

**THE FUTURE-ORIENTED HOPES AND GOALS OF DUAL
CAREER ATHLETES AT DIFFERENT STAGES OF HIGH
SCHOOL**

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SÄÄKSI-BOLOGOVA PAULIINA: Urheilulukiolaisten tulevaisuuteen suuntautuneet toiveet ja tavoitteet lukion eri vaiheissa

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Tiivistelmä

Yksi identiteetin muodostumisen avainprosesseista on se, miten yksilö näkee tulevaisuutensa. Tulevaisuuteen suuntautuminen on erityisen tärkeää nuoruudessa, sillä nuoruudessa tehdyt päätökset voivat vaikuttaa merkittävästi myöhempään aikuiselämään (Fonseca ym., 2019). Koska suurin osa nuorista ei saa urheilusta itselleen ammattia ja ammattiurheilu-urat ovat suhteellisen lyhyitä, on tärkeää, että nuoret urheilijat ajattelevat ja suunnittelevat tulevaisuuttaan myös muilla elämän osa-alueilla (Ryba ym., 2016). Tämän pitkittäistutkimuksen päätavoite oli tutkia urheilulukiolaisten tulevaisuuteen suuntautuneita toiveita ja tavoitteita urheilulukion alussa ja lopussa. Lisäksi tavoitteena oli tutkia mahdollisia sukupuolieroja näissä tulevaisuuteen suuntautuneissa toiveissa ja tavoitteissa. Tutkimukseen osallistui urheilulukion ensimmäisen vuoden syksyllä 391 urheilulukiolaista (51 % tyttöjä) ja urheilulukion kolmannen vuoden keväällä 390 urheilulukiolaista (50 % tyttöjä). Tutkimukseen osallistuneet täyttivät molemmilla mittauskerroilla kyselylomakkeen, johon sisältyi yksi tulevaisuuteen suuntautuneita toiveita ja tavoitteita kartoittava avoin kysymys. Tähän kysymykseen vastasi ensimmäisen vuoden syksyllä 381 urheilulukiolaista (51 % tyttöjä) ja kolmannen keväällä 351 urheilulukiolaista (56 % tyttöjä). Teoriaohjaavalla sisällönanalyysillä urheilulukiolaisten vastauksista tunnistettiin 11 eri tavoitekategoriaa, joihin sisältyi yhteensä 49 alakategoriaa. Tulevaisuuteen suuntautuneiden toiveiden ja tavoitteiden muutosta ajassa ja sukupuolieroja tutkittiin käyttämällä ”N-1” Khiin neliötestiä. Tämä tutkimus osoitti, että urheilulukiolaisilla on eniten urheiluun liittyviä toiveita ja tavoitteita sekä urheilulukion alussa että lopussa. Vaikka urheiluun, koulutukseen ja ammattiin/työhön liittyvät toiveet ja tavoitteet olivat kaikkein yleisimpiä, vain 51 % urheilulukiolaisista urheilulukion alussa ja 27 % urheilulukiolaisista urheilulukion lopussa mainitsi kaksoisuran, eli toiveita ja tavoitteita liittyen sekä urheiluun että koulutukseen tai ammattiin/työhön, vastauksissaan. Naiset raportoivat tilastollisesti merkitsevästi enemmän toiveita ja tavoitteita liittyen koulutukseen ja kaksoisuraan, sekä tilastollisesti merkitsevästi vähemmän toiveita ja tavoitteita liittyen urheiluun. Lisäksi miehet raportoivat tilastollisesti merkitsevästi useammin, etteivät tiedä tulevaisuuden toiveita ja tavoitteitaan. Tutkimuksen tulosten perusteella tarvitaan lisää tutkimusta urheilulukiolaisten tulevaisuuteen suuntautuneista toiveista ja tavoitteista, jotta voitaisiin paremmin tukea kestäviä kaksoisurapolkuja.

Avainsanat: tulevaisuuteen suuntautuneisuus, toiveet ja tavoitteet, kaksoisura, urheilulukio, sukupuoli

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SÄÄKSI-BOLOGOVA PAULIINA: The Future-oriented Hopes and Goals of Dual Career Athletes at Different Stages of High School

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Abstract

One of the key processes of identity formation is how individuals see their future. Future orientation is particularly important during adolescence, as the decisions made during adolescence crucially influence later adult life (Fonseca et al., 2019). As most young athletes do not end up making a living on sports and professional athletic careers are relatively short, it is important for adolescent athletes to think about and plan their future outside of sports as well (Ryba et al., 2016). The objective of the current longitudinal study was to examine what kind of future-oriented hopes and goals do adolescent dual career athletes have at the beginning and the end of high school. In addition, this study examined the gender differences in these hopes and goals. In the autumn of the first year of high school the sample consisted of 391 dual career athletes (51% females) and in the spring of the third year of high school the sample consisted of 390 dual career athletes (50% females). The participants filled in a questionnaire at both measurement points. This questionnaire included one open-ended question about future hopes and goals. This question was answered by 381 dual career athletes (51% females) in the autumn of the first year and 351 dual career athletes (56% females) in the spring of the third year. Eleven different goal categories consisting of altogether 49 subcategories were identified using directed content analysis. Changes across time and gender differences in these future-oriented hopes and goals were examined using the "N-1" Chi-squared test. The results showed that sport-related hopes and goals were reported the most at both the beginning and the end of high school. Although goals related to sports, education and profession/work were reported the most frequently, only 51% of the dual career athletes at the beginning of high school and 27% of the dual career athletes at the end of high school mentioned a dual career, i.e. goals in both sport and education or profession/work, in their future hopes and goals. The female participants reported statistically significantly more hopes and goals related to education and a dual career, and statistically significantly less hopes and goals related to sport. In addition, male participants reported statistically significantly more often not knowing their future hopes and goals. Based on these results, further research on the future-oriented goals of young dual career athletes is needed in order to better support sustainable dual career pathways.

Keywords: future orientation, hopes and goals, dual career, sports high school, gender

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1. INTRODUCTION

One of the key processes of identity formation is how individuals see their future. Future orientation (i.e., the process of considering, imagining, and planning for the future; Sica, Crocetti, Ragozini, Sestito, & Serafini, 2016) is particularly important during adolescence, as the decisions made during adolescence crucially influence later adult life (Fonseca et al., 2019). Goal construction and reconstruction play an important role in future orientation. The contents of adolescent's hopes and goals have been found to coincide with age-specific developmental tasks, such as completing education and forming intimate relationships (e.g. Nurmi, 1991). In previous studies, adolescents across cultures have been shown to prioritize goals related to occupation and education, in particular (for a review, see Nurmi, 1991). Although future orientation has been examined extensively since 1990s, less is known about future-oriented goals among adolescents on dual career pathways (i.e. pathways aiming to combine competitive sport with education or work). Most young athletes do not end up getting a profession from sports and professional athletic careers are relatively short, so it is important for adolescent athletes to think about and plan their future outside of sports as well (Ryba et al., 2016). Little is known, however, about how the two sides of dual career, that is, sport and education/work, are evident in dual career athletes' future-oriented hopes and goals and what kind of changes there are in these goals across development. This thesis will focus on the future-oriented hopes and goals of young dual career athletes at different stages of high school. Adding information on athletes' hopes and goals could be expected to provide deeper insight into how to support successful dual careers.

1.1 Adolescent Athletes' Dual Careers

The term dual career pertains to the combination of two different careers. In the case of an adolescent athlete, this means combining elite sport and education and later on in life work (Stambulova, Engström, Franck, Linnér, & Lindahl, 2015). The successful integration of both careers can help the athlete to achieve their hopes and goals in both spheres of life in a way that is sustainable for their health, well-being and life satisfaction. This is likely to become a matter of concern during the adolescent years because of the overlap of multiple life transitions and the intensification of demands in both sports and school (Ryba et al., 2016). In academic development, the transitions from lower secondary education to upper secondary school or vocational education,

and later on to higher education and working life, occur around the same time as the athletic transition from juniors to seniors in most sports. At the same time, adolescents are growing into young adults.

