructured activities, but the distinction could be in the type and quality of such
460 experiences. It has been suggested that these types of informal experiences in the primary
461 sport foster the development of decision-making (Roca, Williams, & Ford, 2012), attainment
462 (Ford et al., 2009) and creativity (Memmert et al., 2010). Thus, involvement in specific
463 unstructured activities with older peers may have enhanced all these benefits during the

464 development of highly skilled volleyball players. The flexibility and negotiability in structure
465 and form of unstructured activities enable children of different abilities and ages to play in
466 the same game without losing the fun and enjoyment of competition, promoting therefore a
467 productive learning environment (Côté et al., 2003). Considering the potential contribution of
468 unstructured activities for athlete and talent development, administrators in governing bodies
469 and sport systems should reflect on encouraging and creating more opportunities for such
470 experiences. Possible strategic actions that may promote opportunities for involvement in
471 unstructured activities could be facilitated at the organizational and social support levels. At
472 the organizational level, it could be beneficial to increase the construction of outdoor spaces
473 where children can play safely and enhance the availability of sport clubs and schools
474 facilities during free time for children to play with specific materials (e.g. balls, volleyball
475 net, trampolines, etc). At the social support level, it could be important to increase the
476 awareness of parents, coaches, teachers, and administrators about the importance of
477 children's involvement in unstructured sport activities that are not always directed and
478 monitored by adults.

479 Despite the important findings of this study, there are some limitations that should be
480 addressed. Portuguese volleyball is not considered to be at a world-class -level, which should
481 motivate other researchers to examine the developmental pathways of high-level volleyball
482 players. Furthermore, although retrospective methodologies have been considered an
483 incomplete tool to collect accurate data in this research field (Côté, et al., 2005; Coutinho et
484 al, *in press*), they reflect the players' perceptions of their previous sport experiences, which
485 need to be triangulated with more objective data regarding developmental patterns (Sosniak,
486 2006). Notwithstanding, our study afforded important insights into this research field
487 attesting the usefulness of mixed methodologies and qualitative methodologies as a valuable
488 approach to analyse and explain skill and talent development in a deeper and contextualized

489 way. Future studies should consider the potential of prospective longitudinal designs to
490 specifically examine the athletes' developmental sport experiences so as to better understand
491 the contributions to developing and attaining expertise in volleyball and other sports. Here, a
492 detailed examination of the microstructure of practice and play could provide important
493 insights into what really differentiates learning activities performed in different stages of
494 development by skilled and less skilled players. Furthermore, qualitative methodologies
495 should also be considered in further studies as a valuable procedure for an in-depth analysis
496 and interpretation of the processes of athlete talent development.

497 **General Conclusions and Practical Implications**

498 The findings of this study support previous research suggesting early sampling as a
499 suitable pathway for both adult expert and non-expert performance development. Highly
500 skilled and less skilled players were involved in several sport activities during the early years
501 of their sport participation, with a gradual increase in the number of hours spent in structured
502 activities throughout development. The novel contribution of this study emerged from highly
503 skilled players highlighting participation in structured and unstructured activities with older
504 peers as well as the involvement in specific unstructured activities (i.e. volleyball child-led
505 play activities) as key factors for their expertise development and achievement. These
506 findings suggest the need for deeper examinations of practice histories since athlete
507 development characterizations based on a general portrait of early specialization or early
508 diversification seem insufficient to understand how expertise in sport is acquired. Additional
509 research is needed to examine in greater detail the type of practice undertaken by athletes
510 throughout development considering the possible coexistence of what are currently deemed
511 as opposing and contrasting learning activities (for instance, the presence of specific practice
512 and play activities within a diversified sport involvement as shown in this study). Following
513 the propositions that talent development is a nonlinear, inherently noisy and dynamic process,

514 emphasising the acquisition of increasingly functional relationship with a performance
515 environment (Davids, Shuttleworth, Araújo & Gullich, in press) , there is a need to move
516 beyond mechanistic and prescriptive models of talent development (which tend to model the
517 process according to stratified and fixed stages, while outlining putative practice
518 characteristics based on these categorisations). The data reported here suggest that there is a
519 need for future research to test the validity of an additional talent development pathway to
520 elite performance through a sophisticated mix of structured (adult-led) and unstructured
521 (peer-led) play and practice, which can allow talented athletes to exploit the value of play and
522 organised training in acquiring expertise in sport (Davids, Shuttleworth, Araújo & Gullich, in
523 press). This type of research would provide a consideration of features of best practice and
524 process markers of talent development, leading to the emergence of robust guidelines for the
525 implementation of this pathway applied in practice. Further research should also consider the
526 influence of other contextual factors in determining the quality of practice, since practising
527 and playing with older peers was a key factor for expertise achievement in this study.

