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**THE ROLE OF IMMIGRANT PARENTS IN CHILDREN'S SPORT
DEVELOPMENT**

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**THE ROLE OF IMMIGRANT PARENTS IN CHILDREN'S SPORT
DEVELOPMENT**

by

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to the significant people in my life:

My Children—*Joseph* and *Zion*, you are the ones who give me reason to strive.

My Wife—*Seung-yoon*, you are my lifelong friend and shelter.

My Parents—*Mom* and *Dad*, no words can adequately describe what your support means
to me.

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taught humility.

&

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THE ROLE OF IMMIGRANT PARENTS IN CHILDREN'S SPORT DEVELOPMENT

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Parents take a powerful role to a child's sport socializing. Such roles of parents for children's sport are neither static nor constantly applied, depending on parents' cultural beliefs and values. An understanding of these dynamics is crucial for sport managers if they are to design and implement sport programs that can attract a culturally diverse group. A cross-cultural study investigated how Korean immigrant parents were different from American and Korean parents in terms of parents' influences on their children's sport participation. It was found that a parent's cultural model was a significant criterion that explained different degrees of practicing role mechanisms—parents as a provider and interpreter. Parents' acculturation accounted for the outcomes of Korean immigrants in the U.S. The in-depth interviews then explored how Korean immigrant parents supported children's sport according to their contexts and environments. It was found that they interacted with contextual factors such as family, neighborhood, school, sport organizations, work, policy and system, and cultures. These interactions were affected not only by surrounding contextual factors but also by their traditional customs and values. Being released from education fever, the Korean immigrant parents interacted more actively with the values and customs of American society. Thus, they generally

implemented an American sport-friendly environment to make their children's sport happen and continue. This dissertation's combined studies demonstrate the crucial role of parents in children's sport and the effect of culture on shaping those roles. Finally, this dissertation helps build up an integrative paradigm of sport development toward expanding the field of sport participants. Culture is invisible but powerfully affects parenting. Sport parenting is a cultural product. Cultural differences are not easily bridged, though the key is in how we understand such differences.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Immigration represents an opportunity – for both immigrants and the community they immigrate to. Asian immigrants constitute a large and growing segment of the population in North America. In 1965, Asian Americans made up less than 1% of America’s population. Today that figure has reached 6%, a record 18.2 million. Of these, nearly three-quarters (74.1%) are foreign-born immigrants (Pew Research Center, 2012). For most of these, one component of American culture that they have never highly valued living in their home countries is sport participation (see McGuire & Collins, 1998; Tsai, 2006). Yet parents of Asian immigrants recognize its cultural import in America and work to parent their children to be a part of sport programs (cf. Bhalla & Weiss, 2010; Kay, 2006; Wiggins, 2002).

This segment of America’s population represents a substantially underdeveloped market for sport managers and developers. Marketers could help integrate Asian children into sport systems and thereby develop areas of commerce. Before this can happen, however, these managers must understand the parents. The parent is key to children’s activities. This results in two questions that need to be answered. First, how do Asian immigrant parents influence—*differently* from American and indigenous parents—their children’s sport participation? Second, how do they *interact* with American sport contexts?

Green (2005) suggested the pyramid model of sport development systems. This model specifies how mass sport participation is integrated into an elite sport system. The pyramid model describes the passages between different layers of the model where a youth takes up and sticks with physical activities (i.e., athlete recruitment) and those layers where it is specialized into organized sport programs (i.e., athlete retention and transition). The model demonstrates how to provide resources and to facilitate their

transition to different layers at the linkage between different stages of children's sport participation. Given such an emphasis, a number of studies—mostly in sport psychology and sociology—have touched upon individual and social dynamics of children's sport participation (e.g., Côté, 1999; Dixon, Warner, & Bruening, 2008; Dorsch, Smith, & McDonough, 2009; Fredricks & Eccles, 2005; Wheeler, 2011). Sport management has also produced a substantial body of knowledge to make managerial implications for youth sport organizations (for a review, see Chalip & Green, 1998; Green, 1997; Green & Chalip, 1997, 1998a; Howard & Madrigal, 1990; Hill & Green, 2008). However, much of their endeavor has focused on commercial aspects of youth sports.

To get a historical sense of this intellectual climate, useful perspectives are provided by Bowers (2011). According to Bowers, the professionalization of sport across all levels has led sport management to focus on it only in the organized and formal environment – elite and commercial sports. The discipline considers sports outside those environments as informal sport or play. Recreation and leisure, in other words, has fallen out of the purview of sport management. The discipline has rather sought various dynamics at massive events, such as professional and collegiate events or international events. Gradually, the discipline has neglected the quality of children's sport experience.

In contrast, the public sector is taking greater interest in children's sport participation. Indeed, a major risk to public health is childhood obesity. Policy makers want to address this risk through children's sport and physical activities (Acker et al., 2011; Bocarro, Kanters, Casper, & Forrester, 2008). Childhood obesity appears to be more prevalent among certain cultural groups. Thus policy makers have shifted their initiatives from culture-free and standardized programs to culture-customized and needs-tailored programs (Dagkas, Benn, & Jawad, 2011; Frisby, 2011; Kay, 2006). In all this, parents and their influence on children's participation have become key figures.