International research findings suggest that adolescent dual career athletes find it challenging to reach their full potential simultaneously in both careers (Christensen & Sorensen, 2009; Lally & Kerr, 2005; O'Neill, Allen, & Calder, 2013; Stambulova et al., 2015), and the increased pressure associated with dual career pathways makes dual career athletes vulnerable to, for example, stress overload, burnout, and anxiety (Baron-Thiene & Alfermann, 2015; Christensen & Sorensen, 2009; O'Neill et al., 2013). Simultaneously when the demands increase in education (e.g. the transition from lower secondary education to upper secondary school, or from upper secondary to higher education), demands are growing in sports. Approximately 10% of adolescents in Finland experience a severe school burn out during the transition to upper secondary school (Salmela-Aro & Näätänen, 2005), and only 10-30% of elite-level junior athletes complete the transition to seniors (Bussmann & Alfermann, 1994; Stambulova, Alfermann, Statler, & Côté, 2009; Vanden Auweele, De Martelaer, Rzewnicki, De Knop, & Wylleman, 2004). The transition from juniors to seniors brings along new physical, psychological, psychosocial and financial challenges, such as maintaining relationships in and outside of sports and finding sponsors or having to earn extra income (Ryba et al., 2016). At this level, training and competitions can easily take up most of the athlete's time.

As a part of these transitions, dual career athletes are expected to learn how to balance sports, school and private life, organize their lifestyle to fit the new demands, cope with stress and pressure, and develop personal competencies and skills (Baron-Thiene & Alfermann, 2015; Elbe & Beckmann, 2006; Stambulova, 2009; Stambulova et al., 2015). Investing oneself fully in all domains of life simultaneously is not sustainable (Stambulova & Wylleman, 2019). Dual career athletes need to learn how to prioritize and balance the competing demands and be able to make shifts depending on the situation, for example during the exam period in school. Miller and Kerr (2002) found in their study on Canadian dual career athletes that when time restrictions increased, social life was the first life domain to compromise, education second and finally sports. Similarly, in a study conducted by Yrjölä (2011), 40% of student-athletes in Finland reported that had they failed exams at school due to their athletic career, they would have stopped going to school.

Despite the many challenges related to them, a dual career pathway has many short- and long-term benefits and are a necessity for the majority of young athletes (Aquilina, 2013; Brettschneider, 1999; Chen, Snyder, & Magner, 2010; Jonker, Elferink-Gemser, & Visscher, 2009; Jonker,

Elferink-Gemser, Toering, Lyons, & Visscher, 2010). Dual career athletes can learn important skills from sports that can be transferred to studying and work-life, and having another career to focus on can help sustain motivation while going through difficulties in the other. In modern, economically developed countries, adolescent athletes need to safeguard their future employability and adaptation to life after athletic retirement and are therefore expected to combine their academic and athletic aspirations (Ryba et al., 2016). Elite athletes typically retire by age 30-35 and only a few can employ themselves within sports, for example as a coach or a sports commentator. It is extremely difficult to find work without proper education or any work experience, which is often the case for elite athletes who dropped out of school (Gröhn & Riihivuori, 2008). Involvement in dual career programmes, for example studying in a sports high school, includes many benefits, such as increased wellbeing, expanded social networks, better peer relationships, a balanced lifestyle, better conditions to develop life skills applicable in sport, education and other spheres of life, development of personal identity, and better career and retirement planning (EU Guidelines, 2012). Little is known, however, about the number of dual career athletes successfully combining their education and sports, or the factors behind it (Koivusalo, Aunola, Bertram, & Ryba, 2018).

1.2 Adolescence, Emerging Adulthood and Identity Formation

Adolescence is a transitional stage of development between childhood and adulthood. This stage contains an array of changes in role patterns, obligations, expectations, tasks and on the other hand in opportunities as well (Nurmi, Poole, & Kalakoski, 1994). Adolescence also consists of a variety of decisions to make regarding education, career, relationships, and identity formation (Nurmi, 2004). The decisions made at this time point can have long-lasting impacts on the person's future. According to Erikson's (1968) theory of psychosocial development, during each developmental stage, people encounter a set of developmental challenges and tasks. These developmental challenges generate developmental crises, in which two conflicting ideas must be resolved successfully to create new competencies and skills and to become a contributing member of society. Adolescence is the time of the identity crisis, identity formation versus role confusion. Adolescents explore and seek who they are and ponder the different roles they will play in the future. Identity needs to be achieved in gender roles, occupation, and politics, among others. Around the age of twenty, people transition into young adulthood. During young adulthood, the conflicting ideas are intimacy and isolation. Young adults need to learn how to balance their needs for intimacy, for

example having a romantic relationship with someone and starting a family, with their needs for independence.

According to Havighurst's (1948) theory of developmental tasks, people encounter a set of common critical developmental tasks during each developmental life-stage. Successful achievement of these tasks leads to success with the later tasks and wellbeing, whereas failure can lead to difficulties with the later tasks and unhappiness. The developmental tasks during adolescence are to establish emotional independence, learn skills needed for productive occupation, achieve a gender-based social role and establish mature relationships with peers. Around the age of eighteen, people transition into early adulthood. The developmental tasks for early adulthood are to choose a life partner, establish a family, take care of a home and establish a career. In addition to these normative crises and tasks, adolescent athletes encounter certain sport-specific and stage-specific tasks as well, such as training more independently.

Emerging adulthood has been proposed as a developmental stage between adolescence and young or early adulthood, at approximately 18-25 years of age (Arnett, 2000). Emerging adults have left the dependency of adolescence, but have not yet entered the normative responsibilities of adulthood. Nowadays, most people ages 18-25 are still in the process of obtaining education, unmarried and childless, whereas in their thirties most are already in working life, a committed relationship and have at least one child. Because of these demographic shifts that have taken place over the past half century, young or early adulthood is better applied to people in their late twenties or thirties. Hence, emerging adulthood can be seen as a developmental stage of its own, which is characterized by the exploration of one's future possibilities. Although identity formation has typically been associated with adolescence, research findings suggest that identity development continues throughout adolescence and emerging adulthood (e.g. Valde, 1996). Emerging adulthood as a developmental stage offers the most opportunities for exploring one's identity in the areas of work, romantic relationships and worldviews (Arnett, 2000). Identity exploration is not limited to direct preparation for future adult roles, but it is done for its own sake as well: to obtain a variety of life experiences before making commitments. Emerging adulthood is a stage of development in which nothing is normative (Wallace, 1995). Emerging adults are not yet constrained by role requirements and therefore have a broad scope of possible activities and directions to go (Arnett, 2000).

Identity formation is one of the most important developmental tasks during adolescence and emerging adulthood, and it can have long-lasting effects on the wellbeing of an individual (Erikson, 1968; Fadjukoff, 2007; Havighurst, 1948; Nurmi, 1991). Identity has been defined as the

individual's sense of self and the subjective experience of their personality's consistency and continuity (Fadjukoff, 2007). It consists of a set of physical, psychological, and interpersonal characteristics such as different social roles. Even though identity formation is a long process that continues into adulthood and later life, adolescence is the active time of exploring one's options, trying different roles and finding one's values (Kroger, 2007; Fadjukoff, 2007; Nurmi, 1991). As a part of this, the adolescent has to start planning their future, make big decisions and set goals. According to Marcia's (1980) theory of identity achievement, adolescent's identity formation consists of two parts: crisis and commitment. Crisis is a time, when the adolescent re-evaluates their values and previous choices and explores their options. Commitment is the end outcome of a crisis when the adolescent makes a decision and commits to a certain value or role. Four different identity statuses can be found within this process of exploration and commitment: identity diffusion, identity foreclosure, identity moratorium, and identity achievement. Identity diffusion is a status in which the adolescent has not and is not trying to resolve their identity crisis or commit to any roles, values or goals yet. Identity foreclosure is a status in which the adolescent has committed to some roles, values or goals without experiencing a crisis or properly exploring other options. These roles and values can be for example their parents' roles or the cultural norms. Identity moratorium is a status in which the adolescent is currently in crisis, actively exploring various options, but hasn't committed to anything yet. Identity achievement is the status in which the adolescent has completed a crisis and committed to certain roles, values and goals. A well-developed identity gives a sense of one's strengths and weaknesses, and unique characteristics (Kroger 2007).