528 Accordingly, broadening our attention to encompass larger systems in which athletes develop
529 will create new insights into athlete and talent development. Here, exploring the use of
530 qualitative research in a more consistent and deeper way may provide better understandings
531 of the complex interaction of different factors (e.g. type and quantity of practice and play;
532 peers, coach and family influence) and their influence in determining expertise achievement.

533 A number of important practical implications for sport practitioners can also be drawn
534 from the data. What is clear from this study is that highly skilled players' development
535 pathway is characterized by a greater quantity of practice and more enriched learning
536 contexts throughout development (resulting from their involvement in early specific
537 unstructured activities, as well as regular practice and play with older peers/teammates).
538 Coaches should, therefore, consider not only the amount of practice but also the overall

539 environment in which practice activities are experienced (e.g. peers age, the degree of
540 formality and specificity of practice), since these factors could determine the quality of
541 practice. Coaches and sport systems should also consider the role of unstructured activities in
542 the early years of athlete development as this type of learning context may provide additional
543 stimuli in developing important attributes (e.g. technical, tactical, physical, cognitive,
544 motivational) for expertise development and achievement. Sport administrators are
545 encouraged to provide more specific and accurate long-term athlete development guidelines
546 particularly regarding the early years of development due to the importance of this
547 developmental stage for athlete development and commitment to sport. A comprehensive
548 outline of all these issues would further our understanding of the factors underpinning the
549 achievement of expert performance in sport.

550

551 **Acknowledgments**

552 This research was supported by a grant from the Foundation for Science and Technology
553 (FCT) (SFRH/BD/64680/2009)/POPH/QREN/European Social Fund awarded to the first
554 author.