Parents direct children's socialization (Berns, 2007; Eccles, 1993; Maccoby, 1992). This is particularly true for such a journey as a child's socialization into sport (Côté, 1999; Dixon et al., 2008; Fredricks & Eccles, 2005; Green & Chalip, 1997; Kremer-Sadlik & Kim, 2007). According to several scholars (e.g., Coakley, 2011; Csikszentmihalyi, 1981; Greendorfer & Bruce, 1991), a child's socialization into sport can be defined as the process of learning to live in and understand the culture and subculture of a sport by internalizing its values, beliefs, attitudes, and norms. The process is shaped by various social agents as family, friends, coaches, media, school, and community (Berns, 2007; Coakley, 2011). Above all, are parents (Brustad, 1992; Dixon et al., 2008; Wheeler, 2011; Woolgar & Power, 1993). Youth sport is where children's involvement is likely to be voluntary. Thus, parents have greater influence here on their children's willingness to engage in sport activities than to engage in other areas (e.g., academic works).

Parents must cope with problems if they are to support, on a daily basis, their children's sport activities (Wiersma & Fifer, 2008; Dorsch et al., 2009). Their strategies include taking on various roles, customized for each child. For example, parents choose what sport programs their children participate in and provide substantial help running the programs (Green & Chalip, 1998; Howard & Madrigal, 1990). They transport children, buy equipment, pay for lessons, and watch their children play. Many even help with managing the league or coaching the teams, all for free (Gould & Martens, 1979; Wiersma & Sherman, 2005). According to a number of studies (Eccles, 1993; Eccles, Wigfield, & Schiefele, 1998; Fredricks & Eccles, 2005; Fredricks, Simpkins, & Eccles, 2005), parents present patterns of behavior regardless of the activity. The patterns cast parents as provider, interpreter, and model.

We might wonder how culture affects these patterns. Of course each culture treasures its unique beliefs about parenting (LeVine, 1988). The culture shapes beliefs, goals, and strategies that guide actions and color interpretations. According to Markus and Kitayama (1991), culture and parental contexts are crucial determinants that shape a child's socialization. How parents choose to support their children's activities are deeply affected by their culture (Wigfield, Tonks, & Eccles, 2004).

Child-rearing is a complicated process. This is especially so for immigrant parents. They live side by side with mainstream neighbors, sharing the same socioeconomic resources such as school, public services, and even social values. Parenting in such an environment requires them to form new beliefs and practices with recurring reinforcement and internalization (Chao, 2001; Farver & Lee-Shin, 2000; Farver, Kim, & Lee, 1995). Hence, immigrant parenting is likely to differ from originative-country parenting, skewing to that of the adopted society. Acculturation drives this change in style (Li, 2001; Farver & Lee-Shin, 2000). Immigrant parents decide which ethnic aspects to retain and which to forsake. As a result, their parenting is never simple; their ethnic values and dominant contexts exist neither in parallel nor as opposites (Nguyen, Messé, & Stollack, 1999).

Acculturation occurs of course through parents' environments. Their parenting is determined largely by when and to where they immigrate as well as socio-cultural components (e.g., Lee, Sobal, & Frongillo, 2003; Nguyen et al., 1999; Schönplflug, 2001). This suggests each group of immigrants parents their children by interacting with where they live. Knowing the influence of contextual factors on immigrant groups would bring a more holistic interpretation of phenomenon observed in certain ethnic communities.

Parents everywhere care deeply about their children's education. It is widely known, however, that East Asian parents tend to focus excessively on gaining a higher

and more prestigious education for their children (Kim, 2011; Kim, Lee, & Lee, 2005). In fact, a term exists for the degree to which those parents obsess over their children's education – education fever (Kim et al., 2005; Seth, 2002; Sorenson, 1994). Parents so afflicted care about nothing more than their children's education (Lee, 2002). For example, Farver et al. (1995) found that Anglo American parents, generally more oriented toward children's social relationships, tend to perceive children's play activities as education tools; Korean American parents lay great weight on a child's cognitive ability and such concern influences how they perceive their children's play activities, viewing them as a way of releasing stress or mere amusement. They are still affected by excessive concern about children's education, even when they emigrate (cf. Li, 2001; Kao, 2004; Zhou & Kim, 2006; Zhou & Li, 2003).

East Asian immigrant parents may value children's play or sport activities even less. This may be especially true for those parents who see academic success as a springboard to achieving status (Farver & Lee-Shin, 2000; Farver et al., 1995). Perhaps, however, these parents are having a change of heart after seeing East Asian athletes achieve spectacular success in the US (Hartlep, 2012; Shin & Nam, 2004). They may believe, after all, in the instrumental benefits of children's sport participation (see Allen et al., 2007; Lee, 2005) and/or see some potential in their children's athletic career (see Bhalla & Weiss, 2010; Shin & Nam, 2004).

Parents are central to a child's sport socializing. Such powerful roles are a common occurrence across all the cultures. Nevertheless, parents from different cultures still parent differently. This notion is enhanced by the claim that the meaning and significance of children's sport participation must be understood through the social and cultural contexts where it occurs (Kay, 2006; Kirk & MacPhail, 2003; McGuire & Collins, 1998; Thoma & Chalip, 1996). The roles of parents for children's sport are

neither static nor constantly applied, depending on parents' cultural beliefs and values. We need to understand such dynamics if we are to design and implement sport programs that can attract a culturally diverse group.

Bhalla and Weiss (2010) examined how female adolescent athletes from East Indian and Anglo Canadian cultures perceived differently their parents' sport parenting. They examined the differences according to three roles – provider, interpreter, and model. The study revealed the cultural differences of parents' influences on their children's sport participation. Anglo Canadian girls thought about bi-directional socialization where their sport participation could change parents' behavior. Indian girls thought their sport participation could bring status to their family. However, we still have much to learn about the effect of culture on parents' role dynamics for children's sport (Brustad, 1993, 1996; Dempsey, Kimiecik, & Horn, 1993; Kimiecik, Horn, & Shurin, 1996).