The degree to which one identifies with the athlete role has been defined as athletic identity (Brewer, Van Raalte, & Linder, 1993). Athletic identity can be seen as both a cognitive structure, which regulates information about the self and a social role that has been internalized as a part of one's self-image. A strong athletic identity is related to higher commitment in training and athletic goals, and it can help foster motivation (Horton & Mack, 2000). Although international research findings suggest that a strong athletic identity can be a positive asset, it can also predispose the athlete to many problems (Brewer & Petitpas, 2017; Kerr & Dacyshyn, 2000; Murphy, Petitpas, & Brewer, 1996; Van Raalte, Andrews, Cornelius, Brewer, & Petitpas, 2017; Warriner & Lavalley, 2008). Talented athletes striving to reach the elite level are often compromising the time for exploring other identity and career options, putting them at risk of identity foreclosure and forming an exclusive athletic identity. A strong or exclusive athletic identity can make the athlete vulnerable to psychological distress and difficulties in adapting to life outside of sport, or even endanger their sense of self when encountering severe injuries, poor performance, deselection or athletic retirement

(Allen Collinson & Hockey, 2007; Brewer & Petitpas, 2017; Cecić Erpič, Wylleman, & Zupančič, 2004; Grove, Lavalley, & Gordon, 1997; Lavalley & Robinson, 2007; Park, Lavalley, & Tod, 2013; Warriner & Lavalley, 2008). The athlete's self-esteem and self-worth may become dependent from their athletic performance outcomes, which may, in turn, lead to higher levels of burnout and anxiety (Coakley, 1992; Gustafsson, Kenttä, Hassmén, & Lundqvist, 2007; Lemyre, Hall, & Roberts, 2008). Exploring and trying different roles during adolescence is an important part of a sustainable dual career pathway and crucial for future development, as most adolescent athletes do not end up making a living solely on sports (Koivusalo et al., 2018).

1.4 Future Orientation

Future orientation has been defined as the self-reported and conscious representation one has about their future, a model of the future so to say (Nurmi, 1991). Future orientation can also be seen as the process of considering, imagining, and planning for the future (Sica et al., 2016). It can be described in terms of future hopes, goals, fears, and concerns (Nurmi, Poole, & Seginer, 1995; Oyserman, Bybee, Terry, & Hart-Johnson, 2004; Seginer, 2009). Future orientation provides grounds for exploring options, planning, setting goals and making commitments, which in turn guide identity formation and help the individual to direct their own development in the society. The way adolescents think about their future can crucially influence their later life, as the decisions made during adolescence can enhance or restrict one's future options (Nurmi, 1991). Not all adolescents are oriented towards their future or set goals for themselves (Skorikov, 2007). Indecision about one's future has been associated with difficulties to commit to choices and immature career attitudes (Peterson, Sampson, Lenz, & Reardon, 2002).

Future orientation can be examined through three key processes: motivation, planning, and evaluation (Nurmi, 1989b). Motivation means the hopes, goals, and interests one has for the future, planning is how one plans to realize these hopes and goals in a certain context, and evaluation is the extent to which one expects these hopes and goals to be realized. Individuals first have to construct representations of their hopes and goals and the context in which they are expected to be realized (Nurmi, 1991). Goals are set based on a comparison between one's hopes and values and their knowledge about the future and opportunities. Cultural norms, social expectations, rules, values, family, peers and role models influence hopes and goals (Nurmi, 1989a, 2004). Future orientation develops in cultural and institutional contexts, which consist of demands and standards set by social and institutional sources. Cultural norms and social expectations provide the individual knowledge

about their possibilities and the desired age-specific goals in that particular environment. For example, the developmental tasks consist of normative expectations to achieve something at a certain age and provide models for how they should be achieved (Havighurst, 1948; Nurmi, 1987). Typical developmental tasks for adolescence and young adulthood include acquiring autonomy from the parents, marriage, and childbearing. The influence of these developmental tasks is also mediated by other people, for example through the attitudes and behaviour of parents and peers (Nurmi, 2004). However, the so-called deadlines for achieving developmental tasks and other related normative expectancies have become more fluid and flexible nowadays. For example, marriage can be seen as a normative and acceptable goal even during later maturity.

Developmental tasks and expectations vary according to several other factors as well, such as culture and sex (Dannefer, 1984). Other people can influence the construction of future-oriented hopes and goals strongly (Nurmi, 1991). Parents can have a big impact on their children as role models and through encouragement, familial support and teaching of values. In addition, the level of parental control has been found to influence the adolescent's future hopes and goals. Peers and other role models become increasingly important during adolescence as well. Adolescent athletes can differ from their non-athlete peers in terms of their peers and role models. Young athletes look for role models in famous athletes and coaches. These people might promote different values than family members and have competing expectations for the adolescent. The peers of young athletes are often other athletes and teammates, who might not be the same age as them. For example in ice hockey, even twenty-year age differences are possible within a team. This can influence the hopes and goals adolescent athletes have.

The next step is to figure out how to realize these hopes and goals in the chosen context. This can be done through planning and problem solving (Nurmi, 1991). The individual has to construct strategies or plans that will lead to achieving the desired goal, utilizing their knowledge about the expected future context. Next, they have to compare these plans and strategies to determine which of them is the most efficient or suitable. This comparison can be executed by thinking or trying. Finally, the individual has to evaluate the realizability of the goals and plans they constructed. Causal attributions and affects concerning the future play an important part in the process. Evaluation can be done before and during the execution of the constructed plans. If the chosen path or strategy doesn't seem to be working as expected or the individual fails to reach the goal, the path or goals have to be modified. Changes in future-oriented goals are likely to happen during adolescence and emerging adulthood, as the age-related developmental tasks and life contexts change quickly (Nurmi, 1989b, 1991). Young people tend to reconstruct their goals to match the

age-related developmental tasks and role transitions (Nurmi, 2004). When facing challenges in goal attainment, the individual can either develop coping mechanisms or reconstruct their goals. Coping can mean finding new ways to deal with the situation or avoiding the situation and related information, by the use of different coping strategies. Goal reconstruction can be done by either modifying one's previous goals or engaging in entirely new goals and changing the path (Brandstädter & Renner, 1990). Goal reconstruction can be seen as an accommodative strategy.

According to Nurmi (2004), the transition from adolescence into adulthood is characterized by four key mechanisms: channeling, selection, adjustment, and reflection. Sociocultural and institutional structures provide grounds for channeling future-oriented thinking and motivation. Adolescents channel their developmental trajectories by the various opportunities and constraints in their environments. The adolescent then has to select one of the possible alternative pathways. Personal goals, motives and exploration guide the planning and decision-making process, which leads the adolescent to specific pathways. Depending on the developmental outcomes, the adolescent might have to make adjustments to the pathway or goals in order to deal with the challenges. Finally, adolescents reflect on their lives, the decisions they made and whom they are. These four key mechanisms can be seen to contain the three processes of future orientation (Nurmi, 1989b). Adolescents channel their possible pathways by the same factors that serve as the backdrop for motivation and goal construction, for example, developmental tasks, cultural norms, and social expectations. The selection process consists of active goal setting and planning. Evaluation is done during both adjustment and reflection.

Studies on future orientation have often focused on the hopes, goals, and fears people have for the future, and their respective timespan (Nurmi, 1989b). Time span has been defined as the temporal extension of the interests and fears. On average, the timespan of adolescents' hopes and goals has been found to extend to their 20's or early 30's. Most of the studies concern late childhood and adolescence (Lewin, 1939; Nurmi, 1991). Typically, future-oriented motives and goals have been studied by asking people about the hopes, fears, and expectations they have for their future (Mehta, Sundberg, Rohila, & Tyler, 1972; Nurmi, 1987; Trommsdorff, Burger, & Fuchsle, 1982). The answers are then classified according to the topic of their content. The used content categories differ from one study to another. However, the most frequently used ones are occupation, education, family, property, leisure activities, and self-actualization. For example, in the Hopes and Fears Questionnaire by Nurmi, Poole, & Seginer (1990), people are asked two open-ended questions, "People often think about the future. In the lines below please write down the hopes you have for the future" and "Now we would like you to think about your fears concerning

the future and write them down in the lines below“. The answers are then classified into 13 categories based on their content. These 13 categories were chosen based on the most frequently used ones in previous studies (Nurmi, 1989b; Poole & Cooney, 1987; Seginer, 1988a). The categories were education, work/career, marriage/children, leisure/vacation, friends, relationships to parents, health, health of parents, military service, property, global/political issues, war/peace and miscellaneous (Nurmi et al., 1990).

