Sport, Exercise, and Performance Psychology

2157-3905/14/$12.00 http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/spy0000021

# Early Socialization of Parents Through Organized Youth Sport

Travis E. Dorsch
Utah State University

Alan L. Smith
Michigan State University

Meghan H. McDonough
Purdue University

The present study addressed parent sport socialization over the initial period of a first child's sport involvement and how parents make sense of how youth sport shapes family relationships and parenting practices. Parent experiences over the initial 15 months of a child's organized sport participation were examined in 4 families. Three modes of data collection were used: (a) semistructured interviews with parents, children, and coaches; (b) parent journals; and (c) direct observation of parents. Informed by a social constructivist epistemology, themes were coded inductively and categorized deductively within Bronfenbrenner's (2005) process–person–context–time model of human development. Findings showed youth sport to provide new opportunities for family interaction and to shape family communication. As a result of these changes, parents became behaviorally and emotionally engaged in youth sport, began to use sport as a vehicle to teach their children life lessons, and assimilated what was expected of parents into their behaviors in the organized youth sport setting. Through repeated social interactions, parents embraced their new and emerging roles and became reflective about their own development as parents in the context of organized youth sport.

*Keywords:* family development, socialization, PPCT model, sport parenting, collective case study



Youth organized sport participation is extensive and has been shown to be developmentally important for young people (Fraser-Thomas, Côté, & Deakin, 2005; Weiss & Raedeke, 2004). Parents are also active participants in organized youth sport and undergo behavioral, cognitive, affective, and relational changes that have been described as parent sport socialization (Dorsch, Smith, & McDonough, 2009; Holt, Tamminen, Black, Mandigo, & Fox, 2009). These changes align with decades of developmental research describing socialization as a dynamic and reciprocal process whereby individuals learn and enact the norms, values, and behavior appropriate to their social environment (Belsky, 1984; Parke & Buriel, 2006). It is critical to examine parent sport socialization because parent involvement in youth sport has been linked to adaptive (e.g., enjoyment, autonomy) and maladaptive (e.g., anxiety, discontent with sport performance) childhood outcomes (Gagné, Ryan, & Bargmann, 2003; O'Rourke, Smith, Smoll, & Cumming, 2011; Power & Woolger, 1994).

Parents perceive a range of personal behavioral outcomes of a child's sport participation, such as increased attendance at events and watching sports on TV (Snyder & Purdy, 1982; Weiss & Hayashi, 1995; Wiersma & Fifer, 2008). Parents also describe cognitive outcomes, such as a greater interest in sport and a

Travis E. Dorsch, Department of Family, Consumer, and Human Development, Utah State University; Alan L. Smith, Department of Kinesiology, Michigan State University; Meghan H. McDonough, Department of Health and Kinesiology, Purdue University.

This research was partially supported by a Student Research Grant from the North American Society for the Psychology of Sport and Physical Activity (NASPSPA). Preparation of this article was supported by a Van Scoyoc Fellowship from the Purdue University Center for Families and a Bilsland Dissertation Fellowship from the Purdue University College of Health and Human Sciences. This research was completed as part of Travis E. Dorsch's PhD degree requirements. The authors thank Drs. Cheryl Cooky, Aryn Dotterer, and Donna Enersen for helpful feedback during the development of this project, and the participating parents, children, and coaches.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Travis E. Dorsch, PhD, Department of Family, Consumer, and Human Development, 2905 Old Main Hill, Utah State University, Logan, UT 84322. E-mail: travis.dorsch@usu.edu

more comprehensive understanding of rules and strategies (Weiss & Hayashi, 1995), and emotional outcomes, such as positive affect (e.g., pride and enjoyment) and negative affect (e.g., stress, frustration, and disappointment), as a result of their children's participation (Dorsch et al., 2009; Stein, Raedeke, & Glenn, 1999; Weiss & Hayashi, 1995; Wiersma & Fifer, 2008). Recent research on parents of youth tennis and soccer athletes indicates that parents' experiences are influenced not only by specific outcomes (e.g., child's performance and behavior, sportsmanship, and interactions among parents), but also by personal factors (e.g., parent empathy, perceived knowledge, and experience) and the sport context (e.g., policy issues) (Holt, Tamminen, Black, Sehn, & Wall, 2008; Knight & Holt, 2013). Collectively, these findings suggest that parenting styles and practices in youth sport are dynamic and are impacted by factors related to the parent, sport context, parents' interactions in the sport context, and context itself, over time.

Despite knowledge of factors that influence parenting in youth sport (Dorsch et al., 2009; Fredricks & Eccles, 2005; Harwood & Knight, 2009; Holt et al., 2009; Lauer, Gould, Roman, & Pierce, 2010), little is known about the developmental course of parent sport socialization. Parents of children at the sampling stage of sport involvement (Côté, 1999) encounter competitive stressors (e.g., demands related to performance), whereas parents of children at later specialization and investment stages encounter broader organizational (e.g., demands related to financial, time, and training obligations) and developmental (e.g., cessation of other interests and peer relationships) stressors (Harwood & Knight, 2009). Given the evidence that parents are affected by their involvement in youth sport, the association between parent involvement and child outcomes such as child enjoyment and motivation, and the role that development plays in this process as children mature and parents gain experience as youth sport parents, understanding how parent sport socialization unfolds over time from the earliest stages of child participation is of critical importance.

Enhancing understanding of parent sport socialization requires attention to two specific gaps. First, there is limited knowledge of parent sport socialization as it unfolds over time. Socialization is a developmental phenomenon (Parke & Buriel, 2006); therefore, it is vital to examine how thoughts, emotions, behaviors, and relationships with others are shaped over time by parent experiences in organized youth sport. Second, there is limited understanding of how parents make sense of sport's impact on family relationships and parenting practices. Socialization is a socially constructed phenomenon (Mead, 1934), making it essential to focus on how parents articulate and make sense of their roles in organized youth sport.

Targeting parents as they enter organized youth sport for the first time is critical to address these gaps. These parents typically initiate their children's participation (Green & Chalip, 1997) and provide functional and logistical support for their children while also helping them interpret the social landscape of youth sport (Fredricks & Eccles, 2005; Weiss & Hayashi, 1995). While these roles may be well-learned in experienced parents, those with children in their initial season of sport participation may assume these roles for the first time. This provides a unique window for viewing socialization processes. Additionally, over multiple early sport seasons, parents' understanding of the sport context can rapidly evolve. This enriches parents' understanding of how their and their families' behaviors, cognitions, emotions, and relationships develop with experience in youth sports. Targeting first-time parents in youth sport over multiple seasons would meaningfully extend existing knowledge. Moreover, because development is spurred by transitions (Demo, Aquilino, & Fine, 2005), examining this period may allow researchers to document the role of subtle context variations at the earliest stages of parent sport socialization.

Bronfenbrenner's (2005; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998) process–person–context–time (PPCT) perspective provides a theoretical framework for understanding socialization influences on youth sport parents over time. This theory posits that human development involves four systems of influence (process, person, context, and time). Processes are defined as how individuals interact in their immediate social milieu in repeated and increasingly complex ways, leading to development. Person characteristics are the biopsychosocial characteristics of individuals that influence development. Context is composed of four progressively broader systems (micro-, meso-, exo-, and macro-) of

the environment that influence the course and consequences of development. Finally, time influences development—both when something occurs historically and when something occurs during an individual's life course (Bronfenbrenner, 2005; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). This integrated framework accounts for the influence of individuals and interactive processes on development over time.