Given the increasing population of Asian immigrants in North America, it is important to gain a grasp on how these parents affect children's socializing in sport. *One* way is to compare their sport parenting with those of parents who have a different cultural model (cf. Suizzo et al., 2008). This would result in determining whether the sport parenting of Asian immigrants differs from that of Asians in Asia and Americans in America. Any difference would answer the first proposition by revealing the effect of different cultures on parents' behaviors in supporting children's sport participation. In a given difference, we still are unsure about the details of how East Asian immigrants interact with contextual factors in supporting their children's sport. Children's sport participation and related parents' supports are shaped by sport delivery systems and structures (Houlihan & Green, 2008; Madella, Bayle, & Tome, 2005). Here they have to handle various and unfamiliar interactions. The *other* way of seeing how parents affect children's socializing in sport is to identify the interplay between family characteristics

and contextual factors. In this way, we might see how the parents' cultural traits work for or against their children's participation in sport activities.

This dissertation consisted of two different studies. First, a cross-cultural study extended the theoretical understanding of how parents' influence over children's sport differed according to the cultural model of the parents. Many studies have found wide gaps between Asian Americans and American groups regarding children's dominantly engaged activities as well as the family dynamics in that area (see Hofferth & Sandberg, 2001; Lareau, 2000; Larson & Verma, 1999; Yao, 1985). Nevertheless, predicting how they differed concerning youth sports was a tricky endeavor. It was complicated by the scant evidence about the effect of parents' culture on children's sport participation. Hence, the purpose of the first study was to quantitatively examine, using three cultural models, any differences in parents' influences over children's sport participation. The models were Koreans in Korea, Koreans in America, and Americans in America. It compared how their roles as providers, interpreters, and models affected children's various outcomes in their sport activities. The study specified the dynamics of practicing those roles by identifying the differences and similarities among those groups.

Any differences discovered directed the study to its second phase. In-depth interviews explored the various dynamics of how the parents in an East Asian group interacted with contextual factors. Education fever continues but the success of East Asian athletes has signaled a certain transformation. Especially, children's participation at an elite level of sport requires parents to come up with strategies to support them (Côté, 1999; Weiss & Hayashi, 1995; Wuerth, Lee, & Alfermann, 2004). There is little doubt that we have much to ascertain about their sport parenting. Thus, the second study focused on how Korean immigrant parents practiced their roles by noting the interplay between family characteristics and contextual factors. This qualitative inquiry delved into

the parents' values, beliefs, strategies, and behaviors, revealing the immigrants' interactions with surrounding contexts as they supported (or did not support) their children's sport participation.

A child's socialization into sport is heavily constructed by parents' cultural values and beliefs (Bhalla & Weiss, 2010; Kay, 2006). Dealing with contextual factors also shapes such socialization. Such components are so crucial to determining the quality and content of children's sport experience that sport managers and developers should be fully aware of them. Considering the growing Asian population of immigrants in the U.S., youth sport programs should be designed and delivered to attract more diverse participants of those demographics. Still, an obvious challenge lies in creating a bridge between those groups and formal, traditional sport systems.

Children's environment and surrounding resources substantially determine their sport opportunities (Sallis et al., 1993). Also, sport is highly transmittable from one generation to another (see Bourdieu & Passeron, 2000). An understanding of Asian immigrant parents suggested specific factors that sport managers and developers should consider in designing and implementing their programs. This dissertation's combined studies demonstrated the crucial roles of parents in children's sport and the effect of culture on shaping those roles. Finally, this dissertation helps build up an integrative paradigm of sport development toward expanding the field of sport participants.

Chapter 2: Finding Differences in Parents' Roles for Children's Sport Participation among Korean, Korean Immigrant, and American Families

LITERATURE REVIEW

Parents are willing to take various roles in supporting their children's activities. In shaping these roles, parents' specific practices and behaviors are affected by their cultural models. In fact, Parmer, Harkness, and Super (2008) found that Asian immigrant parents spend far more time on children's pre-academic activities than Euro American parents. Regarding parents' play activities with their children, Asian parents did more constructive play while their Euro American counterparts did more pretend play. A number of studies have specified cross-cultural aspects of parenting (e.g., Kağıtçıbaşı, 1990; Lin & Fu, 1990; Parmer et al., 2008). We still have much to learn about how different cultures differ in their parenting styles regarding support of their children's sport participation.

SOCIALIZATION

Socialization is the process by which individuals acquire the knowledge, skills, and characteristics that enable them to become effective members of groups and society (Berns, 2007). Socialization—whether its content is about parenting, social development, or education—is the training of children in how they should behave. It is rooted in the belief that, once children are accustomed to behave in a certain way, they will stick to that behavior through their lives. Socialization enables a person to participate in social groups and society as well as to sustain society and its social orders.

Socialization has been a popular topic across a broad range of disciplines. Above all, three disciplines—psychology, sociology, and anthropology—have systemically examined various issues of socialization. The main focus of psychology has been the

developmental outcomes of the individual in the process of socialization, highlighting the importance of early life experiences on subsequent personality structure (Bandura, 2001; Harter, 1982). Developmental psychologists have been primarily concerned with the relationships between socialization practices and their expected outcomes, such as acquiring behavioral, cognitive, and social skills. Such emphasis clearly focuses on individual personality and cognitive development rather than on processes and aspects of social and cultural experiences.