In the vast majority of studies concerning the future hopes and goals of adolescents, the most frequently mentioned topics were occupation and education (Fonseca et al., 2019; Gillies, Elmwood, & Hawtin, 1985; Massey, Gebhardt, & Garnefski, 2008; Meissner, 1961; Mönks, 1968; Nurmi, 1987, 1989a, 1991; Nurmi et al., 1994; Poole & Cooney, 1987; Ranta, Dietrich, & Salmela-Aro, 2014; Seginer, 1988a, 1988b; von Wright & Rauste-von Wright, 1977). Similar results have been found across cultures (Gillispie & Allport, 1955; Mehta et al., 1972; Nurmi, 1991; Nurmi et al., 1995, Seginer, 1988a; Solantaus, 1987; Sundberg, Poole, & Tyler, 1983). Subsequently the most mentioned categories were family, marriage, leisure activities and financial wellbeing (Fonseca et al., 2019; Gillies et al., 1985; Gillispie & Allport, 1955; Mönks, 1968; Nurmi, 1987, 1989a, 1991; Nurmi et al., 1994; Seginer, 1988a, 1988b). Research findings show that adolescents from individualistic cultures express more goals related to their personal happiness, future family and leisure activities, whereas adolescents from collectivist, traditional cultures express more goals related to their childhood family, the health and death of others and societal topics (Gillispie & Allport, 1955; Sundberg et al., 1983). The hopes and goals of adolescents tend to coincide with the major developmental tasks of adolescence and young adulthood (Fonseca et al., 2019; Nurmi, 1989b, 1991; Nurmi & Salmela-Aro, 2002; Ranta et al., 2014). Research findings suggest that adolescents with goals related to age-specific developmental tasks and demands experience higher wellbeing, compared to adolescents with goals that are not in line with the age-related challenges (Marttinen, Dietrich, & Salmela-Aro, 2016; Salmela-Aro & Nurmi, 1997). High school students have been found to have more career and educational goals than vocational school students (Klaczynski & Reese, 1991). Although there are a few previous studies concerning the future orientation and aspirations of young athletes (Mortensen, Henriksen, & Stelter, 2013; Ristimäki, Kuokkanen, & Kujala, 2019; Ronkainen & Ryba, 2018; Skrubbeltrang, 2018; Skrubbeltrang, Karen, Nielsen, & Olesen, 2018), there are no previous studies on the future-oriented hopes and goals of young dual career athletes. Consequently, the aim of the present study was to examine what kind of hopes and goals adolescent dual career athletes have, on one hand, at the beginning, and on the other, at the end of high school.

1.5 Gender in Sports and Future Orientation

Cultural and social expectations concerning life span development vary considerably according to sex (Ekengren, Stambulova, Johnson, Carlsson, & Ryba, 2019; Skrubbyeltrang, 2018). Narratives of gender, gender stereotypes and hierarchies influence future-oriented thinking by providing information and models of the possibilities and limitations. These expectations and stereotypes are reproduced in daily life in social interaction, for example through identity construction and model learning (Halbert, 1997; Kavoura, Ryba, & Chroni, 2015). For instance, some studies have shown young children to reproduce the view that men are naturally better in sports than women are (Larneby, 2016). Although Finland is regarded as an egalitarian country and ranks high in gender equality reports, some differences remain in the opportunities available to men and women (Humbert, Ivaškaitė-Tamošiūnė, Oetke, & Paats, 2015), especially regarding professional sports.

Sex differences in future orientation and goals are anchored in the cultural context in which the adolescent lives. In the past, the traditional view has been that men are focused on their careers, whereas women care about family and domestic chores. Earlier international research findings support this view (Nurmi, 1991). Boys tend to be more interested in wealth and other material aspects of life, and girls in their future family and marriage. Other studies have found similar results (Cartron-Guerin & Levy, 1982; Gillies et al., 1985; Gillispie & Allport, 1955; Pulkkinen, 1984; Solantaus, 1987). Sex differences in future-oriented goals seem to be the clearest in traditional societies, such as India (Heckel & Rajagopal, 1975; Sundberg et al., 1983).

Many scholars argue that because of the gender hierarchies and differences in societal expectations, female athletes face extra demands, challenges and constraints (Baird, 2010; Halbert, 1997; Herrala, 2016; Kavoura, Kokkonen, Chroni, & Ryba, 2018; Kavoura, Chroni, Kokkonen, & Ryba, 2015; Kavoura et al., 2015; McGannon, Curtin, Schinke, & Schweinbenz, 2012; Rannikko, 2016; Ronkainen, Kavoura, & Ryba, 2016; Tekavc, 2017). Female athletes are often underrepresented in dual career programs (Skrubbyeltrang et al., 2018), managerial and coaching positions and receive less financial support from official committees and ministries (Tekavc, 2017; Turpeinen, Jaakko, Kankaanpää, & Hakamäki, 2012). Research findings suggest female athletes experience more physical and mental exhaustion, stress and loneliness (Ronkainen, Watkins, & Ryba, 2016; Skrubbyeltrang et al., 2018). Female athletes have also been found to report fewer positive and more negative experiences than male athletes do, and report having less confidence

than their male counterparts (Tekavc, 2017). Some of the current dual career policies and practices ignore gender inequalities in sports (Baird, 2010; Halbert, 1997; Kavoura, Ryba, & Chroni, 2015; Kavoura et al., 2018; Ryba, Stambulova, Ronkainen, Bundgaard, & Selänne, 2015; Skrubbyeltrang, 2018; Skrubbyeltrang et al., 2018). Because of this, female dual career athletes might not recognise the inequalities and can even downplay the role of gender in their athletic careers (Brunila & Ylöstalo, 2015).

Cultural narratives support the professional careers of men in sports, whereas for women, elite sports isn't seen as an existing career path on its own (Ekengren et al., 2019). Women are expected to invest in multiple life domains simultaneously, for example by combining their athletic career with a non-athletic career. In a study conducted by Skrubbyeltrang et al. (2018), only 2% of the young female dual career athletes reported wanting to pursue a professional career in sports. The female athletes were four times less likely to prioritize sports over education, and more likely than the men to start lowering their athletic aspirations. Female athletes are also more likely to drop out of sports (Baron-Thiene & Alfermann, 2015; Skrubbyeltrang, 2018; Slater & Tiggemann, 2010). Cultural narratives can influence the identity formation of young athletes as well. In a study conducted by Koivusalo et al. (2018), male athletes typically had a strong athletic identity, whereas female athletes were more likely to have a strong student and athletic identity. Research findings suggest female dual career athletes focus more on their education and outperform the male athletes in school (Adler & Adler, 1985; Airas, 2014; Rubin & Rosser, 2014; Tekavc, 2017). Gender differences are particularly evident in the cultural narratives about elite sports and parenthood (Ronkainen, Watkins, & Ryba, 2016; Tekavc, 2017). Motherhood is positioned as something incompatible with elite sports, as training and competing require too much time. Parenthood has a bigger impact on the mother's career and it should be delayed until athletic retirement. Combining fatherhood and elite sports, however, is socially acceptable. The final aim of the present study was to examine to which extent young female and male dual career athletes report different kind of future-oriented hopes and goals.

1.6 Aims of the Study

The present study is conducted in Finland. According to the Finnish Olympic Committee, there are 2000 elite athletes in Finland, from which a thousand make a living solely out of sports. Almost half of the children and adolescents are members of some sports club and approximately 1500

adolescent athletes are competing at the national level (SLU, 2010). Finnish athletes start competing at approximately 7-8 years of age (Blomqvist, Mononen, Konttinen, Koski, & Kokko, 2015), which is similar to other countries (Côté, 1999; Wylleman & Reints, 2010). According to the Finnish Olympic Committee, a dual career pathway is the Finnish value of choice, and there is a strong endeavour to make it possible for athletes to combine competitive sports with school or work in a balanced way. This study focuses on the future-oriented hopes and goals of adolescent dual career athletes at different stages of high school. In addition, this study examines to which extent there are gender differences in these hopes and goals.

The research questions were:

- 1) What kind of future-oriented hopes and goals do adolescent dual career athletes have at the beginning high school?
- 2) What kind of future-oriented hopes and goals do adolescent dual career athletes have at the end of high school?
- 3) To what extent do women and men report different kind of hopes and goals?

2. METHODS

This study was conducted as a part of an ongoing longitudinal research project, Winning in the Long Run study, at the University of Jyväskylä (Ryba et al., 2016). The study protocol was evaluated by the Scientific Ethics Committee of the University of Jyväskylä and approved on the 15th of June 2015. Every student signed a written consent before participating in this study.