Youth sport settings are important ecological contexts, and youth sport researchers should attend to the developmental effects of human interaction and contexts where these processes occur (García Bengoechea, 2002). Holt and colleagues (2008) used this approach in their examination of youth soccer parents. They targeted the impact of regular interactions (i.e., processes), relevant parent characteristics (e.g., person), and aspects of the youth sport setting (i.e., context) over time on parental involvement outcomes in organized youth sport. They demonstrated that parents share their children's emotions in sport and that these emotions link to dynamic game and contextual circumstances (e.g., score, opponent). Parents also perceived their sport expertise to impact the parent–child relationship in sport and the quality and quantity of their communication with their children.

Given that parent sport socialization has been linked to characteristics of the parent (e.g., past sport experience, gender), the child (e.g., age, temperament, and gender), and the sport context (Dorsch et al., 2009), the PPCT is a useful framework for the present study. This perspective orients researchers to the multiple and interrelated influences on parents' sport socialization experiences (Holt et al., 2009). Specifically, it allows researchers to simultaneously address parental engagement and interaction in organized youth sport, parent characteristics that may influence these interactions, and the impact of sport and nonsport contexts as they change over time. These elements have been described as essential to the study of developmental processes (Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield, & Karnik, 2009). Prospectively examining these elements over multiple sport seasons can extend understanding of parent sport socialization, which is presently based largely on parents' retrospective accounts.

The purpose of the present research was to examine parent experiences of sport socialization over the initial period of a first child's involvement in organized youth sport. This study addressed two questions: (a) What are the processes that shape parent sport socialization over the initial period of a child's organized sport involvement? (b) How do parents make sense of the ways a child's sport participation shapes family relationships and parenting practices? Addressing these questions will enhance knowledge of parent sport socialization at the earliest stages of organized youth sport. Such knowledge is important, given the potential impacts of parent involvement on children's early sport experiences.

## Method

### Design and Methodology

A longitudinal, collective case study (Stake, 2008; Thomas, 2011) was conducted to gain insight into parent sport socialization at the earliest stage of organized youth sport. The longitudinal design allowed for the observation of repeated social interactions over multiple sport seasons and allowed parents to experience, construct, and report on their personal representations of the processes of their sport socialization. A social constructivist epistemology guided the present work (Schwandt, 2000), as parents were framed not as sharing a single, external reality, but as forging dynamic and contextually embedded personal understanding. Guided by this epistemology, data collection strategies were predicated on prespecified research questions, but remained flexible based on individual, family, and context-related factors. To foster the collection of personal and introspective data, the first author aimed to engender trust and rapport with participants by conducting all interviews, communicating with participants before and after observations, and acknowledging via e-mail the receipt and quality of participant journals. Perspectives of parents, children, and coaches were sought to obtain a comprehensive understanding of each family's context and experiences; however, the views expressed in parent interviews and journals were the primary source of data on each parent's experience.

### Participants

Participants were parents ($n = 8$) and children ($n = 4$) from four families in the Midwest

United States, and volunteer coaches ($n$ = 8) from the teams on which the children participated. One parent from each family served as the primary participant for study purposes. All participants referenced herein have been assigned pseudonyms.

**Family 1.** The primary participant in Family 1 was Holly, a 38-year-old stay-at-home mother. Additionally, her husband Anthony, a 43-year-old entrepreneur, and her son Greg, age 5 years, participated in the study. Greg was Holly and Anthony's first child together, and they were pregnant with a second child (Grant) at the onset of the study. Holly was parenting for the first time in sport, and had participated in competitive swimming and softball through high school. Holly had earned a bachelor's degree, and the family reported a combined annual household income of $75,000 to $99,000; however, both parents had recently transitioned out of the salaried workforce and were without fixed compensation for much of the study period. The family identified as Caucasian and lived in a remote neighborhood about 7 miles from the nearest suburban center. Family 1's sport participation is outlined in Figure 1a.

**Family 2.** The primary participant in Family 2 was Trina, a 30-year-old bank employee. Additionally, her husband Paul, a 30-year-old businessman, and her daughter Leslie, age 5 years, participated in the study. Leslie was Trina and Paul's first child together, and they also had a younger son, Cam, age 3 years, who lived in the home. Trina was parenting for the first time in sport, and had participated in softball, volleyball, and basketball through high school. Trina had earned a bachelor's degree and was currently working toward a graduate degree.

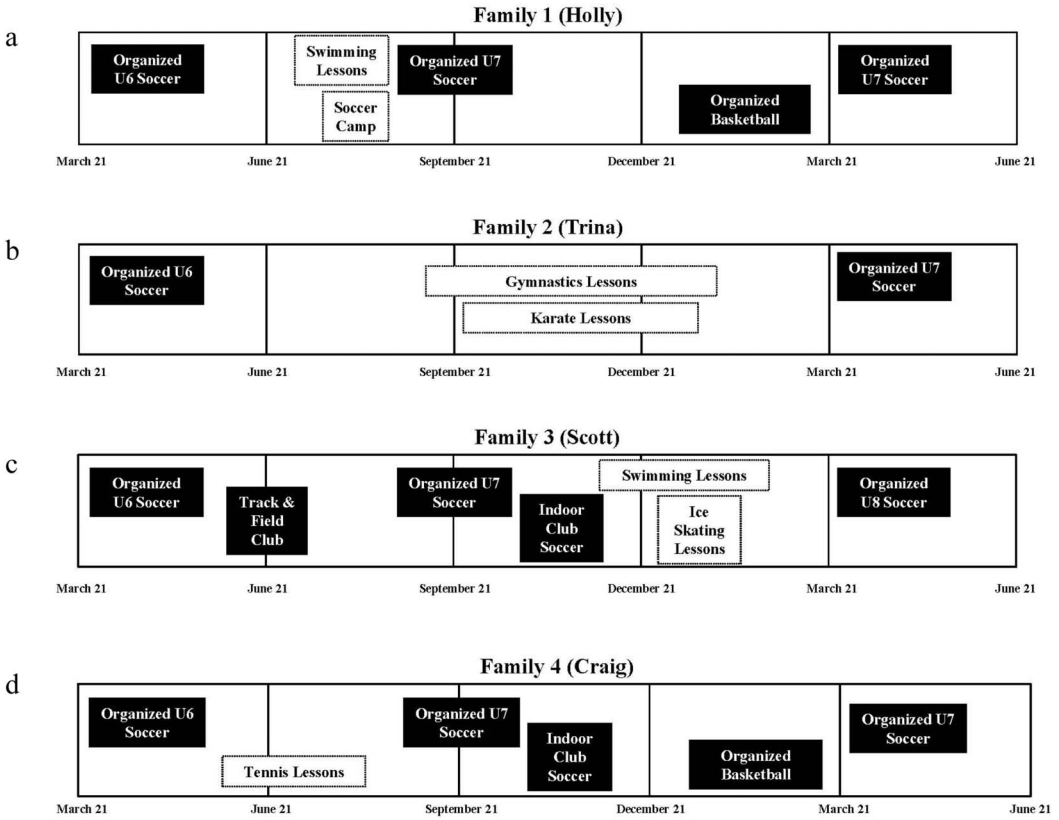


*Figure 1.* Sport participation timelines for families of primary participants: (a) Holly; (b) Trina; (c) Scott; (d) Craig. Black boxes represent children's organized youth sport participation and white boxes represent lessons and/or camps over the 15-month study period.