555

556 **References**

557 Alfermann, D., & Stambulova, N. (2007). Career transitions and career termination. In G.

558 Tenenbaum & R. Eklund (Eds.), *Handbook of sport psychology* (pp. 712-736). New

559 York: Wiley.

560 Baker, J. (2003). Early specialization in youth sport: A requirement for adult expertise? *High*

561 *Ability Studies*, 14(1), 85-94. doi:10.1080/13598130304091

- 562 Baker, J., Cobley, S., & Fraser-Thomas, J. (2009). What do we know about early sport
563 specialization? Not much! *High Ability Studies*, 20(1), 77-89.
564 doi:10.1080/13598130902860507
- 565 Baker, J., Côté, J., & Abernethy, B. (2003a). Learning from the experts: Practice activities of
566 expert decision makers in sport. *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, 74(3),
567 342-347. doi:10.1080/02701367.2003.10609101
- 568 Baker, J., Côté, J., & Abernethy, B. (2003b). Sport-specific practice and the development of
569 expert decision-making in team ball sports. *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology*, 15,
570 12-25. doi:10.1080/10413200305400
- 571 Baker, J., Côté, J., & Deakin, J. (2005). Expertise in ultra-endurance triathletes early sport
572 involvement, training structure, and the theory of deliberate practice. *Journal of*
573 *Applied Sport Psychology*, 17, 64-78. doi:10.1080/10413200590907577
- 574 Balish, S., & Côté, J. (2013). The influence of community on athletic development: An
575 integrated case study. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 6(1), 1-23.
- 576 Bandura, A. (1977). *Social learning theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- 577 Bernstein, N. (1967). *The co-ordination and regulation of movements*. Oxford: Pergamon
578 Press.
- 579 Berry, J., Abernethy, B., & Côté, J. (2008). The contribution of structured activity and
580 deliberate play to the development of expert perceptual and decision-making skill.
581 *Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology*, 30, 685-708.
- 582 Côté, J. (1999). The influence of the family in the development of talent in sport. *The Sport*
583 *Psychologist*, 13, 395-417.
- 584 Côté, J., & Abernethy, B. (2012). A developmental approach to sport expertise. In S. M.
585 Murphy (Ed.), *The oxford handbook of sport and performance psychology* (pp. 435-
586 447). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- 587 Côté, J., Baker, J., & Abernethy, B. (2003). From play to practice: A developmental
588 framework for the acquisition of expertise in team sport. In J. Starkes & K. A.
589 Ericsson (Eds.), *Expert performance in sports: Advances in research on sport*
590 *expertise* (pp. 89-113). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- 591 Côté, J., Baker, J., & Abernethy, B. (2007). Practice and play in the development of sport
592 expertise. In R. Eklund & G. Tenenbaum (Eds.), *Handbook of sport psychology* (3rd
593 ed., pp. 184-202). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- 594 Côté, J., & Erickson, K. (2015). Diversification and deliberate play during the sampling
595 years. In J. Baker & D. Farrow (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of sport expertise* (pp.
596 305-316). London: Routledge.
- 597 Côté, J., Erickson, K., & Abernethy, B. (2013). Play and practice during childhood. In J. Côté
598 & R. Lidor (Eds.), *Conditions of children's talent development in sport* (pp. 9-20).
599 Morgantown, WV: FIT.
- 600 Côté, J., Ericsson, K. A., & Law, M. (2005). Tracing the development of athletes using
601 retrospective interview methods: A proposed interview and validation procedure for
602 reported information. *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology*, 17, 1-19.
603 doi:10.1080/10413200590907531
- 604 Côté, J., & Fraser-Thomas, J. (2008). Play, practice, and athlete development. In D. Farrow,
605 J. Baker, & C. MacMahon (Eds.), *Developing elite sport performance: Researchers*
606 *and coaches put theory into practice* (pp. 17-28). New York: Routledge.
- 607 Côté, J., Horton, S., MacDonald, D., & Wilkes, S. (2009). The benefits of sampling sports
608 during childhood. *Physical & Health Education Journal*, 74(4), 6-11.
- 609 Côté, J., MacDonald, D., Baker, J., & Abernethy, B. (2006). When “where” is more
610 important than “when”: Birthplace and birthdate effects on the achievement of

- 611 sporting expertise. *Journal of Sports Sciences*, 24(10), 1065-1073.
612 doi:10.1080/02640410500432490
- 613 Côté, J., Murphy-Mills, J., & Abernethy, B. (2012). The development of skill in sport. In N.
614 Hodges & A. M. Williams (Eds.), *Skill acquisition in sport: Research, theory and*
615 *practice* (pp. 269-286). New York: Routledge.
- 616 Côté, J., Salmela, J., Baria, A., & Russel, S. (1993). Organizing and interpreting unstructured
617 qualitative data. *The Sport Psychologist*, 7, 127-137.
- 618 Côté, J., & Sedgwick, W. (2003). Effective behaviors of expert rowing coaches: A qualitative
619 investigation of Canadian athletes and coaches. *International Sports Journal*, 7(1), 62-
620 77.
- 621 Coutinho, P., Fonseca, A. M., & Mesquita, I. (in press). Talent development in sport: A
622 critical review of pathways to expert performance. *International Journal of Sports*
623 *Science and Coaching*.
- 624 Coutinho, P., Mesquita, I., Fonseca, A. M., & Côté, J. (2015). Early development in
625 volleyball: The role of early sport activities and players' age and height. *Kinesiology*,
626 47(2), 215-225.
- 627 Coutinho, P., Mesquita, I., Fonseca, A. M., & De Martin-Silva, L. (2014). Patterns of sport
628 participation in Portuguese volleyball players according to expertise level and gender.
629 *International Journal of Sport Science & Coaching*, 9(4), 579-592.
- 630 Creswell, J. W. (2007). Understanding mixed methods research. In J. W. Creswell & V. L. P.
631 Clark (Eds.), *Designing and conducting mixed methods research*. London: Sage
632 Publications.
- 633 Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods*
634 *approaches*. London: SAGE.