2.1 Participants

The Winning in the Long Run study follows dual career athletes enrolled from seven different sports high schools across Finland. The participating schools were contacted through the national network of sports academies. The first measurement point (T1) was in the autumn of the first grade of high school. At T1, the sample consisted of 391 dual career athletes, enrolled from six different sport high schools. 199 (50.9%) of the participants were females and 192 (49.1%) were males. The mean age of the participants was 16 years ($SD = 0.17$) and the participants were divided evenly

between individual (50%) and team sports (50%). The participants' Grade Point Average (possible range from 4 to 10) was 8.85 (SD = 0.62). The fifth measurement point (T5) was in the spring of the third grade of high school. At T5, the sample consisted of 390 dual career athletes (50% females and 50% males). Out of these 390 participants, 332 (85%) participated at T1 as well. The participants were enrolled from seven different sport high schools, as one new school joined the research project at the end of the first grade. Some of the participants from T1 had dropped out of the research project by T5. The mean age of the participants was 19 years old (SD = 0.17). The participants' Grade Point Average was 8.07 (SD = 0.88).

The current study focuses on the future-oriented hopes and goals of the dual career athletes at T1 and at T5. The questionnaire of the research project included one open-ended question about future goals. At T1 altogether 381 students (51.4% girls; 48.6% boys) and 351 students at T5 answered this question (55.8% girls; 43.9% boys). Participants who left the question blank or wrote that they didn't want to answer were excluded from the current study (2.6% at T1 and 10% at T5).

2.2 Procedure and Analysis

The participants filled in an online questionnaire at every measurement point. The future-oriented hopes and goals were analysed using directed content analysis. Content analysis is a qualitative research method used to interpret meaning from the content of text data. Content analysis can be divided into three distinct approaches: conventional, directed and summative (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018). With a directed deductive approach, analysis starts with an existing theory or prior research about the phenomenon guiding the formation of the coding schema. Different categories and subcategories within this coding schema will be derived directly from the text data following the principles of conventional content analysis. The data is then coded into categories, with the guidance of previous research. If some of the data can't be coded, it will be analysed to determine whether it represents a new category or a subcategory of one the already existing categories. There are certain challenges pertaining to the reliability of results obtained by content analysis. Definitions of words and concepts can be ambiguous, and the coding categories may be incoherent, which will have a detrimental effect on the reliability of the study. The reliability of content analysis can be tested through an intercoder reliability check (Weber, 1990). Intercoder reliability is a critical constituent in the content analysis of open-ended questions (Lavrakas, 2008). It refers to the extent to which multiple independent coders agree on the coding of the data with an application of the

same coding scheme. Without intercoder reliability, the results can't be considered objective or valid. Krippendorff's alpha (α) is a versatile statistic that is used to assess intercoder reliability. It is applicable to nominal level of measurement and accepts any number of observers. The value $\alpha = .80$ is often brought forward as the norm for good reliability. Scores lower than $\alpha = .67$ suggest weakness in coding methods, for example, unclear coding categories or poor operational definitions.

The questionnaire contained an open-ended question about future-oriented hopes and goals. "Young people have different hopes and goals for their future. What kind of future-oriented hopes and goals do you have? Write them down in the blank space under." The answers were coded using directed content analysis. Previous research on the future-oriented hopes and goals of adolescents (e.g. Nurmi, 1991) was used to guide the coding process. The hopes and goals data coding started by transferring all of the T1 data (students' answers) to Excel, reading all of them and trying to find same kind of answers (e.g. "Elite athlete" and "Pro-athlete"). Then, the coder created subcategories (e.g. elite/professional athlete) and main categories (e.g. "Sport") by classifying the answers. Most of the answers contained more than one goal. The individual goals could not be coded into more than one subcategory. Because this study is focusing on dual careers, the category "Dual Career" was created for answers mentioning hopes and goals related to both sports and education or profession/work. Intercoder reliability was assessed using Krippendorff's alpha. Four test rounds were carried out before the final coding of the data. First, three independent coders coded the same random sample of 50 answers from T1 using the same coding scheme. The answers with $\alpha < .67$ were then discussed by the coders to determine whether they represented a new category or some of the existing coding categories needed to be modified. Some of the coding categories were then expanded to better suit the data. Next, the same three coders coded another random sample of 50 answers from T1 using the updated coding scheme. One new subcategory was added under the theme of self-actualisation and some of the subcategories were expanded. After altogether four test rounds, additional rounds were not found necessary, as the Krippendorff's alphas were good. The entire data from T1 and T5 was coded using the updated coding scheme. While coding the data from T1 and T5, a list was made of the answers that couldn't be coded or were uncertain. This list was discussed with another coder and based on this discussion some of the coding categories were modified. Finally, the coded data from T1 and T5 was updated to match the final coding scheme.

The "N-1" Chi-squared test (Campbell, 2007; Richardson, 2011) was used to calculate the comparison of proportions between time and gender. The analyses were carried out using the MedCalc calculator (https://www.medcalc.org/calc/comparison_of_proportions.php).

3. RESULTS

3.1 Hopes and Goals at the Beginning of High School

The first research question was what kind of hopes and goals do dual career athletes have at the beginning of high school. The coding scheme consisted of 11 categories: sport, profession/work, education, dual career, self-actualisation, health, relationships, lifestyle, beliefs and values, do not know and other (See Tab. 1). These 11 categories consisted of altogether 49 subcategories. The data at T1 included altogether 777 hopes and goals. The most frequently mentioned category was sport. Subsequently, the most common categories were education, profession/work and self-actualisation. Hopes and goals related to beliefs and values were reported the least.

Sport was the most common category, as 42.6% of the hopes and goals reported were sport-related. This category consisted of 17 subcategories: becoming an elite/professional athlete, international level success, participating in international level competitions, national level success, participating in national level competitions, youth international level success, participating in youth international level competitions, getting an athletic scholarship, general or ambiguous success in sport, growth/development in sport, enjoying sport, being injury free, choice about specialisation, having good facilities, having a plan B, continuing sport, and a good career in sport. 19.3% of all hopes and goals reported concerned general or ambiguous success in sport, making it the most common subcategory of all. It consisted of general goals such as succeeding in sport and becoming the legend of the sport. Another popular subcategory was becoming an elite/professional athlete (8.6%). Some of the less common subcategories were youth international level success, getting an athletic scholarship, enjoying sport, making a choice about specialisation, having good facilities and having a plan B, with only one hope or goal mentioned in each.

From all hopes and goals, 14.2% were related to profession or work. This category consisted of four subcategories: good job/profession, well-paid profession, finding a good profession and success in work. Getting a good job or profession was clearly the most common subcategory (10.7%), and it consisted of hopes and goals such as not ending up unemployed and getting one's dream job. Education was the topic of 23.3% of all hopes and goals. Education was divided into six subcategories: finishing high school, graduating to a certain profession, higher education, success in

studies, growth/development as a student and getting a degree place. Success in studies was the most common education subcategory (10.7%), consisting of general success-related goals such as doing well in school and getting good grades. Only two hopes or goals were mentioned related to growing or developing as a student.

From all hopes and goals, 9.4% concerned self-actualisation. This category consisted of eight subcategories: being successful, fun, meaning, wealth, growth/development as a person, happiness, good life, and independence. Only one hope or goal was mentioned related to doing something meaningful, independence and living a good life. 3.1% of all hopes and goals were related to relationships. This category consisted of two subcategories: family and relationships. Family (2.4%) included such hopes and goals as having children and getting married. Other relationships (0.6%) included hopes and goals like having good friends, having positive people around oneself and getting new friends. Only 0.6% of all hopes and goals reported were related to beliefs and values. This category consisted of four small subcategories, with one or two goals mentioned in each. These subcategories were helping others, valuing self and others, home, and belief in god.

The last four categories each consisted of only one subcategory. Health (1.4%) consisted of hopes and goals related to living or staying healthy. Lifestyle (1.7%) included hopes and goals such as travelling and staying in good shape. Do not know (1.5%) consisted of answers indicating not having future hopes or goals, or not knowing what they were yet. Other (2.2%) was the miscellaneous category, including all the specific goals that did not fit any category or subcategory. Such hopes and goals included for example catching a 2kg salmon, surviving life alive and moving away from a specific city.