She and Paul reported a combined annual household income of $100,000 to $149,000. The family identified as Caucasian and lived in a remote neighborhood about 9 miles from the nearest suburban center. Family 2's sport participation is outlined in Figure 1b.

**Family 3.** The primary participant in Family 3 was Scott, a 43-year-old university professor. Additionally, his wife Kendra, a 42-year-old university professor, and his daughter Kaylee, age 6 years, participated in the study. Kaylee was Scott and Kendra's first child together, and they had another daughter, Ginny, age 4 years, who also lived in the home. Scott was parenting for the first time in sport, and had participated in track and field in college and intramural volleyball as a graduate student. Scott had earned a doctoral degree and the family reported an annual household income of $150,000 to $199,000. The family identified as Caucasian and lived at the center of a Midwest suburban community. Family 3's sport participation is outlined in Figure 1c.

**Family 4.** The primary participant in Family 4 was Craig, a 38-year-old community college professor. Additionally, his wife Jill, a 38-year-old university professor, and his son Alex, age 5 years, participated in the study. Alex was Craig and Jill's first child together, and they were pregnant with a second child (Konrad) at the onset of the study. Craig was parenting for the first time in sport, and had no formal sport playing experience. Craig had earned a doctoral degree, and the family reported a combined annual household income of $100,000 to $149,000. The family identified as Caucasian and lived near the center of a Midwest suburban community. Family 4's sport participation is outlined in Figure 1d.

## Procedure

Upon institutional review board approval, a large youth soccer league was targeted for recruitment. After acquiring written permission from the league director, head coaches at the under-six level were approached at a preseason organizational meeting. Five coaches granted permission to speak to parents prior to preseason practices. At these five practices, parents were informed about the study and given the opportunity to participate. Of the seven parents who volunteered, four were selected from families who (a) had children participating in their initial year of youth sport, (b) expected to continue in sport over multiple seasons, and (c) represented a range of sport backgrounds. After obtaining written consent from these parents, their respective children ($n = 4$) and spouses ($n = 4$) were recruited and consented as secondary participants. Over the course of the study, seven head coaches and one assistant coach were also recruited as secondary participants.

Three forms of qualitative data (participant interviews, parent journals, and direct observations) were captured. Prior to the first game of the child's initial sport season, semistructured interviews containing open-ended questions (e.g., "How involved do you expect to be in Leslie's sport participation?") and follow-up probes (e.g., "Has Greg's choice to participate changed the way you view sport?") were conducted with primary participants to facilitate discussion of their experiences and expectations prior to engaging in youth sport. Seasonal interviews containing questions (e.g., "How did Alex's participation in soccer influence your relationship with him?") and probes ("What emotions are involved in being a sport parent?") were also conducted after each athletic season for the duration of the study. Concepts that arose in interviews, journals, and observations were questioned and probed in subsequent interviews. Consistent with semistructured interviewing, guides were used to direct the course of each conversation and ensure all topic areas were addressed, but were not rigidly applied. In all, more than 19 hours of interviews were conducted with the four primary participants. Interviews were also conducted with secondary participants after athletic seasons. Specifically, seasonal interviews were conducted with four secondary parents (13 hr), four children (5 hr), and eight coaches (4 hr).

As a second data collection strategy, primary participants completed journals. After indicating the date and time of journal completion, as well as the event(s) about which the journal was written (e.g., game, practice, social, other), parents wrote freely about observations, experiences, thoughts, or emotions linked to their children's sport participation. Participants e-mailed completed journals to the first author, and follow-up e-mail communications were used to clarify journal entries as necessary. Over the

study, primary participants for Families 1 to 4 returned 29, 4, 5, and 34 parent journals, respectively, of one-fourth to two typed pages in length.

As a final data collection strategy, the first author directly observed the primary participants and their families at lessons, practices, and competitions to document parent behavior and family interactions in, and characteristics of, the youth sport context. Families were likely aware when they were being observed because the first author was known to the participants; however, during each observation, an attempt was made to minimize intrusion so as not to impose undue influence on the participant(s). Direct observations were recorded and interpretive memos were made during all events. Over the course of the project, 9 lessons, 16 practices, and 71 competitions were observed across the four families for 110 hr.

Data collection ended after the second spring of the study. This resulted in a study period spanning five continuous youth sport seasons (spring–summer–fall–winter–spring), or about 15 months. Each primary participant received $100 at the conclusion of the study.

## Data Analysis

Recordings and field notes were transcribed verbatim and checked for accuracy. *QSR NVivo9* computer software was used for data organization and storage. During an initial read of all transcripts, the first author memoed about concepts that emerged across parent experiences. A semistructured group interview with all eight parents was then conducted. In this interview, a moderator (the first author) and assistant moderator shared select concepts and representative quotes that exemplified parent experiences. These prompts were used as starting points for participants to share and discuss in more depth the common experiences that existed across parents. In the group interview, parents also reflected further on their unique experiences in organized youth sport. In line with collective case study methodology (Stake, 2008), the group interview therefore allowed for balancing ideographic analyses with comparison across cases.

Following the group interview, a second reading of study data was completed, whereby the first author inductively coded all raw data. Open coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) was used to organize elements relevant to parent sport socialization into common themes. Memoing was used to note recurring themes and ways socialization increased in complexity over time. Themes were structured hierarchically into the four categories of Bronfenbrenner's (2005) theory. Within categories, similar themes were clustered into subcategories. Constant comparison was used such that theme and subcategory labels were evaluated across participants and across time throughout the coding process. Although all four parents' experiences were analyzed simultaneously, each primary parent was represented as an independent case. Analyzing individual cases enhanced our ability to represent each parent's socially constructed reality in the final research report, although considerable overlap existed in parent experiences. Data from primary participants (e.g., interviews, journals, and direct observations) were the main source of information informing each case, and secondary interview data from spouses, children, and coaches offered supplemental information about the family context.

To highlight the collective and personal experiences of parents, data are represented as both a list of themes and case narratives. To construct the narratives, the first author created a matrix in which themes were experienced by each parent over time. The second author reviewed the list of coded themes and representative quotes and the first and second authors met to incorporate his feedback. The third author then reviewed the themes and provided feedback that was incorporated into the final framework. Case narratives were constructed based on the longitudinal matrix of themes and by incorporating quotations as well as relevant secondary interview data and observations. The second and third authors read each narrative and their feedback was incorporated.

## Research Quality

To address the quality of this study, relativistic standards (Sparkes & Smith, 2009) were considered in five areas that reflect characteristics of collective case study research (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Stake, 2008; Yin, 2009). First, interviews with study participants were constructed to be relevant to the field of inquiry, informed by our research questions, and exe-

cuted in an ethical manner. Second, the first author established extensive trust and rapport with study participants that enabled the collection of high-quality (i.e., personal, introspective, and at times unflattering) data. Third, to ensure that multiple perspectives would inform the interpretive process, the insights of multiple actors in organized youth sport were sought (i.e., parents, children, and coaches). Fourth, to strengthen the interpretive process, the second and third authors critiqued and challenged the assumptions and interpretations of the first author. Fifth, the resultant case narratives: (a) are grounded in parent experiences, (b) evoke multiple dimensions of the participants' experiences, and (c) offer opportunity to generate new questions about the experiences of parents in organized youth sport.