- 635 Davids, K. (2000). Skills acquisition and the theory of deliberate practice: It ain't what you do
636 it's the way that you do it. *International Journal of Sport Psychology*, 31, 461-466.
- 637 Davids, K., Araújo, D., Seifert, L., & Orth, D. (2015). Expert performance in sport: An
638 ecological dynamics perspective. In J. Baker & D. Farrow (Eds.), *Routledge*
639 *Handbook of Sport Expertise* (pp. 273-303). London: Routledge.
- 640 Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2000). *The handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand
641 Oaks, California: SAGE publications.
- 642 Ericsson, K. A. (2013). Training history, deliberate practice and elite sports performance: An
643 analysis in response to Tucker and Collins review - What makes champions? *British*
644 *Journal of Sports Medicine*, 47(9), 533-535.
- 645 Ericsson, K. A., Krampe, R., & Tesch-Romér, C. (1993). The role of deliberate practice in
646 the acquisition of expert performance. *Psychological Review*, 100(3), 363-406.
647 doi:10.1037/0033-295X.100.3.363
- 648 Ford, P., Hodges, N., & Williams, A. M. (2013). Creating champions: The development of
649 expertise in sport. In S. B. Kaufman (Ed.), *The complexity of greatness: Beyond*
650 *talent or practice*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- 651 Ford, P., Ward, P., Hodges, N., & Williams, A. M. (2009). The role of deliberate practice and
652 play in career progression in sport: The early engagement hypothesis. *High Ability*
653 *Studies*, 20(1), 65-75. doi:10.1080/13598130902860721
- 654 Ford, P., Yates, I., & Williams, A. M. (2010). An analysis of practice activities and
655 instructional behaviours used by youth soccer coaches during practice: Exploring the
656 link between science and application. *Journal of Sports Sciences*, 28(5), 483-495.
657 doi:10.1080/02640410903582750
- 658 Forsman, H., Blompvist, M., Davids, K., Konttinen, N., & Liukkonen, J. (2016). The role of
659 sport-specific play and practice during childhood in the development of adolescent

- 660 finnish team sport athletes. *International Journal of Sports Science and Coaching*,
661 11(1), 69-77.
- 662 Fraser-Thomas, J., Côté, J., & Deakin, J. (2005). Youth sport programs: An avenue to foster
663 positive youth development. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy*, 10(1), 19-40.
664 doi:10.1080/1740898042000334890
- 665 Fraser-Thomas, J., Côté, J., & Deakin, J. (2008a). Examining adolescent sport dropout and
666 prolonged engagement from a developmental perspective. *Journal of Applied Sport
667 Psychology*, 20(3), 318-333. doi:10.1080/10413200802163549
- 668 Fraser-Thomas, J., Côté, J., & Deakin, J. (2008b). Understanding dropout and prolonged
669 engagement in adolescent competitive sport. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, 9,
670 645-662. doi:10.1016/j.psychsport.2007.01.005
- 671 Gladwell, M. (2008). *Outliers: The story of success*. New York: Little, Brown.
- 672 Griffin, L., & Butler, J. (2005). *Teaching games for understanding: Theory, research, and
673 practice*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- 674 Hambrick, D. Z., Owswald, F. L., Altmann, E. M., Meinz, E. J., Gobet, F., & Campitelli, G.
675 (2014). Deliberate practice: Is that all it takes to become an expert? *Intelligence*, 45,
676 34-45.
- 677 Hayman, R., Polman, R., Taylor, J., Hemmings, B., & Borkoles, E. (2011). Development of
678 elite adolescent golfers. *Talent Development & Excellence*, 3(2), 249-261.
- 679 Helsen, W. F., Starkes, J., & Hodges, N. (1998). Team sports and the theory of deliberate
680 practice. *Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology*, 20, 12-34.
- 681 Hopwood, M. J., MacMahon, C., Farrow, D., & Baker, J. (2015). Is practice the only
682 determinant of sporting expertise? Revising Starkes (2000). *International Journal of
683 Sport Psychology*, 46(6), 631-651.