Dual career was an exceptional category. Instead of individual hopes and goals, entire answers were coded into it. All the answers containing both a sport and an education or profession/work hope or goal were coded in this category. 51.2% of the participants mentioned dual career at T1. This category consisted of four subcategories: sport and school/work but not combined, combining sport and school/work, dual career prioritising school/work, and dual career prioritising sport. Sport and school/work but not combined was the most common dual career subcategory, as 46.2% of the participants mentioned it. This subcategory consisted of answers mentioning sport and school/work hopes and goals, but not necessarily combined. For example to play professional football abroad and get a good job and family after athletic retirement falls into this subcategory. Dual career prioritising school or work was mentioned only once at T1.

Table 1. The amount of hopes and goals reported at T1 in each category and subcategory.

Category	Subcategory	T1 Frequency	
Sport	Becoming an elite/professional athlete	67	331
	International level success	15	
	Participating in international level competitions	29	
	National level success	3	
	Participating in national level competitions	6	
	Youth international level success	1	
	Participating in youth international level competitions	5	
	Getting an athletic scholarship	1	
	General or ambiguous success in sport	150	
	Growth/development in sport	30	
	Enjoying sport	1	
	Being injury free	4	
	Choice about specialisation	1	
	Having good facilities	1	
	Having a plan B	1	
	Continuing sport	10	
	Good career in sport	6	
Profession/work	Good job/profession	83	110
	Well-paid profession	9	
	Finding a good profession	12	
	Success in work	6	
Education	Finishing high school	25	181
	Graduating to a certain profession	20	
	Higher education	27	
	Success in studies	83	
	Growth/development as a student	2	
	Getting a degree place	24	
Dual Career	Sport and school/work but not combined	176	195
	Combining sport and school/work	15	
	Dual career prioritising school/work	1	
	Dual career prioritising sport	3	
Self-actualisation	Being successful	31	73
	Fun	6	
	Meaning	1	
	Wealth	7	
	Growth/development as a person	17	
	Happiness	9	
	Good life	1	
	Independence	1	
Health	Health	11	11
Relationships	Family	19	24
	Relationships	5	
Lifestyle	Lifestyle	13	13
Beliefs and Values	Helping others	1	5
	Valuing self and others	1	
	Home	2	

	Belief in god	1	
Do not know	Do not know	12	12
Other	Other	17	17

Note. F = 777; T1 = the first measurement point (autumn of the first grade of high school).

3.2 Hopes and Goals at the End of High School

The second aim of this study was to examine what kind of hopes and goals dual career athletes have at the end of high school, at the spring of the fourth grade. Overall, fewer goals were reported at T5 (699 goals among the sample of 391 athletes) than at T1 (777 goals among the sample of 390 athletes). From all categories, there were two categories in which the amount of hopes and goals remained the same at T5 as at T1 (i.e., no changes were evident): health and beliefs and values.

The results concerning changes in the hopes and goals from T1 to T5 are presented in Table 2. Most notably, the amount of sport-related goals was lower at T5 than at T1 (the decrease being 20.0%). At T1, sport-related goals were reported clearly more often than other goals, but at T5, a clear gap between sport, profession/work, education and self-actualisation no longer existed. The amount of hopes and goals related to general/ambiguous success in sport (the decrease being 11.87%), becoming an elite/professional athlete (the decrease being 3.04%), growth/development in sport (the decrease being 2.14%), participating in international level competitions (the decrease being 2.01%), international level success (the decrease being 1.36%) and participating in youth international level competitions (the decrease being 0.64%) statistically significantly decreased from T1 to T5. The amount of hopes and goals related to profession or work was higher at T5 than at T1 (the increase being 4.15%). From the education-subcategories, the amount of goals related to finishing high school (the decrease being 1.79%) and success in studies (the decrease being 8.10%) statistically significantly decreased by T5. However, the amount of goals related to higher education (the increase being 3.97%) and receiving a degree place (the increase being 4.35%) increased statistically significantly from T1 to T5.

The amount of hopes and goals related to self-actualisation was higher at T5 than at T1 (the increase being 5.62%). The amount of goals related to happiness (the increase being 1.99%), having fun (the increase being 1.66%), a good life (the increase being 1.44%), wealth (the increase being 1.25%) and independence (the increase being 0.87%) statistically significantly increased from T1 to T5. The amounts of hopes and goals reported related to relationships (the increase being 2.49%),

lifestyle (the increase being 1.62%), do not know (the increase being 3.61%) and other (the increase being 3.82%) were statistically significantly higher at T5 than at T1.

Table 2. The comparison of proportions of hopes and goals reported at T1 and T5 in each category and subcategory.

			Comparison of proportions		
	T1 %	T5 %	Difference %	χ^2	p
Sport	42.60	22.60	20.0	66.40	< 0.01
Becoming an elite/professional athlete	8.62	5.58	3.04	5.10	0.02
International level success	1.93	0.57	1.36	5.36	0.02
Participating in international level competitions	3.73	1.72	2.01	5.50	0.02
National level success	0.39	0.57	0.18	0.25	0.62
Participating in national level competitions	0.77	1.14	0.37	0.54	0.46
Youth international level success	0.13	0.14	0.01	< 0.01	0.96
Participating in youth international level competitions	0.64	0.00	0.64	4.49	0.03
Getting an athletic scholarship	0.13	0.00	0.13	0.91	0.34
General or ambiguous success in sport	19.31	7.44	11.87	43.85	<0.01
Growth/development in sport	3.86	1.72	2.14	6.09	0.01
Enjoying sport	0.13	0.00	0.13	0.91	0.34
Being injury free	0.51	0.57	0.06	0.03	0.88
Choice about specialisation	0.13	0.14	0.01	< 0.01	0.96
Having good facilities	0.13	0.00	0.13	0.91	0.34
Having a plan B	0.13	0.00	0.13	0.91	0.34
Continuing sport	1.29	2.00	0.71	1.16	0.28
Good career in sport	0.77	1.00	0.23	0.22	0.64
Profession/work	14.16	18.31	4.15	4.68	0.03
Good job/profession	10.68	13.73	3.05	3.21	0.07
Well-paid profession	1.16	0.72	0.44	0.76	0.38
Finding a good profession	1.54	2.43	0.89	1.52	0.22
Success in work	0.77	1.43	0.66	1.50	0.22
Education	23.29	20.89	2.40	1.23	0.27
Finishing high school	3.22	1.43	1.79	5.09	0.02
Graduating to a certain profession	2.57	1.86	0.71	0.85	0.36
Higher education	3.47	7.44	3.97	11.45	<0.01
Success in studies	10.68	2.58	8.10	37.84	<0.01
Growth/development as a student	0.26	0.14	0.12	0.26	0.61
Getting a degree place	3.09	7.44	4.35	14.24	<0.01
Dual Career	51.18	27.35	23.83	43.26	< 0.01
Sport and school/work but not combined	46.19	25.36	20.83	34.27	<0.01
Combining sport and school/work	3.94	1.42	2.52	4.36	0.04
Dual career prioritising school/work	0.26	0.28	0.02	< 0.01	0.96
Dual career prioritising sport	0.79	0.28	0.51	0.88	0.35
Self-actualisation	9.40	15.02	5.62	10.95	< 0.01
Being successful	3.99	3.29	0.70	0.51	0.47
Fun	0.77	2.43	1.66	6.61	0.01

Meaning	0.13	0.00	0.13	0.91	0.34
Wealth	0.90	2.15	1.25	3.91	0.05
Growth/development as a person	2.19	1.43	0.76	1.18	0.28
Happiness	1.16	3.15	1.99	7.08	<0.01
Good life	0.13	1.57	1.44	9.47	<0.01
Independence	0.13	1.00	0.87	5.16	0.02
Health	1.42	2.72	1.30	3.12	0.08
Relationships	3.09	5.58	2.49	5.58	0.02
Family	2.46	4.01	1.55	2.86	0.09
Relationships	0.64	1.57	0.93	2.98	0.08
Lifestyle	1.67	3.29	1.62	4.06	0.04
Beliefs & Values	0.64	0.43	0.21	0.30	0.58
Helping others	0.13	0.14	0.01	< 0.01	0.96
Valuing self and others	0.13	0.00	0.13	0.91	0.34
Home	0.26	0.14	0.12	0.26	0.61
Belief in god	0.13	0.14	0.01	< 0.01	0.96
Do not know	1.54	5.15	3.61	15.24	<0.01
Other	2.19	6.01	3.82	13.98	<0.01

Note. T1 = the first measurement point (autumn of the first grade of high school); T5 = the fifth measurement point (spring of the third grade of high school).