## Results

### Themes Experienced by Primary Parents

Table 1 documents 54 themes of participants' sport socialization experiences within the four categories of the PPCT model (2005; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). *Process* included subcategories of parents becoming behaviorally engaged with other parents, family members, and children, as well as becoming cognitively and emotionally engaged in their children's sport participation. *Person* included individual characteristics and cognitive predispositions. *Context* included micro-, meso-, exo-, and macrosystem factors. *Time* included microlevel (i.e., life course) and macrolevel (i.e., historical) influences on development. Presence of themes by primary participant and season appears in the table and formed the basis for the following narratives.

### Case Narratives

**Holly.** At the onset of her son Greg's first soccer season, Holly became the primary facilitator of his sport participation by communicating with Greg about sport. Holly participated widely in sport during her own childhood and embraced the processes involved in providing similar opportunities for Greg. In an initial interview, Holly admitted not enjoying soccer, but was hopeful the sport context would become an important family setting. During a Season 1 interview she stated, "I was excited. I was happy to have [sport] be a social thing where we could go . . . something we could kind of do all together." Indeed, sport began to shape family interaction, and became a context for Holly to teach Greg life lessons. As she said in the same interview, "It's nice, you know, to talk about the practice afterward, and to talk about the games . . . [sport] brought up some new opportunities to have conversations in a 'don't do this, don't do that' sort of way." Holly's husband, Anthony, also noticed her attempts to teach Greg life lessons. He noted during a Season 3 interview, "She tries to go with the flow as the sport progresses, teaching [him] about his personal life and how he reacts to certain things, like disappointment." Holly, whose personal history in sport included participation in basketball and baseball, did begin to develop an interest in soccer as well. In a Season 1 journal, Holly stated bluntly, "I would prefer that he play baseball, because I like baseball." However, during a Season 2 interview she stated, "I guess my feelings with soccer are changing. I'm not so bored with it . . . I'm kind of liking it." Greg also remarked in a Season 1 interview how his participation impacted his mom's beliefs about sport participation: "She has learned that [soccer] is really cool." The change in Holly's thoughts about soccer also coincided with Greg's increasing ability on the pitch. In fact, she noted during the same interview, "It makes me happy that . . . he is successful and that he doesn't think, 'I'm not any good.' And he's confident, so that makes me happy."

As Greg began to develop his sport skills, Holly engaged in the process of comparing herself with other parents in an attempt to make sense of her new and emerging role. As she shared in a Season 1 journal entry, "I don't want to be one of *those* parents that acts snobby or whatever about how their kid plays and I don't want to live or relive my sports life through him." However, as Greg's first season unfolded, Holly quickly recognized that avoiding this would be challenging. She stated in a Season 1 interview, "I've been surprised about how invested I've got in him scoring goals . . . I don't want to tie my whole experience to how well he does." As the seasons progressed, Holly began to reflect on her emotional tie to Greg's sport outcomes as it pertained to her role in sport. In a Season 3 journal she confessed to comparing

Table 1
*Categories, Subcategories, and Themes of Parent Sport Socialization*

| Categories / Subcategories / Second-order subcategories / Themes | Theme present in season | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Holly | Trina | Scott | Craig |
| Process | | | | |
| Behavioral engagement | | | | |
| Adult interaction | | | | |
| Critiquing child's performance to parent peers | 4 5 | | | 3 |
| Networking with coaches/parent peers | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 5 | 1 2 3 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Organizing sport opportunities | | | 3 | 3 4 |
| Relying on cues from other adults | 1 5 | | | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Family interaction | | | | |
| Adopting family routines | 1 5 | 1 5 | | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Communicating about sport | 1 3 | 1 | 1 2 3 5 | 1 2 3 4 |
| Interacting w/ family at child's events | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 5 | 1 2 3 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Socializing younger sibling into sport | 1 4 5 | 5 | 1 2 3 5 | 3 4 |
| Parent–child interaction | | | | |
| Buffering child's sport-related emotions | 4 | | 2 3 | 4 5 |
| Communicating nonverbally from sideline | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 | 1 2 3 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Communicating verbally from sideline | 1 2 3 4 5 | 5 | 2 3 5 | 1 2 3 5 |
| Facilitating child's sport involvement | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 | 1 2 3 5 | 1 2 3 4 |
| Incentivizing child's sport involvement | 2 | 5 | | 1 2 3 |
| Promoting child autonomy/decision-making | | | | 1 4 5 |
| Teaching life lessons through sport | 1 2 3 4 | | 3 | 1 2 3 4 |
| Cognitive engagement | | | | |
| Balancing self- and child-focused involvement | 3 4 | 1 5 | 1 2 3 | 1 2 3 5 |
| Becoming concerned about own behavior/image | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 5 | | 1 |
| Comparing child with other children | 5 | | | 5 |
| Comparing self with other parents | 2 3 5 | 1 | | 3 5 |
| Considering child's future in sport | 1 2 3 4 5 | | 2 3 | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Evaluating child's coach | 1 2 3 5 | 1 | 1 2 5 | 1 2 3 5 |
| Learning about sport | | 1 5 | | |
| Thinking about child's ability | | | 2 | 1 3 |
| Emotional engagement | | | | |
| Developing an emotional tie to sport | | | | 3 5 |
| Empathizing w/ child's experiences | 2 3 | 1 5 | 2 | 4 5 |
| Experiencing reactive emotions | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 5 | 1 2 3 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Mirroring child's emotions | 1 3 4 | | 1 2 3 | 1 3 5 |
| Person | | | | |
| Individual characteristics | | | | |
| Parent gender | 1 2 3 5 | 5 | 5 | 4 |
| Parent temperament/parenting style | 1 4 | | 1 3 5 | 1 2 3 |
| Personal history in sport | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 5 | 1 2 3 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Cognitive predispositions | | | | |
| Beliefs regarding sport participation | 1 2 3 4 5 | 5 | | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Beliefs regarding child's participation | 1 2 3 4 5 | 5 | 1 3 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Interest in sport | 1 2 3 4 5 | | 1 | 1 5 |
| Knowledge of sport | 1 2 3 4 | 1 5 | 1 2 5 | 1 2 4 5 |
| Perceptions of parenting norms in sport | 1 2 | 5 | 3 | 1 3 4 5 |
| Sportsmanship beliefs | 1 3 4 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Thoughts about own role in sport | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 5 | 1 2 3 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Context | | | | |
| Microsystem | | | | |
| Child's ability | 2 5 | | | 1 |
| Child's gender | 1 | 1 5 | 3 5 | |
| Child's temperament | 1 3 4 | | 1 3 | 1 2 3 |

(*table continues*)

Table 1 (*continued*)

| Categories / Subcategories / Second-order subcategories / Themes | Theme present in season | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Holly | Trina | Scott | Craig |
| Mesosystem | | | | |
| Child's position on the field | 1 3 5 | 1 5 | 1 | 1 3 |
| Demands of other (nonsport) systems | 3 | | 3 | 1 4 5 |
| Demands of the sport context | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 5 | 1 2 3 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Home life | 1 2 4 5 | 1 5 | 2 3 | 4 |
| Motivational climate on team | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 5 | 1 2 3 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Parent work responsibilities | 1 3 | | 1 2 3 | 2 4 |
| Exosystem | | | | |
| Level of competition/participation | 1 3 4 5 | 5 | 3 5 | 1 3 4 |
| Structure of sport (team vs. individual) | 2 | | 2 3 | 1 |
| Youth sport league mission/rules | 1 | 1 | | 1 3 |
| Macrosystem | | | | |
| Built environment | | | | 2 |
| Weather | 1 4 5 | 1 | | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Time | | | | |
| Microtime | | | | |
| Child's age | 1 2 3 4 5 | 1 5 | 1 2 3 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| Child's development | 1 3 4 5 | 5 | 5 | 1 2 3 |
| Macrotime | | | | |
| Generational differences | 2 | | 2 | 1 |

*Note.* Data are tabulated by parent and season (1 through 5).