Sociology, on the other hand, concentrates on characteristics of specific groups and structures where socialization occurs (Furstenberg, 2001). They perceive socialization from a cultural study perspective – a perspective of broad contexts of political economy, history, and social class. Sociologists understand that the process is influenced by a broad constellation of values and beliefs that direct individuals to particular patterns of thinking and feeling. This view conceptualizes the process of socialization as a product of ideological beliefs and cultural practices (Goodnow, 1990; Kremer-Sadlik & Kim, 2007). That is, the practices and experience of socialization become incorporated into a way of thinking available exclusively within a certain social-political system and through socio-cultural practices.

Being similar to sociology, anthropology tends to consider the process of socialization as enculturation. For anthropologists, socialization involves learning the beliefs, values, and customs of society such that one becomes a culturally competent individual. In studying socialization, anthropologists emphasize the cultural transmission that occurs between generations, the interactions between cultural beliefs and social experience, and the maintenance of cultural continuity (Harkness & Super, 1995; Rogoff, 2003). Given these brief descriptions of different focuses and approaches of each discipline, we turn now to the socialization process as it relates to sport activity.

SPORT SOCIALIZATION

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, researchers put together a substantial body of knowledge regarding sport socialization (Greendorfer & Bruce, 1991; Kenyon & McPherson, 1974). Although this wave of research abated, a number of researchers still attempted to understand the various conditions that make individuals participate in sport or physical activity. Sport management researchers have also grappled with various issues regarding the socialization of consuming sport and sport's subcultures (e.g., Casper & Menefee, 2010; Green & Chalip, 1998b). A number of studies examining socialization influences on family's sport consumption and decisions have focused on family dynamics (e.g., Green, 1997; Green & Chalip, 1997, 1998a; Howard & Madrigal, 1990). There has emerged in many societies a need to enhance public health in general and to build lifelong sport participation in particular. Sport management is just beginning to expand such initiatives to include diverse groups (Dixon et al., 2008; Hanlon & Coleman, 2006).

Sport socialization is understood as a path by which an individual can continue to participate and enjoy one's sport over a lifetime (MacPhail & Kirk, 2006). The literature on sport socialization mostly falls into two parts: socialization into sport and socialization through sport. Additionally, some scholars like to add the dimension of socialization out of sport (see Brustad, 1992; Greendorfer & Bruce, 1991). First, socialization into sport focuses on the process in which one shapes one's initial attraction to sport and actually engages in sport activities. In this process, researchers mostly focus on how social and contextual influences affect a child's sport participation. Typically, they assume that significant others or reference groups affect a child's sport participation, mediated by children's internal characteristics such as personality, motivations, attitudes, gender, or ethnicity. Researchers are primarily interested in finding significant antecedents to make the children participate in sport programs and to examine the antecedents' magnitude and

various dynamics among these antecedents (e.g., Ullrich-French & Smith, 2009; Wankel & Berger, 1990).

The second category found in the literature—socialization through sport—means the process in which an individual, as a consequence of sport involvement, acquires various outcomes such as attitudes, values, and knowledge (e.g., Kremer-Sadlik & Kim, 2007; Petitpas, Cornelius, Raalte, & Jones, 2005). Its basic assumption is a possible connection between sport involvement and social developmental consequences. The emerging category of socialization out of sport refers to the process in which an individual discontinues her sport participation due to possible events such as injuries, burn out, or parental pressure.

A number of scholars have highlighted the importance of parent socialization of children's sport participation (e.g., Brustad, 1992; Greendof, 1992; Fredricks & Eccles, 2004). Young children are likely to spend most of their time with their parents, though such tendencies drop off, of course, as the children age. Additionally, children's sport is the grand—maybe the first—stage where parents show publicly their support for children's activities. In those contexts, parents play a number of crucial roles to determine their children's sport experience. Considering these reasons, it is certainly necessary to study how parents' roles affect children's sport participation.

THE ROLE OF PARENTS

Parents must cope with various problems if they are to support, on a daily basis, their children's socialization into sport. Fredricks and Eccles (2004) offered three reasons why it is so important that parents have an understanding of youth sport: (a) parents are highly involved and visible in children's sport, (b) it is this context where they can provide immediate and specific feedback to their children, and (c) such feedback can influence the children both positively and negatively. Their strategies include taking on

roles as needed, customized for each child. According to a number of studies (Eccles, 1993; Eccles et al., 1998; Fredricks & Eccles, 2005; Fredricks et al., 2005), parents tend to shape certain patterns in how they support their children's sport activities. The patterns cast parents as provider, interpreter, and model.

Interpreter

Parents interpret children's sport experience. They convey what they consider important by giving feedback and encouraging on their children's performance. Parents' beliefs and values are an underlying factor that triggers such behaviors. Focusing on parents as interpreter allows researchers to focus on how parents' beliefs and values affect children's socialization by incorporating cultural beliefs into parents' attributes.

The expectancy-value model suggests the mechanism by which parents' beliefs and values affect children's psychological outcomes in a selected domain (Eccles, 1993; Eccles & Wigfield, 2002; Fredricks & Eccles, 2002). The model also explains the extent to which parents' belief systems influence children's participation (Wigfield & Eccles, 2000, 2002). Two elements figure into parents' interpreting role: how good they perceive their children to be (i.e., perceived competence) and the importance they attach to that success (i.e., value for success). The more parents perceive their children's competence and consider it important, the more encouragement and reinforcement they will give. Consequently, the children will continue with their interests and take part in it when given free-choice activities. The essence of the model is that children also adopt a belief system similar to that of their parents. Parents' positive feedback or encouragement facilitates the transmission of those systems between generations.