At the end of high school, fewer answers mentioned dual careers (the decrease being 23.83%). Only 27.4% of the participants mentioned dual career in their answers at T5, in comparison to 51.2% at T1. The amount of participants mentioning sport and school/work but not combined (the decrease being 20.83%) and combined (the decrease being 2.52%) statistically significantly decreased by T5.

3.3 Gender differences in Hopes and Goals

The third aim was to examine whether male and female participants report different or similar hopes and goals. There were altogether 392 female and 339 male participants, when combining T1 and T5. The students who didn't reveal their gender in the background questionnaire were excluded from this section of the current study. When combining the goals from T1 and T5, there was a total of 1474 hopes and goals, from which 59.43% were reported by females and 40.57% by males. Overall, the percentage of females reporting hopes and goals was higher than that of the males in all categories, with the exception of sports and do not know. From all categories, there were six categories in which the female and male participants reported equal amounts of hopes and goals (i.e., no differences were evident): profession/work, health, relationships, lifestyle, beliefs and values and other.

Table 3. The comparison of proportions of hopes and goals reported by female and male participants.

			Comparison of proportions		
	Female %	Male %	Difference %	χ^2	p
Sport	8.65	39.63	10.98	19.34	< 0.01
Becoming an elite/professional athlete	4.11	11.54	7.43	29.63	<0.01
International level success	1.14	1.51	0.37	0.38	0.54
Participating in international level competitions	2.51	3.18	0.67	0.59	0.44
National level success	0.23	0.84	0.61	2.78	0.10
Participating in national level competitions	0.68	1.34	0.66	1.65	0.20
Youth international level success	0.11	0.17	0.06	0.10	0.76
Participating in youth international level competitions	0.23	0.50	0.27	0.77	0.38
Getting an athletic scholarship	0.11	0.00	0.11	0.66	0.42
General or ambiguous success in sport	13.58	13.88	0.30	0.03	0.87
Growth/development in sport	2.40	3.51	1.11	1.58	0.21
Enjoying sport	0.11	0.00	0.11	0.66	0.42
Being injury free	0.46	0.67	0.21	0.29	0.59
Choice about specialisation	0.23	0.00	0.23	1.38	0.24
Having good facilities	0.00	0.17	0.17	1.49	0.22
Having a plan B	0.00	0.17	0.17	1.49	0.22
Continuing sport	1.94	1.17	0.77	1.32	0.25
Good career in sport	0.80	1.00	0.20	0.16	0.69
Profession/work	16.89	15.05	1.84	0.89	0.35
Good job/profession	12.67	11.37	1.30	0.56	0.45
Well-paid profession	0.68	1.34	0.66	1.65	0.20
Finding a good profession	2.51	1.17	1.34	3.31	0.07
Success in work	1.03	1.17	0.14	0.07	0.80
Education	24.09	19.23	4.86	4.87	0.03
Finishing high school	2.17	2.68	0.51	0.40	0.53
Graduating to a certain profession	2.63	1.67	0.96	1.49	0.22
Higher education	5.94	4.52	1.42	1.41	0.23
Success in studies	7.76	5.52	2.24	2.79	0.09
Growth/development as a student	0.00	0.50	0.5	4.39	0.04
Getting a degree place	5.59	4.35	1.24	1.13	0.29
Dual Career	44.64	33.92	10.72	8.72	< 0.01
Sport and school/work but not combined	40.31	31.27	9.04	6.43	0.01
Combining sport and school/work	3.57	1.77	1.80	2.21	0.14
Dual career prioritising school/work	0.51	0.00	0.51	1.73	0.19
Dual career prioritising sport	0.26	0.88	0.62	1.28	0.26
Self-actualisation	12.79	11.04	1.75	1.02	0.31
Being successful	2.97	4.68	1.71	2.94	0.09
Fun	1.71	1.34	0.37	0.32	0.57
Meaning	0.11	0.00	0.11	0.66	0.42
Wealth	1.14	2.01	0.87	1.83	0.18
Growth/development as a person	2.28	1.17	1.11	2.44	0.12
Happiness	3.20	0.50	2.7	12.57	<0.01
Good life	0.57	1.17	0.60	1.59	0.21
Independence	0.80	0.17	0.63	2.60	0.11

Health	2.28	1.67	0.61	0.66	0.42
Relationships	4.68	3.68	1.00	0.87	0.35
Family	3.54	2.68	0.86	0.85	0.36
Relationships	1.14	1.00	0.14	0.07	0.80
Lifestyle	2.97	1.67	1.30	2.52	0.11
Beliefs & Values	0.57	0.50	0.07	0.03	0.86
Helping others	0.23	0.00	0.23	1.38	0.24
Valuing self and others	0.00	0.17	0.17	1.49	0.22
Home	0.34	0.00	0.34	2.04	0.15
Belief in god	0.00	0.33	0.33	2.89	0.09
Do not know	2.40	4.52	2.12	5.06	0.03
Other	4.68	3.01	1.67	2.58	0.11

The results concerning gender differences in the hopes and goals are presented in Table 3. The male participants reported statistically significantly more sport-related hopes and goals than the females did (difference between genders being 10.98%), especially related to becoming an elite or professional athlete (difference between genders being 7.43%). The females reported statistically significantly more hopes and goals related to education overall (difference between genders being 4.86%), although the males reported statistically significantly more goals related to growth or development as a student than the females (difference between genders being 0.5%). The females reported statistically significantly more goals related to happiness than the males (difference between genders being 2.7%), and the males reported not knowing their future hopes and goals statistically significantly more than the females (difference between genders being 2.12%).

The female participants mentioned dual careers statistically significantly more often in their answers than the male participants did (difference between genders being 10.72%), especially sport and school/work but not combined (difference between genders being 9.04%).

4. DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine what kind of future-oriented hopes and goals adolescent dual career athletes have at different stages of high school. Altogether 11 categories and 49 subcategories of hopes and goals were identified, the most common category being sport at both the beginning and the end of the high school. However, only 51 % of the students at the beginning of high school and 27% of the students at the end of high school mentioned a dual career in their future hopes and goals. This study is the first to study future-oriented hopes and goals in the context of dual career athletes. The results were partially similar with the previous research findings

concerning the future orientation of adolescents. However, certain differences and features unique to this population were found as well.

4.1 Hopes and Goals at Different Stages of High School

The first aim of this study was to see what kind of future-oriented hopes and goals adolescent dual career athletes have at the beginning of high school. Altogether 11 categories were formed guided by previous research (e.g. Nurmi, 1991) and they consisted of 49 subcategories derived from the data. The results provided partial support for the previous research findings concerning future-oriented hopes and goals of adolescents. In most of the previous studies (e.g. Fonseca et al., 2019; Nurmi, 1991), goals related to occupation and education have been reported the most frequently. In the current study, sport-related goals were reported the most. As profession/work and sport are both a part of the students' careers in this context, they were equated with occupation in this comparison. Similar to previous studies, education and occupation related goals were the most frequently reported goals among the adolescent dual career athletes as well. Other common goals in previous studies have been related to family, marriage, leisure activities and financial wellbeing (e.g. Fonseca et al., 2019; Nurmi, 1991). In the current study, these were equated with the family, lifestyle, fun and wealth subcategories, which fall into the categories of relationships, lifestyle, and self-actualisation. Self-actualisation goals were reported often in the current study as well. However, no differences were evident among the adolescent dual career athletes in the amount of hopes and goals reported related to lifestyle and relationships and the rest of the categories.

Previous research findings (e.g. Nurmi, 1989b, 1991) suggest that future-oriented hopes and goals tend to coincide with the major developmental tasks of the developmental stage at hand. At T1, that is, at the beginning of high school, the participants of the present study were on average 16 years old. The developmental tasks in adolescence are related to exploring one's identity, becoming more independent, education and friends (Erikson, 1968; Havighurst, 1948). In the current study, these themes can be found in the education category and the relationships and independency subcategories. Goals related to education were the second most common at T1, after sports. However, only one hope or goal was reported related to independency and only five related to relationships. This may suggest that adolescent dual career athletes prioritize sport and education over their social life and independency from their parents. Similarly, Miller and Kerr (2002) found

that as time restrictions increased, social life was the first life domain dual career athletes compromised, only then education and finally sports.