Greg with other children, "I want to be the mom whose kid is really, *really* good . . . I like it when he does well and I'm happy when he does well." There was also a strong connection between Greg's sport outcomes and her verbal and nonverbal communication from the sideline. On multiple occasions during Season 3, Holly walked onto the pitch before or after a game to critique Greg for inappropriate behavior or for "lollygagging." When asked about these types of interactions, Greg's soccer coach spoke about the parenting norms that exist in today's youth sport culture: "I just think a lot of people want their kids to be good to live vicariously through them."

In Seasons 3 and 4, Holly engaged in a reflective process regarding her evolving role as a parent in organized youth sport, often journaling about her own behavior at Greg's practices and competitions. To Holly, the more complex nature of Greg's participation (i.e., new teammates, evolving performance criteria, and longer and more intense practices and competitions) began to have an increasing influence on her behaviors and interactions. Specifically, she described experiencing a number of reactive emotions (e.g., frustration, annoyance, and pride) as a result of his participation outcomes. As she reflected on this transformation in her journal entries, she spoke of being displeased with the personal image she was portraying to others in youth sport: "You want to be in the *in* crowd. You want to be popular. So, I want him to do good because it makes me look good . . . and that feels kind of obnoxious to me." For Holly, a shift in her emotional engagement occurred as Greg developed as an athlete over time. As she shared in a Season 5 interview, "When he scored his goal, I was very happy. For some reason though, I just don't feel as crazed as I have in the past about him scoring goals." Anthony noticed this change in Holly, remarking during a Season 5 interview, "She's gained patience . . . I think she's eased up . . . and is not so strict on him as a player." As this transformation unfolded, Holly showed less contempt for herself in journals as well: "On a good note, I feel like I cut way down on my yelling [this season]. Cheering is good . . . yelling, not so much!" This change is revealed in an interview with Greg, who when asked what

makes his mom happy in sports said, "When I try my hardest."

In reflecting on her first 15 months as a parent in organized youth sport, Holly journaled of encountering expected and unexpected changes in herself, in her relationship with Greg, and in her sport-related social interactions with coaches and parent peers over time. She believed, however, that these changes did not always come about by choice. As she shared in a final interview, "I don't feel like I made a conscious decision to be a certain way, but I think I definitely evolved. I was something different at the beginning when we first started." Anthony also picked up on this change in his wife following Season 5, noting, "I see her becoming more of a positive role model instead of a coach. She [still] wants him to be the star . . . but she tries to influence him to do the right things."

**Trina.** At the onset of her daughter Leslie's first soccer season, Trina described herself as a savvy consumer of sport, but as a naïve parent in youth sport. Her personal experiences as an athlete provided clear knowledge of the sport landscape; however, Leslie's first soccer game was also Trina's first. As a consequence, although she valued Leslie's sport participation, Trina encountered initial uncertainty in her own role. Trina's husband, Paul, who served as Leslie's soccer coach during Season 1, described Trina's initial struggle with the demands of the sport context: "[Sport] was definitely something that put her out from time to time, knowing that she had to be at practice on Mondays and games on Saturdays . . . it's a sacrifice." Trina also disliked some of the new responsibilities that emerged from her engagement as a parent (e.g., learning about soccer).

Although Leslie did not participate again in organized sport until Season 5, the changes that were documented over this time showed a family transformed into one that revolved around sport. As she journaled during Season 5, "It's been a nice change . . . it's given us something to do, as well as to identify with." Indeed, Trina showed less malevolence toward her parenting responsibilities in sport over time, sharing during a Season 5 interview "As much as I'm glad it's over, there is still kind of a little bit of me that wishes there was still something to do." Paul also spoke to Trina's capacity to appreciate the role of sport for their family, noting during a Season 5 interview that Leslie's participation "will help us as parents become more interested . . . although Trina might not understand everything about the game, she can [now] get into it enough that she can appreciate and enjoy it."

Another major change during Season 5 had to do with the socialization of Leslie's younger brother, Cam, into sport. Trina relished how much easier it was to parent a second child in organized youth sport. As she shared in a Season 5 journal, "Everything we bought for Leslie we also got for Cam. So, he has a pair of ridiculously tiny shin guards, soccer shoes, a soccer ball, new gym shorts, and we got him five pairs of socks." Trina admitted that Leslie's participation served as a catalyst for family interaction at Leslie's events, and noted that this process of engagement had a particularly strong effect on Leslie and Cam's sibling relationship. In reflecting on this during a Season 5 interview, she stated "Cam has gotten so much knowledge from [Leslie's participation] and they come home and they play together, and she teaches him things." Cam's participation in soccer during Season 5 provided for increasingly more complex family interactions at Leslie's practices and matches, and influenced the autonomy Trina afforded Leslie. In fact, at most of Leslie's matches, Trina kicked a ball back and forth with Cam on the sideline. In balancing her involvement, Trina shared in interviews and journals about gaining an emotional connection to sport because of the time spent at the soccer pitch with her children and described increased interest in the sports in which her children were participating.

As Season 5 approached, Trina looked forward not just to the positive benefits of Leslie's (and now Cam's) participation in soccer, but also to the family routines that accompanied their participation. In a Season 5 interview, Trina described postgame trips for ice cream, adventures to the mall, and seeing the grandparents as "a bit of a ritual," and said that the family "enjoyed the aftergame activities as much as the during game activities." In a Season 5 journal, Trina also described developing a new view of Leslie over time: "I've come to see Leslie in a different light, not just as my child, but somebody on the team . . . she's not just mine, but I can share her with other people." Trina's changing view of Leslie coincided with her desire to make sense of her own emerging

role as a parent in organized youth sport. She shared in a Season 5 interview, "I [don't] want to be the mom on the side just yelling, 'that's my baby,' but I *was* that mom. I don't want to say something . . . and have it be all wrong. So yeah, my attitude has changed." During Season 5, Trina also interacted more with Leslie and Cam before and after practices and matches, as well as in the yard at home. This process of behavioral engagement coincided with her increasing personal knowledge about soccer. As she stated in a Season 5 interview, "[Leslie] and I played more outside just kicking the ball around this year . . . and she would instruct me on every kick." As a result of this involvement, Leslie described a change in her mother's behavior during Season 5, "She tells me how to kick it through the goalie's legs and to 'keep running'." Leslie also described a change in her mother's ability in sport over time, stating during a Season 5 interview, "She's gotten better at running [and] she can kick the ball farther." When asked why her mother improved, Leslie continued, "Because she does it with me!"

In reflecting on her initial 15 months as a parent in organized youth sport, Trina communicated that she had come a long way as a soccer mom, but still had a long way to go to live up to her own expectations. This was evident in the final interview when she admitted: "I don't have enough knowledge to coach . . . [but] I'm going to have to become more knowledgeable with the sports she plays . . . When she comes to me with a question, I would like to be able to answer it."