A number of studies within the sport literature have revealed that, mediating by children's beliefs system, parents' beliefs systems are consistently linked to various outcomes of children's sport such as perceived competence, expectancy for success, or

actual participation (e.g., Babkes & Weiss, 1999; Bois, Sarrazin, Brustad, Trouilloud, & Cury, 2005; Brustad, 1992, 1996; Dempsey et al., 1993; Fredricks et al., 2005; Fredricks & Eccles, 2005). For example, Dempsey et al. found significant relationships between parents' belief systems and children's physical activity. After controlling children's gender, regression analyses revealed the most significant factor was the degree to which parents perceived their children to be competent at such activities. Brustad (1996) examined how parents' belief systems were affected by children's gender and ethnicity and found that the gender had a significant effect. In separate regressions between genders, parents' encouragement was the most influential factor for boys' physical activity. For girls, parents' enjoyment was the most significant factor, indicating that how parents feel about doing their own sport activities has an influence on girls' actual sport participation.

Provider

Parents are generally willing to provide their children with sport opportunities. They try to bring every resource to support children's sport participation. First, they provide financial support to make children's experience happen. It is a parent who considers and makes children's sport program and purchases sport equipment. Several studies have identified the antecedents and consequences of parents' decision-making process when purchasing sport programs for children (e.g., Green & Chalip, 1997, 1998; Howard & Madrigal, 1990). For example, Green and Chalip (1998) found that, in the process, parents' higher level of concern about purchase outcome led to a heightened sense of involvement for children's sport organization. Consequently, parents' level of concern in selecting children's sport programs affected their satisfaction and commitment toward the organization.

Second, as providers, parents offer physical support so that children's sport participation may run smoothly. Parents do the laundry, the cooking, the driving, and any assigned chores for children's sport participation (Dixon et al., 2008; Dorsch et al., 2009; Wiersma & Fifer, 2008). They even help manage the league or coach the teams (Côté, 1999; Gould & Martens, 1979; Wiersma & Sherman, 2005). The role of provider represents a major duty for parents to physically make children participate in sport programs.

Model

Parents exhibit their own sport behaviors and attitudes that their children might imitate. According to social learning theory (Bandura, 1977), parents are more likely to model behaviors and attitudes that influence children's self-perceptions of ability and value toward achievement. Compared to others, this role becomes more prevalent in the field sport because being involved in sport is mainly characterized as voluntary (cf. Eccles & Harold, 1991).

A number of studies examined how parents' modeling behavior affected children's sport participation (e.g., Hinkley, Salmon, Okely, Hesketh, & Crawford, 2012; Zecevic, Tremblay, Lovsin, & Michel, 2010). Most studies conceptualized parents' modeling as measuring frequency, intensity, or time of their sport participation. For example, Bois et al. (2005) used one-week recall to examine how parents' modeling behavior influenced children's physical activity. Fathers and mothers answered the type of activities and duration of their sport participation. The results revealed that only mothers' role modeling had a direct impact on children's participation. Babkes and Weiss (1999) performed a study that investigated how parents influenced children's cognitive and affective outcomes in youth soccer. Regarding parents' role behaviors, the researchers used the amount of the parents' own physical activity. They found that the

more a youth indicated his or her parents were physically active, the greater he or she responded to higher scores of cognitive and affective outcomes. However, no significant relationship was found between parents' physical activity and children's participation.

The findings of the effects of role modeling on children's sport participation reveal inconsistent results. This may be due to some methodological and theoretical problems in conceptualizing parents' role modeling (Bois et al. 2005; Fredricks & Eccles, 2004). One problem is that only quantitative approaches were applied to examine parents' role modeling behaviors. Measuring parents' amount of time and/or intensity in their sport can be easily used to test its effects on children's outcomes; in this operation, however, the greater time spent does not necessarily mean higher quality time. The other problem is that those studies did not specify parents' role behaviors. Although parents can engage in various behaviors that their children might imitate, the studies confined role modeling to presenting parents' sport activities to test the causal relationship between parents' role behaviors and children's participation.

It has been suggested that parents' own activity itself is insufficient to induce children's participation (e.g., Brustad, 1996; Dempsey et al., 1993; Trost et al., 2003). Parents still need to carry out other instrumental behaviors such as giving rides or encouraging children. Those mechanisms have been employed to a great extent to examine how, specifically, parents shape each role to support children's sport participation as well as how those roles affect children's various outcomes in sport (e.g., Bois et al., 2005; Bhalla & Weiss, 2010; Dixon et al., 2008; Fredricks & Eccles, 2005).

IMMIGRANTS' PARENTING

Whereas parenthood is universal, parenting is highly variable among cultures and groups within the culture. This is especially true for immigrant parents' child rearing. Immigrant parents' parenting is a complicated process in which parents form new beliefs

and attitudes with recurring reinforcement and internalization (Farver & Lee-Shin, 2000; Farver et al., 1995; Lin & Fu, 1990). Immigrants live side by side with their fellow immigrants, sharing the same socioeconomic resources such as schools, community, and even social values. Hence, their parenting is uniquely distinguished from that of their country of origin and as well as that of the embedded society (Lee, 2005; Sohn & Wang, 2006). Such observations also hold true of course for their sport parenting.