- 684 Launder, A. G. (2001). *Play practice: The games approach to teaching and coaching sports*.
685 Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- 686 Law, M., Côté, J., & Ericsson, K. A. (2007). Characteristics of expert development in
687 rhythmic gymnastics: A retrospective study. *International Journal of Sport and*
688 *Exercise Psychology*, 5, 82-103. doi:10.1080/1612197X.2008.9671814
- 689 Leite, N., Baker, J., & Sampaio, J. (2009). Paths to expertise in Portuguese national team
690 athletes. *Journal of Sports Science and Medicine*, 8(4), 560-566.
- 691 Leite, N., & Sampaio, J. (2012). Long-term athletic development across different age groups
692 and gender from portuguese basketball players. *International Journal of Sports*
693 *Science & Coaching*, 7(2), 285-300. doi:10.1260/1747-9541.7.2.285
- 694 Light, R. (2006). Game sense: Innovation or just good coaching? *Journal of Physical*
695 *Education New Zealand*, 39(1), 8-19.
- 696 Low, J., Williams, A. M., McRobert, A., & Ford, P. (2013). The microstructure of practice
697 activities engaged in by elite and recreational youth cricket players. *Journal of Sports*
698 *Sciences*, 31(11), 1242-1250. doi:10.1080/02640414.2013.778419
- 699 MacDonald, D., Cheung, M., Côté, J., & Abernethy, B. (2009). Place but not Date of Birth
700 Influences the Development and Emergence of Athletic Talent in American Football.
701 *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology*, 21(1), 80-90. doi:10.1080/10413200802541868
- 702 MacDonald, D., King, J., Côté, J., & Abernethy, B. (2009). Birthplace effects on the
703 development of female athletic talent. *Journal of Science and Medicine in Sport*, 12,
704 234-237. doi:10.1016/j.jsams.2007.05.015
- 705 MacNamara, A., & Collins, D. (2014). More of the same? Comment on “An integrated
706 framework for the optimisation of sport and athlete development: A practitioner
707 approach”. *Journal of Sports Sciences*, 32(8), 793-795.

- 708 MacNamara, B., Hambrick, D., & Oswald, F. (2014). Deliberate practice and performance in
709 music, games, sports, education and professions: A meta-analysis. *Psychological*
710 *Science*, 25(8), 1608-1618.
- 711 Maxwell, J. P., Masters, R. S. W., & Eves, F. F. (2000). From novice to no know-how: A
712 longitudinal study of implicit motor learning. *Journal of Sports Science*, 18, 111-120.
- 713 Memmert, D., Baker, J., & Bertsch, C. (2010). Play and practice in the development of sport-
714 specific creativity in team ball sports. *High Ability Studies*, 21(1), 3-18.
715 doi:10.1080/13598139.2010.488083
- 716 Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis: an expanded*
717 *sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE publications.
- 718 Patton, M. (2002). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). CA: Thousand Oaks.
- 719 Poczwardowski, A., Diehl, B., O'Neil, A., Cote, T., & Haberl, P. (2014). Successful
720 Transitions to the Olympic Training Center, Colorado Springs: A Mixed-Method
721 Exploration with Six Resident-Athletes. *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology*, 26(1),
722 33-51. doi:10.1080/10413200.2013.773950
- 723 Readdy, T., Raabe, J., & Harding, J. (2014). Student-Athletes' Perceptions of an Extrinsic
724 Reward Program: A Mixed-Methods Exploration of Self-Determination Theory in the
725 Context of College Football. *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology*, 26(2), 157-171.
726 doi:10.1080/10413200.2013.816801
- 727 Rietveld, E., & Kiverstein, J. (2014). A rich landscape of affordances. *Ecological*
728 *Psychology*, 26(4), 325-352.
- 729 Roca, A., Williams, A. M., & Ford, P. (2012). Developmental activities and the acquisition of
730 anticipation and decision making in soccer players. *Journal of Sports Sciences*,
731 30(15), 1643-1652. doi:10.1080/02640414.2012.701761