**Scott.** Scott's personal history in organized sport as a youth and adult was extensive. As a result of this personal characteristic, Scott experienced initial difficulty in his transition into organized youth sport. Specifically, in looking ahead to Season 1 during an initial interview he said, "Sitting on the sidelines and supporting [Kaylee] rather than being in the game myself . . . is gonna be the different thing." Over time he evolved into a mentor for Kaylee, using his knowledge to help facilitate her sport participation. As Kaylee reported following Season 1, "He taught me all the positions and the rules . . . the best way to catch the ball when you're goalie . . . he mostly knew it all."

As Scott began to see himself as a sport parent, he realized that he was no longer in full control. In a journal during Season 2, he shared "You can yell encouragement or suggestions to your child, but you are really lacking the control to do anything about it." Despite this powerlessness, Scott continued to serve as a mentor for Kaylee, a role that blossomed during a Season 2 track and field meet. In reflecting on Season 2, during an interview he shared, "One time, when Kaylee was practicing, she hit a hurdle and went down," Scott recounted, noting that Kaylee was crying uncontrollably at the time, "I realized that nobody had told her that the cardinal rule of track and field is that if you go down you get up and you finish the race. So . . . there was some emotional support required." In buffering Kaylee's sport-related emotions and empathizing with her after small setbacks like this, Scott had many opportunities to help Kaylee grow through her sport participation. This process facilitated Scott's adoption of an increasingly more complex parenting role in sport as Kaylee aged. In fact, Scott's emerging role became evident in a Season 3 interview with Kaylee: "My daddy helps me with most of my practice and with everything in soccer. . ."

An increase in Scott's level of engagement in Kaylee's sport participation was evident in Season 3 when Kaylee participated in soccer for a second time. As her skills improved and she began to enjoy soccer more, Scott's wife Kendra noted the impact on the family. During a Season 3 interview she said, "If [Kaylee] latches on to a sport that she loves and is good at . . . that would change the dynamic of the family. We're transitioning to a place where the kids' desire to do something drives our decisions as a family more." As this transition occurred over time, Kaylee's soccer coach noted that Scott filled in as a substitute coach at multiple practices, and organized informal sport opportunities (e.g., practicing skills) with Kaylee, her teammates, and her younger sibling, Ginny, before and after most practices and matches. Scott had spoken in a passing manner about this type of engagement during a Season 1 interview: "Most of the time, maybe once a week, we kick the ball around here at home." However, following Season 5 Scott documented a richer involvement with Kaylee and her peers: "Just about every game and practice . . . maybe three or four of the girls will stick around and we'll have a little scrimmage or something." His involvement in both daughters' sporting en-

deavors led Scott to experience a stronger emotional tie to their sport outcomes over time than he thought he would. As he admitted in his final journal entry, "I'm hoping that [Kaylee] does well, probably more so than I did when I was competing. I definitely think there's more anxiety as a parent."

In reflecting on his initial 15 months as a sport parent, Scott confirmed that sport presented new demands of parenting, but also provided new opportunities for him and his daughters to interact on a daily basis. In attempting to make sense of his new and emerging role, it became clear that the positives outweighed the negatives for Scott and his family. In recounting his journey during his final interview he stated, "I get invested in the girls playing sports . . . I guess one thing I discovered with me and Kaylee—and then Ginny—is that we do like this time we get to spend together after practices or games." Indeed, Scott viewed sport as a unique context to spend time with his family, sharing during the same interview, "One thing that I've learned is that soccer practices and games give us a good opportunity to spend time together, to get on each other's respective calendars." Scott's wife, Kendra, also credited sport with creating a new context for father–daughter interaction outside the home, offering during a Season 5 interview, "It's been an opportunity to do more with his kids than he would have done before . . . he has made time for his kids to fit in." The shift in Scott's parenting style was also evident to Kaylee, who shared during a Season 5 interview, "Sometimes he skips meetings and cancels them, I don't know exactly, but it makes me feel good when he comes to watch."

**Craig.** At the onset of his son Alex's first season of youth soccer, Craig was a self-described "blank slate" in sport. He had no personal history in sport as a child and possessed few cognitive predispositions based on his experiences as a fan and occasional participant in physical activity. As a result, Craig relied on his general temperament rather than sport-specific personal knowledge when Alex began organized soccer participation. Indeed, Craig admitted in journals and interviews to relying on cues from other adults in the sport context (i.e., parents and coaches) during Season 1, as well as his perceptions of parenting norms in sport, to guide his behavior. Craig sought personal knowledge on things other parents took for granted like where to sit, what to bring, and how to evaluate the coach at matches. Through this process, he quickly learned the basics of parenting in organized youth sport, acknowledging in an interview at the conclusion of Season 1 the influence of Alex's participation on his socialization: "[I'm] starting to sort of know what to expect . . . I just [don't] have to think about it so much anymore. You get a script for how things are going to go." Even to Alex, this change was evident. He shared in a Season 1 interview that the biggest change in his dad was that he "learned a lot of stuff [about soccer]."

On multiple occasions during Season 2, Craig arrived early with Alex to rally before group tennis lessons, shagged balls for the children, and chatted about tennis camps and lessons with other parents in attendance. As Craig's comfort in his new role increased through these processes, he journaled about gaining a keen personal interest in sport and began to participate more widely in sport and physical activity himself. As his wife, Jill, said during a Season 3 interview, "Seeing how much Alex likes it . . . I think [Craig] has become more excited for it as we've gone along." This developing sense of identity created opportunities for increasingly complex social interactions with his family in sport, and catalyzed his own participation over time. Over the course of the study, Craig signed up for his first marathon, began playing tennis regularly with Alex, and came to enjoy watching college and professional sports in-person and on TV with members of his family. As he attempted to make sense of these changes, Craig spoke during a Season 3 interview of a connection between Alex's participation and his increased interest and participation in sport: "I don't think it's a coincidence that I've been more physically active than I had been before . . . I think that that's probably been a part of having sports become more a part of our life as a family." As sport took on a larger role in the family's life over time, Alex's Season 5 soccer coach noticed a change in the family's level of commitment: "It sort of eats into the family meals and work, and just unstructured downtime, so [they've] made a conscious decision to buy into that [lifestyle]."

Overall, Craig's views about sport evolved as he recognized the impact it could have on Alex's life. "As a kid I thought you can either be into sports, or you can be a nerd, that these things were in opposition to each other," Craig stated in a Season 3 interview. "But, Alex is a smart kid, and he's into the sports aspect as well, and I'm seeing more of how they complement each other." As Craig gained personal knowledge about the structure of team and individual sport, he also became more vocal from the sidelines. This caused him to (re)examine his emerging role and make a concerted effort not to fulfill the dual roles of parent and coach. In considering Alex's future in sport, Craig shared in a Season 2 journal, "I don't want to be a coach . . . I want to sort of keep those things separate in terms of my responsibilities as a parent and responsibilities that would go with taking a coaching role." This decision coincided with Craig's perception of a broadening parent role. As he stated in a Season 3 interview, "[Sport] has added another dimension of parenting, a more demanding domain of parenting . . . as far as managing [Alex's] emotional response to it all." This new demand, on top of home life and work responsibilities, added complexity to Craig and Alex's daily interactions. Specifically, Craig discussed having to stop father–son tennis matches and backyard baseball games in response to Alex's poor demeanor and sportsmanship. These "meltdowns," as Craig described them in a Season 4 journal, also led to father–son discussions about the nature of sport (i.e., being a gracious winner *and* loser).