Cultural Model

Cultural models are the ideas, beliefs, goals, and strategies that guide people's actions and interpretations of phenomena within a particular cultural community (D'Andrade, 1987). A cultural model constitutes an essential component of the context within which parenting occurs. That is, a cultural model motivates parents to take actions based on their cultural and personal goals. LeVine (1988) asserted that each culture presents different beliefs and styles about what it means to parent children. Those different behaviors become culture-specific styles of parental commitment. The concept of a cultural model allows researchers to compare different styles of parenting and family dynamics among cultural communities. For example, Suizzo et al. (2008) compared cultural models of parents' daily child-rearing practices across four ethnic groups. The researchers found that European and African Americans equally valued autonomy while of the four groups European Americans valued conformity the least. Only one group positively associated conformity with their parenting—Asian Americans.

Cultural models consist of several dimensions and domains. Those dimensions are presented according to how parents organize their children's environments and provide opportunities to cause children's actions. According to Suizzo (2002), another way to see parents' cultural models is to know the degree to which parents value and encourage their children assimilating into individualistic cultures (i.e., independence) or collectivistic

cultures (i.e., interdependence). A number of studies have powerfully employed the frameworks of individualism and collectivism (e.g., Mosier & Rogoff, 2003; Suizzo, 2002, 2004). However, these frameworks weaken when used to explain cultural variations in the same culture. Actually, even if one culture has a childrearing goal such as independence, the precise meaning associated with parents' specific practice in one cultural group may differ totally from those of another group. That is, cultural models are a set of beliefs that are viewed as interrelated by members of a particular group and are affected by numerous factors that vary even within a cultural community.

Parents' cultural models change continually because of their reflection of continual social construction (Suizzo et al., 2008). This holds particularly true for immigrant groups who have long resided in a foreign country. In fact, Asian immigrants in the U.S. may hold individualistic values much akin with those of their European-origin counterparts (Tseng & Yoshikawa, 2008). Acculturation is, above all, a crucial factor to changing cultural models of immigrant parents.

Immigrant Parents' Acculturation

Immigration is accompanied or trailed by acculturation. Acculturation occurs as a result of contact between two and more cultural groups and their individual members (Berry, 2003). It usually entails an individual's process of cultural and psychological change. When immigrants become parents or when parents migrate to a foreign country, they bring their original cultural model of the successful parent and how to properly rear a child. However, it turns out that immigrants vary in the images they carry of successful parents and in the strategies employed for successful parenting. Such variance makes immigrant parents rather bicultural in their parenting, as they try to emulate their American counterparts. Thus, these parents simultaneously adopt new practices and

beliefs regarding their new culture while retaining those of their original culture (Lee, 2005; Sohn & Wang, 2006).

A number of studies have suggested acculturation produces changes in parental behaviors (e.g., Farver & Lee-Shin, 2000; Farver et al., 1995; Li, 2001; Parmer, Harkness, & Super, 2004; Parmer et al., 2008). For example, Lin and Fu (1990) compared child-rearing practices among Taiwanese parents, Taiwanese immigrant parents, and Caucasian-American parents. The results revealed that the two former groups scored higher than Caucasian-American parents on such parental practices as control and emphasizing achievement. Taiwanese parents scored higher than Taiwanese immigrant parents. That immigrant parents' reside between the two groups suggests that these parents adjust and accommodate their parenting behaviors according to the values and practices of the new culture.

The theory of acculturation has two main perspectives: acculturation as assimilation and as a multi-dimensional concept. The first sees acculturation as a one-dimensional concept—the more immigrants acculturate the more they abandon ethnic traits (Sanchez & Fernandez, 1993). In this view, an immigrant's acculturation is measured by the degree to which she prefers language, food, media, and social relations of her ethnic culture. This assumes that a fully acculturated person lacks ethnic traits completely. In spite of conceptual convenience for operation, a one-dimensional concept doesn't include the social desirability and preferences of immigrants (Nguyen et al., 1999; Sanchez & Fernandez, 1993). That is, it lacks the ability to distinguish how each immigrant is involved in both mainstream and original cultures.

On the other hand, a multi-dimensional concept approaches to acculturation as a culturally plural framework (Barry, 2001; Lee et al., 2003). To overcome the limitations of a one-dimensional concept, it assumes cultural involvement is not necessarily bipolar.

That is, this concept doesn't see that a strong relationship with the ethnic culture is related to a weak relationship or low involvement with the dominant culture. Although there has been a conceptual tendency toward a multi-dimensional concept, few scales exist to measure those aspects of acculturation (e.g., Barry, 2001; Berry, 1992, 2003; Nguyen et al., 1999).

Berry (1991) developed a multi-dimensional concept of acculturation in which an ethnic group's acculturation was divided into four different dimensions: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. These dimensions depend on the degree of maintaining ethnic heritage and social relations with others of different cultures. An ethnic person uses the integration strategy to maintain the original culture and to have daily interactions with other groups. Assimilation is where individuals do not wish to maintain their ethnic culture and seek daily interactions with other cultures. Separation is when individuals wish to maintain ethnic culture and avoid interacting with other cultures. And finally, marginalization is when little possibility of cultural maintenance exists and little interaction with others.

KOREAN IMMIGRANT PARENTS

Korean immigration to the U.S. didn't begin until 1903 (Kim, 2004). The Korean population in America was miniscule until the U.S. government in 1965 eased the restrictions on Asian immigrants. Since then, Korean immigrants in the U.S. have been characterized as being voluntary immigrants, hoping for more political and social security and seeking better opportunities for children's education (Kim, 2004). According to recent data from U.S. Department of Commerce (2012), foreign-born Koreans number a little over one million, which accounts for 9.4% of all Asian immigrants. They are spread out over California (30.9%), New York (9.5%), New Jersey (6.5%), Virginia (5.4%), and Illinois (4.7%).