- 732 Schorer, J., Rienhoff, R., Fischer, L., Overbeck, I., Weiss, C., & Baker, J. (2015). Hastening
733 the acquisition of perceptual skill in volleyball players. *International Journal of Sport*
734 *Psychology*, 46(6), 608-629.
- 735 Silverman, D. (2000). *Doing Qualitative Research: a Practical Handbook*. Thousands Oaks,
736 California: SAGE publications.
- 737 Silverman, D., & Marvasti, A. (2008). *Doing Qualitative Research: a comprehensive guide*.
738 California: SAGE Publications.
- 739 Simon, H., & Chase, W. (1973). Skill in chess. *American Scientist*, 61, 394-403.
- 740 Soberlack, P., & Côté, J. (2003). The Developmental Activities of Elite Ice Hockey Players.
741 *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology*, 15, 41-49. doi:10.1080/10413200305401
- 742 Sosniak, L. A. (2006). Retrospective Interviews in the Study of Expertise and Expert
743 Performance. In K. A. Ericsson, N. Charness, P. J. Feltovich, & R. Hoffman (Eds.),
744 *The Cambridge Handbook of Expertise and Expert Performance* (pp. 287-301). New
745 York: Cambridge University Press.
- 746 Stambulova, N. (2010). Counseling Athletes in Career Transitions: The Five-Step Career
747 Planning Strategy. *Journal of Sport Psychology in Action*, 1(2), 95-105.
- 748 Tucker, R., & Collins, M. (2012). What makes champions? A review of the relative
749 contribution of genes and training to sporting success. *British Journal of Sports*
750 *Medicine*, 46(555-561).
- 751 Wiersma, L. (2000). Risks and Benefits of Youth Sport Specialization: Perspectives and
752 Recommendations. *Pediatric Exercise Science*, 12, 13-22.
- 753 Wood, E. (2013). *Play, Learning and the Early Childhood Curriculum*. London: SAGE.
754
755

Table 1

Descriptive statistics (mean and standard deviation) for number and hours of structured and unstructured activities examined from a developmental perspective

	8-12	13-16	17-20	Total
N° of				
structured activities	3.0 (1.8)	2.3 (1.4)	1.6 (0.9)	6.8 (3.1)
Hours of				
structured activities *	1079.0 (1113.0)	1419.0 (602.0)	1750.0 (897.1)	4247.0 (1975.1)
N° of				
unstructured activities	1.6 (1.0)	1.6 (1.1)	1.3 (1.1)	4.4 (2.1)
Hours of				
unstructured activities *	1773.0 (766.2)	1062.0 (588.1)	548.0 (109.0)	3382.0 (1300.0)

* Time in hours per year

Table 2

Descriptive statistics (mean and standard deviation) for number and hours of structured and unstructured activities examined from a developmental perspective according to expertise level and gender

		Highly Skilled Male				Highly Skilled Female				Less Skilled Male				Less Skilled Female			
		8-12	13-16	17-20	Total	8-12	13-16	17-20	Total	8-12	13-16	17-20	Total	8-12	13-16	17-20	Total
N°	of																
structured	activities	3.7 (2.1)	3.1 (1.1)	1.9 (1.0)	2.9 (0.3)	2.6 (1.6)	1.9 (1.2)	1.7 (0.9)	2.1 (0.3)	2.5 (1.1)	2.2 (1.4)	1.3 (0.7)	2.0 (0.3)	3.1 (2.1)	1.8 (1.6)	1.4 (0.8)	2.1 (0.3)
Hours	of																
structured	activities *	1060.0 (615.0)	1501.0 (564.1)	2671.0 (1051.0)	5231.2 (1478.0)	1197.3 (1887.0)	1721.0 (751.4)	2060.0 (565.1)	4978.0 (2715.0)	798.4 (386.2)	1155.3 (285.0)	1142.0 (158.0)	3096.0 (457.0)	1258.4 (999.4)	1298.0 (606.0)	1127.2 (347.4)	3683.2 (1819.3)
N°	of																
unstructured	activities	1.9 (0.5)	2.2 (1.4)	1.6 (1.2)	1.9 (0.9)	2.3 (1.1)	2.0 (1.4)	1.3 (1.1)	1.9 (1.1)	1.6 (0.6)	2.1 (1.3)	1.8 (1.2)	1.7 (0.8)	2.3 (1.3)	1.9 (0.7)	1.8 (0.7)	2.0 (0.8)
Hours	of																
unstructured	activities *	2522.0 (1048.3)	1540.0 (901.0)	684.0 (380.1)	4745.0 (1146.3)	1560.0 (977.0)	676.0 (351.3)	327.1 (183.1)	2562.0 (1264.0)	1361.2 (699.4)	1083.2 (675.2)	642.0 (362.3)	3086.0 (2242.0)	1648.1 (726.1)	947.0 (358.4)	539.2 (161.2)	3134.2 (1352.2)

* Time in hours per year