As Craig reflected on the initial 15 months of Alex's sport involvement, he made sense of his experience by separating the rational from the emotional processes of parenting a child in organized youth sport. He admitted during his final interview, "I didn't know what I was getting into . . . I knew there would be ups and downs, that [Alex] would be better at some things and not at others . . . but, I couldn't necessarily anticipate what the emotional ride would be." In the same interview, Craig indicated that being involved in Alex's athletic endeavors was a positive emotional process for him and the entire family: "We're all sort of a part of it now . . . it's become a part of our lives in a good way, sort of an expectation of something that we're going to do, and that we'll do as a family."

## Discussion

The present study was designed to examine parent experiences of parent sport socialization over the initial period of a first child's involvement. In doing so, it answers recent calls for the longitudinal examination of ecological systems in youth sport (Holt et al., 2008). The findings suggest that parents with children participating in organized youth sport for the first time experience a range of socialization processes that are shaped by characteristics of the parents and the youth sport context over time. Viewed through Bronfenbrenner's (2005) PPCT framework, the present study extends previous literature by documenting the repeated and increasingly complex social processes that four parents experienced over the initial 15 months of youth sport and showcasing how these parents made sense of their new and emerging roles. Parent experiences also highlighted the organized youth sport context as one that fosters parent development, substantiating parent beliefs that their own development is linked to the sport participation of their children (Dorsch et al., 2009; Holt et al., 2009; Knight & Holt, 2013; Snyder & Purdy, 1982; Weiss & Hayashi, 1995; Wiersma & Fifer, 2008).

Consistent with the value placed on processes in the PPCT framework (Tudge et al., 2009), engagement with other adults, family members, and participating children most immediately shaped parent experiences. Along with parents' cognitive and emotional engagement, these interactions constituted the repeated and increasingly more complex processes that shaped parent sport socialization experiences at the level of parent microsystems. The present results suggest that high parental involvement is not inherently problematic at the earliest stages of organized youth sport. Specifically, parents at this stage may use sport as a forum for communication with their children, spending more time with the family, and engaging with other families in the community. This extends previous work linking parent sport socialization to parent relationships with others (Dorsch et al., 2009; Knight & Holt, 2013) and aligns with research describing the quality of parent involvement as more important than the quantity (Stein et al., 1999). Thus, the results highlight the importance of examining the processes that underscore the formation and maintenance of parent

relationships in youth sport (Knight & Holt, 2013). One such process in the present study was that parents' recognition of how their involvement styles might be perceived as negative led to their efforts to change specific behaviors. Moving forward, it will remain important for researchers to simultaneously consider parent-to-child and child-to-parent sport socialization pathways, as well as the introspective processes that guide sport socialization experiences, allowing for a fully integrated understanding of sport socialization as a reciprocal and dynamic process (Dorsch et al., 2009; Holt et al., 2009).

Also in line with Bronfenbrenner's (2005) theory, the present findings show the youth sport context to serve as a meaningful vehicle for parent sport socialization, aligning with recent work showing the sport context to influence parenting experiences (Dorsch et al., 2009; Wiersma & Fifer, 2008). In the present study, changes to parent exosystems (e.g., level of competition, structure of the sport, and youth sport league mission), mesosystems (e.g., the interaction of parent responsibilities at home, at work, and in sport), and microsystems (e.g., the parent–child relationship) influenced parent experiences. These findings replicate previous work that has documented the impact of the competitive context on parenting behaviors (Knight & Holt, 2013). Parents in the present study communicated that these changes made youth sport increasingly complex over the initial 15 months of their children's participation, providing evidence that the time over which development occurs can be viewed as a context unto itself (Elder, 1998). Given these findings, future research should examine parent change rather than treating specific outcomes as end points of socialization. This will require continued longitudinal work (Holt et al., 2008) and theoretically based cross-sectional studies (Harwood & Knight, 2009; Lauer et al., 2010) that target the development of parents across different stages of youth sport participation. Shaping such future work through an ecological lens could (a) enhance the specificity with which parent education is delivered at various stages of organized youth sport, and (b) inform the creation of more developmentally appropriate youth sport settings for children *and* parents (Knight & Holt, 2014). Both would address applied recommendations set forth by Knight and colleagues (Harwood & Knight, 2009; Knight & Holt, 2013) as ways to enhance the parent experience in organized youth sport.

A strength of the present work lies in its description of how parents made sense of their new and emerging roles. Sensemaking involves the continuing retrospective development of explanatory thoughts that rationalize behavior (Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005). Viewed as a process of organizing thoughts, sensemaking unfolded in the present study as parents extracted cues and made plausible attributions regarding their parenting experiences in sport. In the present study, this appeared to be largely guided by parent expectations. At the onset of the study, parents discussed specific cognitive predispositions (e.g., beliefs regarding their children's sport participation, their interest in and knowledge of sport, their initial perceptions of parenting norms in sport, and their thoughts about their roles in sport) as shaping their initial sport expectations and experiences. This finding aligns with organizational psychology literature that describes newcomer experiences in unfamiliar settings (Louis, 1980). As the study progressed, parents described shifts in the ways they thought about sport that enabled them to make sense of their experiences. Specifically, parents compared their children with teammates and opponents to make sense of their children's abilities and evaluated the contexts in which their children participated to make sense of their own, their children's, coaches', and other parents' behaviors. Parents also compared themselves with other parents to make sense of their own involvement in organized youth sport. There are limitations to be considered in interpreting the study findings and pursuing future research. The present work is situated in a single social context. As a result, it is difficult to isolate sources of developmental change. Parent sport socialization is likely tied to a number of personal and family domains as well as the natural course of development itself. Indeed, capturing the full range of Bronfenbrenner's (2005) contextual influences (e.g., micro, meso, exo, and macro) is difficult to accomplish in one study. Future researchers could attempt to tease out the contributions of various systems (e.g., home, school, work, sport, and community) to parent sport socialization. This could be accomplished by observing families across multiple contexts or by directly asking parents about the influence of other contexts on their parenting in sport. Also the present sample was a Caucasian, upper-middle class, educated cohort of

parents. Each family was composed of two parents and (by the end of the study) two children. As the sport socialization experiences of parents are influenced by family demographic factors that are evolving (Fredricks & Eccles, 2004; OECD, 2014), future research could target varying family structures (e.g., single parent, cohabiting extended, and lesbian–gay–bisexual–transgender families) from a range of ethnic, socioeconomic status, and geo-political backgrounds to foster understanding of parent sport socialization. Finally, the present data are delimited to the first 15 months of youth sport involvement. This period crosses five consecutive sport seasons, yet provides only a brief glimpse of what can become many years of involvement. Researchers must continue to study parents across stages of athlete development to obtain a full understanding of parent sport socialization (Côté, 1999). Future work could replicate the present study with families who have children at the specialization or investment stages of sport. Such research would provide valuable insights into the developmental trajectories of parents and children, as well as associated contextual changes in youth sport.

In summary, the present study extends understanding of parent sport socialization at the initial stage of youth sport involvement in three ways. First, it underscores numerous processes of parent sport socialization at the earliest stage of sport. Framed by Bronfenbrenner's (2005) PPCT model of human development, these processes were linked to multiple person-, context-, and time-related factors. Second, it provides a rich narrative account of four parents' sport socialization experiences generated through the lens of social constructivism, whereby the process of parents making sense of their own experiences was revealed. Finally, it documents commonalities across parent sport socialization experiences. In making these distinct contributions, the present study answers calls for a strengthened understanding of parental involvement in youth sport (Fredricks & Eccles, 2004) and provides a foundation for theoretically meaningful future research on families in sport. From a practical standpoint, the findings illuminate tensions, challenges, and opportunities that new sport parents face. Parent involvement can be a good thing, particularly if sport practitioners are made aware of what parents face as they navigate this first year and how to help parents make the most of their own and their child's organized youth sport experience.