Korean Immigrants' Values

While traditional values for Koreans are various, Confucianism has clearly been the dominant value system (Lee, 2002). In Confucian thought, the society consists of hierarchical structures of superiors and subordinates. Actually, this ideology and principles have long influenced all East Asian countries (i.e., China, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and Vietnam) where agricultural economy has prevailed. Despite variations in each country, general values and customs under Confucianism include the authority of man, a wife's obedience to her husband, children's obedience to parents, filial piety, submission of self to family, submission to civil authorities, and high expectations in education (Kim & Wolpin, 2008). Although Confucian values prevail in Korean society as a whole, they serve as complementary guidelines that help to shape specific behaviors and norms.

On the individualism-collectivism spectrum, Hofstede's (1984) cross-cultural study found Korea to be strongly collectivistic. Korean society's collectivistic tendency has long been enhanced by Confucian values as such values advance Korea's economic situation. In Korea, Confucianism's core values (submission to family and society) encouraged individual sacrifice for the country's economic development. While such sacrifice gave birth to astonishing economic development, Korean society has felt several negative impacts. Of course, parents' manner of child-rearing was heavily affected by Confucianism's core values, particularly gender inequality (Lee, 2002). The term *nam-jon-yeo-bee* means men should be more respected than women, and while this principle is not so strictly adhered to today, it still dominates Korean parents' parenting beliefs and strategies. Another Confucian aspect is imbalanced perceptions of professions. The term *moon-jon-moo-bee* means one's intellectual ability should be valued more than one's

physical ability and this belief substantially affects parents' decisions when selecting children's activities.

For Korean parents, what stands above all else when it comes to influences on child rearing is education. Parents all over the world perceive the importance of education. Confucian-oriented Korean parents, however, tend to focus excessively on higher and more prestigious education (Kim, 2011; Lee, 2002). This focus—some might say obsession—is referred to as *gyo-yuk-yeol*, or education fever (Seth, 2002; Sorensen, 1994). They care about nothing more than children's education. This tendency persists even when these parents emigrate (Kao, 2004; Zhou & Kim, 2006). In fact, Hyun (2001) performed a study that compared Korean groups' and Korean immigrant groups' traditional values and lifestyle. While the two groups' lifestyles differed, their Confucian values were basically the same.

Korean Immigrants' Lifestyles

One characteristic of Korean immigrants is a strong ethnic attachment (Min, 1995). According to Min, Korean immigrants' ethnic attachments are manifold. They tend to speak mostly Korean in daily life, read and watch Korean media, practice Korean customs most of the time, and affiliate with ethnic organizations and social networks. Korean immigrants enthusiastically set up weekend Korean ethnic schools where Korean American children can learn Korean and cultures and they mingle with their fellow Koreans (Fishman, 1980). Additionally, Korean immigrants mostly work in the ethnic economy as a small business owner or as employees of Korean-owned businesses (Min & Bozorgmehr, 2000). Thus, they don't necessarily feel pressure to acculturate because they can make a living within a fully grown ethnic economy in North America. In the parenting of their children, these lifestyles help them hang on to their traditional values and beliefs.

METHOD

PARTICIPANTS

The participants consisted of Korean parents in South Korea ($n = 147$), Korean immigrant parents in the U.S. ($n = 126$), and American parents ($n = 112$). A total of 385 parents reared 432 boys and 335 girls. The average number of children in each group was 2.0 for the American parents and 1.9 for the Korean immigrant parents. Parents in Korea had 1.8 children. American parents had 132 boys and 95 girls; Korean immigrant parents had 163 boys and 101 girls. Unexpectedly, families in Korea showed a reverse pattern with 137 boys and 139 girls.

Koreans, it is known, share a very similar lifestyle; their demographics are highly homogeneous (Kim & Wolpin, 2008; Min, 1995). Even after they immigrate, they tend to maintain their belief systems and values (Hyun, 2001). Thus, matching economic conditions and regional sport context were the only concern for recruiting Korean parents living in two nations. Additionally, to level out the living conditions between immigrant parents and American parents, the study recruited participants for both groups from similar regions of the same city. Using an index of citizens' socio-economic status in South Korea, the survey selected an almost identical city to that of the American survey; this helped maintain an equivalence among the different contexts. The term "American" can include a variety of meanings depending on the region, class, and ethnicity (Smith, 1985). Hence, this study specified American samples as non-immigrated Anglo white parents.

Every group sampled consisted of parents having at least one child participating in recreational sport programs. Of them, the study selected parents whose children were between 5 and 10. Sampling such parents is more likely to ensure less concern for education and more influence of actual sport participation (cf. Greendofers, 1992;

Fredricks & Eccles, 2004). It should also reduce the effects of different schooling systems across the two nations. In both countries, five-year-olds attend kindergarten, but only in the U.S. do 10-year-olds finish elementary school. In Korea, 11-year-olds begin to log long hours studying new subjects for middle school. It was then appropriate to set a cap of 10 as a means to compare the Koreans with Korean immigrant parents and American parents in the U.S. The final sample of parents answered regarding a total of 208 boys and 177 girls, with an average age of 7.7. Additionally, children's sport programs were confined to those outside school contexts—mostly in the form of sport clubs—to control for the effect of different sport delivery systems and structures between the two countries (see Houlihan & Green, 2008).