The second aim of the study was to see what kind of future-oriented hopes and goals adolescent dual career athletes have at the end of high school. At T5, that is, at the end of high school, the students were 19 years old on average. Changes in hopes and goals were likely to happen, as the students transitioned from adolescence to emerging adulthood and gained more life experience (Arnett, 2000; Nurmi, 2004). People tend to reconstruct their goals to match the age-related developmental tasks and role transitions (Nurmi, 2004). Emerging adults continue to develop their identity and explore their future possibilities, especially related to work, love and worldview (Arnett, 2000). In the current study, work, love and worldview were represented in the sport, profession/work and beliefs and values categories, as well as the family subcategory. The amount of goals related to family and profession/work statistically significantly increased across high school. In addition, the amount of goals related to higher education and receiving a degree place increased. These can be seen as a method of obtaining a profession/work in the future. However, the amount of goals related to sports statistically significantly decreased and only three goals were reported related to beliefs and values.

The decrease of sport-related goals may have been due to goal reconstruction. Goals are reconstructed when facing challenges in goal attainment (Nurmi, 2004). Combining elite-level sport and high school is a new kind of challenge for the students. Although they have previous experience of combining school and sport, the majority of them may not have experienced dual careers on this demanding of a level before. Young athletes have been shown to have little awareness of the complexity of athletic talent development and all the factors related to it (Mortensen, Henriksen, & Stelter, 2013). The students may have had very optimistic and broad goals at the beginning of high school, which are likely to change after gaining experience in their new life situation. The adjusted and reconstructed hopes and goals are likely to be more realistic and defined. The results of the current study showed a similar development. The overall amount of goals decreased across high school. Especially the amount of goals related to general and unspecific subcategories, like general/ambiguous success in sport, success in studies, and sport and school/work but not necessarily combined, statistically significantly decreased.

The amount of goals related to self-actualisation increased significantly from the beginning to the end of high school. This may be related to the simultaneous decrease in sport-related goals and retirement from sports: after retirement from competitive sports, the students have more free time and goals related to self-actualisation and leisure activities start to take the place of sport-related

goals. In addition, not knowing one's future hopes or goals increased significantly from T1 to T5. On the one hand, this result may reflect the goal reconstruction process. For example, when a student with a strong athletic identity chooses to retire from sport, it can take some time for them to explore their other future possibilities and construct new goals. The increase in the do not know category at T5 might be the result of the ongoing goal reconstruction process. On the other hand, it may simply reflect identity exploration during late adolescence and emerging adulthood or be the result of the length of the used questionnaire.

The results showed that only 51% of the participants at the beginning of high school and 27% of the participants at the end of high school mentioned dual careers in their answers. On the one hand, this percentage can be seen to be high, but on the other, it is low. The categories included in dual careers were mentioned more often than any other categories. Sport and school/work but not combined was the single most common subcategory reported at each time point and in the data overall. However, as all of the participants had chosen a dual career pathway at both time points, it was surprising that this many of the participants (e.g. 73% of the participants at the end of high school) didn't mention dual careers in their hopes and goals for their future. This may have been influenced by a variety of factors. Firstly, fewer goals overall were reported at T5 than at T1 and the amount of sport-related goals decreased significantly, which in turn is visible in the amount of answers mentioning dual careers. Secondly, some students may have found the dual career pathway to be too demanding after gaining more experience of since the beginning of high school and therefor reconstructed their goals. Lastly, the questionnaire used in the research project may have had an effect. The questionnaire is relatively long, altogether 17 pages, and the question about future hopes and goals is the second last one out of 33 questions. The participants might have already been tired by the time they reached the final question. The question was open-ended, which enabled the participants to answer it as shortly and quickly as they wanted to. The probability of answering briefly and without consideration increases, when the participant is tired. This may have had a decreasing effect on the number of answers mentioning dual careers. On the other hand, the questionnaire may have had a priming effect on the participants. Before answering the question on future hopes and goals, the students have spent a long time reading questions about school and sport, which could create a feeling of pressure to mention hopes and goals in both. This may have had an increasing effect on the number of answers mentioning dual careers. The phrasing of the question may have also had an impact on the results. It is possible that some of the students did not understand how specifically the hopes and goals should be formulated, or how many hopes and goals they could mention. If a student wrote down only their primary hope or goal, for example, to

participate in the Olympic Games, they might have not understood that this indicates them not having any education, work or dual career goals. This might have affected the results overall.

4.2 Gender Differences in Hopes and Goals

The third aim of the present study was to examine gender differences in the future-oriented hopes and goals of dual career athletes. Previous studies concerning the future hopes and goals of adolescents have yielded inconsistent results across time. Older studies on gender differences in the future-oriented goals of adolescents have found men to be more focused on wealth and work, whereas women are more interested in marriage, family and taking care of domestic chores (e.g. Gillispie & Allport, 1955; Nurmi, 1991). The results of the current study, however, were not in line with the older studies, as no differences were evident in goals related to wealth, profession/work, family or home among the adolescent dual career athletes. Previous studies on the future-oriented goals of adolescent have found females and males to report equal amounts of goals related to education (Nurmi, 1987; Pesola, 2006). In the current study, the female dual career athletes reported statistically significantly more goals related to education than their male counterparts did. This is in line with the research findings (Adler & Adler, 1985; Airas, 2014; Rubin & Rosser, 2014; Tekavc, 2017) suggesting that female athletes are more focused on their education than the male athletes are. According to a study conducted by Skrubbeltrang et al. (2018), only 2% of young female dual career athletes reported wanting to pursue a professional career in sports, and they were four times less likely to prioritize sports over education. In the current study, 9.2% of the female participants reported goals related to becoming an elite/professional athlete. Although this figure is relatively high in comparison to the results of the study by Skrubbeltrang et al., the male participants reported statistically significantly more goals related to pursuing a professional athletic career in the current study as well. However, no differences were found in this study related to prioritizing sport or school/work.

4.5 Strengths and Limitations

This study provided novel information about the future-oriented hopes and goals of adolescents in a dual career context. The sample was large and representative, consisting of seven sport high schools selected from different parts of Finland. The sample also consisted of different sport disciplines,

including both individual and team sports. This study had some limitations, which should be taken into account before generalizing the results. The sample consisted mainly of Finnish athletes from white middle-class families, which limits the generalizability of these results across cultures. Some of the participants dropped out during the study period and thus it is possible that the sample at T5 represented the students who were particularly committed to a dual career pathway. The answers were obtained using only one open-ended question, located at the end of the questionnaire. The answers might have been more comprehensive or exact, had the questionnaire contained additional clarifying questions. Another limitation generally pertaining to qualitative research is the possible effect of the researcher's own thoughts and beliefs on the research process. This possibility was taken into account by assessing intercoder reliability, and avoiding making assumptions while coding the answers. For example, if the student answered hoping to have a long career in football and become the best, the answer was divided into two separate hopes and goals: "to have a long career in football" and "to be the best". One could assume the student meant becoming best in football. However, as the latter goal does not specifically mention football or sport, it would have to be coded into the subcategory of general success. Therefore, it is possible that some of the goals have been coded into different subcategories than the students meant. This would result in fewer hopes and goals related to sport, education, profession/work and dual career.

In future research, it would be important to use multiple methods to gather information about the hopes and goals, for example by interviewing the participants in addition to using a questionnaire or by including multiple questions in the questionnaire itself. This would produce further information about the future-orientation of adolescent dual career athletes and supporting successful dual career pathways. Additionally, it would be interesting to examine the gender differences in the hopes and goals across time.

4.6 Conclusions

This study focused on the future-oriented hopes and goals of adolescents in a novel context. The results provided more information on the young dual career athletes' future-oriented hopes and goals at different stages of high school. Similar to the previous research findings on adolescents' hopes and goals, goals related to occupation and education were the most common ones among young dual career athletes. The results of the current study showed that the future-oriented hopes and goals of dual career athletes mostly coincide with age-specific developmental tasks of

adolescence at the beginning of high school and emerging adulthood at the end of high school. However, some differences were evident. The differences between genders were relatively small but echoed the findings of other newer studies on the future orientation of young athletes (e.g. Skrubbeltrang et al., 2018). A surprising finding was that only half of the dual career athletes mentioned dual career in their future goals at the beginning of high school and percentage dropped even further to 27% by the end of high school. Based on these results, further research on the future-oriented goals of young dual career athletes is needed in order to better support successful and sustainable dual career pathways.

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