## References

Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative case study methodology: Study design and implementation for novice researchers. *The Qualitative Report, 13,* 544–559.

Belsky, J. (1984). The determinants of parenting: A process model. *Child Development, 55,* 83–96. doi:10.2307/1129836

Bronfenbrenner, U. (2005). *Making human beings human: Bioecological perspectives on human development*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (1998). The ecology of developmental process. In R. M. Lerner (Ed.) & W. Damon (Series Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology: Vol. 1. Theoretical models of human development* (5th ed., pp. 993–1027). New York, NY: Wiley.

Corbin, J. M., & Strauss, A. L. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Côté, J. (1999). The influence of the family in the development of talent in sport. *The Sport Psychologist, 13,* 395–417.

Demo, D. H., Aquilino, W. S., & Fine, M. A. (2005). Family composition and family transitions. In V. Bengsten, A. Acock, K. Allen, P. Dillworth-Anderson, & D. Klein (Eds.), *Sourcebook of family theories and methods: An interactive approach* (pp. 119–142). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Dorsch, T. E., Smith, A. L., & McDonough, M. H. (2009). Parents' perceptions of child-to-parent socialization in organized youth sport. *Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology, 31,* 444–468.

Elder, G. H. (1998). The life course as developmental theory. *Child Development, 69,* 1–12.

Fraser-Thomas, J., Côté, J., & Deakin, J. (2005). Youth sport programs: An avenue to foster positive youth development. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy, 10,* 19–40. doi:10.1080/17408980420000334890

Fredricks, J. A., & Eccles, J. S. (2004). Parental influences on youth involvement in sports. In M. R. Weiss (Ed.), *Developmental sport and exercise psychology: A lifespan perspective* (pp. 145–164). Morgantown, WV: Fitness Information Technology.

Fredricks, J. A., & Eccles, J. S. (2005). Family socialization, gender, and sport motivation and involvement. *Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology, 27,* 3–31.

Gagné, M., Ryan, R. M., & Bargmann, K. (2003). Autonomy and need satisfaction in the motivation and well-being of gymnasts. *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology, 15,* 372–390. doi:10.1080/714044203

García Bengoechea, E. (2002). Integrating knowledge and expanding horizons in developmental

sport psychology: A bioecological perspective. *Quest, 54,* 1–20. doi:10.1080/00336297.2002.10491763

Green, B. C., & Chalip, L. (1997). Enduring involvement in youth soccer: The socialization of parent and child. *Journal of Leisure Research, 29,* 61–77.

Harwood, C., & Knight, C. (2009). Stress in youth sport: A developmental investigation of tennis parents. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise, 10,* 447–456. doi:10.1016/j.psychsport.2009.01.005

Holt, N. L., Tamminen, K. A., Black, D. E., Mandigo, J. L., & Fox, K. R. (2009). Youth sport parenting styles and practices. *Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology, 31,* 37–59.

Holt, N. L., Tamminen, K. A., Black, D. E., Sehn, Z. L., & Wall, M. P. (2008). Parental involvement in competitive youth sport settings. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise, 9,* 663–685. doi:10.1016/j.psychsport.2007.08.001

Knight, C. J., & Holt, N. L. (2013). Factors that influence parents' experiences at junior tennis tournaments and suggestions for improvement. *Sport, Exercise, and Performance Psychology, 2,* 173–189. doi:10.1037/a0031203

Knight, C. J., & Holt, N. L. (2014). Parenting in youth tennis: Understanding and enhancing children's experiences. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise, 15,* 155–164. doi:10.1016/j.psychsport.2013.10.010

Lauer, L., Gould, D., Roman, N., & Pierce, M. (2010). Parental behaviors that affect junior tennis player development. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise, 11,* 487–496. doi:10.1016/j.psychsport.2010.06.008

Louis, M. R. (1980). Surprise and sense making: What newcomers experience in entering unfamiliar organizational settings. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 25,* 226–251. doi:10.2307/2392453

Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, self and society*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago press.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2014). *OECD family database*. Paris: OECD. Retrieved from www.oecd.org/social/family/database

O'Rourke, D. J., Smith, R. E., Smoll, F. L., & Cumming, S. P. (2011). Trait anxiety in young athletes as a function of parental pressure and motivational climate: Is parental pressure always harmful? *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology, 23,* 398–412. doi:10.1080/10413200.2011.552089

Parke, R. D., & Buriel, R. (2006). Socialization in the family: Ethnic and ecological perspectives. In: N. Eisenberg, W. Damon, & R. M. Lerner (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology: Vol. 3. Social, emotional, and personality development*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Power, T. G., & Woolger, C. (1994). Parenting practices and age-group swimming. A correlational study. *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport, 65,* 59–66. doi:10.1080/02701367.1994.10762208

Schwandt, T. A. (2000). Three epistemological stances for qualitative inquiry: Interpretivism, hermeneutics, and social constructivism. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 189–214). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Snyder, E. E., & Purdy, D. A. (1982). Socialization into sport: Parent and child reverse and reciprocal effects. *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport, 53,* 263–266. doi:10.1080/02701367.1982.10609352

Sparkes, A. C., & Smith, B. (2009). Judging the quality of qualitative inquiry: Criteriology and relativism in action. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise, 10,* 491–497. doi:10.1016/j.psychsport.2009.02.006

Stake, R. E. (2008). Qualitative case studies. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Strategies of qualitative inquiry* (pp. 119–150). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Stein, G. L., Raedeke, T. D., & Glenn, S. D. (1999). Children's perceptions of parent sports involvement: It's not how much, but to what degree that's important. *Journal of Sport Behavior, 22,* 591–601.

Thomas, G. (2011). A typology for the case study in social science following a review of definition, discourse and structure. *Qualitative Inquiry, 17,* 511–521. doi:10.1177/1077800411409884

Tudge, J. R. H., Mokrova, I., Hatfield, B. E., & Karnik, R. B. (2009). Uses and misuses of Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory of human development. *Journal of Family Theory and Review, 1,* 198–210. doi:10.1111/j.1756-2589.2009.00026.x

Weick, K. E., Sutcliffe, K. M., & Obstfeld, D. (2005). Organizing and the process of sensemaking. *Organization Science, 16,* 409–421. doi:10.1287/orsc.1050.0133

Weiss, M. R., & Hayashi, C. T. (1995). All in the family: Parent-child influences in competitive youth gymnastics. *Pediatric Exercise Science, 7,* 36–48.

Weiss, M. R., & Raedeke, T. D. (2004). Developmental sport and exercise psychology: A lifespan perspective. In M. R. Weiss (Ed.) *Developmental sport and exercise psychology: A lifespan perspective* (pp. 1–26). Morgantown, WV: Fitness Information Technology.

Wiersma, L. D., & Fifer, A. M. (2008). "The schedule has been tough but we think it's worth it": The joys, challenges, and recommendations of youth sport parents. *Journal of Leisure Research, 40,* 505–530.

Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case study research: Design and method* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Received October 9, 2013
Revision received April 1, 2014
Accepted April 2, 2014 ■