Immigrants' behaviors, values, and preferences are substantially affected by the generation to which the immigrants belong (Schönpflug, 2001). Usually, immigrants' origin of birth and period of staying in a new country determine which generation they affiliate with (see U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Based on these two determinants, from among Korean immigrant parents, the study recruited the first generation (i.e., those born in Korea and who immigrated to the U.S. as adults). These immigrants are more likely to experience vigorous cultural changes than are the second and following generations (i.e., those born in the U.S. from the first or first-half immigrant parents or from their offspring). Ranging from 5 months to 28 years, their average length of stay in the U.S. was 8.8 years.

Regarding the recruited parents' other demographics, the American parents consisted of 70 mothers and 42 fathers. Almost 60% of them were bachelor degree holders with an average age of 40. Regarding occupation, having a professional career was the most common answer (39.3%). Korean immigrant parents also consisted of more mothers ($n = 72$) than fathers ($n = 54$). Their average age was 37 and half of them were

graduate degree holders (51.6%). Higher education is a typical characteristic of Korean immigrants in the U.S. (Kim & Chun, 1994; Kim & Wolpin, 2008). Fathers mostly pursued a professional career (66.7%) whereas most mothers were housewives (79.2%). Such a pattern has been a commonly observed characteristic of Korean families even though for Korean women there is a generational shift towards developing a career (Lim, 1997).

Finally, the sample of Korean parents living in Korea consisted of a great deal more mothers ($n = 126$) than fathers ($n = 21$). Such a gender imbalance can be expected given the Confucian culture in South Korea. South Korean fathers are rarely observed at any youth programs including sports. Indeed, their work ethic combined with the corporate culture that prevails in South Korea keeps them at their work until late at night (Kim, 2010). This group's average age was 39 and 63.9% of them were bachelor degree holders. The most commonly answered profession was housewife (60.5%).

DATA COLLECTION

The study contacted, in both countries, several youth sport clubs and organizations. Parents, upon giving their approval, were asked to participate in the study on-site. Self-administered questionnaires were passed out to the parents. An investigator stayed on-site to answer any question during their survey. The data were collected during November and December in 2013. U.S. data were collected in a city in the American Southwest. In Korea, it was collected in a city in the Southeast. Both cities were well matched in terms of characteristics of younger generations and high income. Youth sport organizations were mostly, but not limited to, team sports such as soccer and basketball.

For the parents who wanted to complete the survey at another time or who left the venue, a self-addressed stamped envelope accompanied their survey. The Korean

immigrant parents could choose to fill out the survey in either Korean or English. None of them chose English.

MEASUREMENT

Parents' Roles in Children's Sport

Parental influence was examined by measuring the degree to which they practiced three different roles for children's sport. First, parents' interpreting roles were measured, using a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*), by asking the degree to which they perceived competence in their children's sport activities (three items), the degree to which they valued children's sport participation (three items), and the degree to which they encouraged their children to play sports (three items). Regarding parents' perceived competence (Brustad, 1993, 1996; Harter, 1982), the parents answered how great they felt their child was at the sport ($M = 4.31$, $SD = 1.45$), how great compared to other endeavors ($M = 4.45$, $SD = 1.40$), and how talented they were at the sport ($M = 4.29$, $SD = 1.44$). These items' reliability was satisfactory (Cronbach's $\alpha = .91$). Inter-item correlations ranged from .70 to .81 and those of item-to-total were from .78 to .86.

As per parents' values for children's sport (Fredricks & Eccles, 2005; Parsons, Adler, & Kaczala, 1982; Trost et al., 2003), the parents were asked how extremely useful they considered children's sport activities to be to their children's lives ($M = 5.40$, $SD = 1.16$) and how extremely important they thought children's sport activities were to their family ($M = 4.74$, $SD = 1.32$) and to themselves ($M = 4.22$, $SD = 1.32$). The items' Cronbach's α was .75. Inter-item correlations ranged from .40 to .57 and those of item-to-total were from .53 to .66. According to Schwartz and Bilsky (1987), respondents often express unconditional preferences for instrumental values regardless of their actual level

of favor for those values. The value for children's sport activities is a common example of this tendency because sport activities' salubrious benefits are pursued across all cultures. It is easily assumed that such a tendency becomes more likely for parents. One way to control this effect is to make the respondents read the question carefully by making it noteworthy. The word "extremely" was thus placed in the questions measuring how important and useful the parents think the children's sport activities (Voss, Stem, Johnson, & Arce, 1996).

Parents' encouragement was examined by measuring the degree to which they encouraged their children to play recreational ($M = 5.24$, $SD = 1.22$) and competitive sports ($M = 4.19$, $SD = 1.37$) and how often they gave positive feedback ($M = 5.25$, $SD = 1.31$). All items were employed from previous studies (Green, 1997; Fredricks & Eccles, 2005). Using a 7-point, Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*), the items' reliability resulted in Cronbach's α of .60. Since parents' encouragement for recreational sport was weakly correlated to those of competitive sport ($r = .14$, $p < .01$), correlations of inter-item ranged from .14 to .56. Those of item-to-total ranged from .26 to .58.

Second, parents' roles of providing were measured by asking the degree to which they financially supported their children's sport (two items) and the extent to which they provided physical labor to facilitate children's sport participation (four items). Using a ratio scale, the questionnaires examined the frequency—in the six months prior—of parents' behaviors to pay for children's sport programs and equipment (Fredricks & Eccles, 2005; Howard & Madrigal, 1990). Parents reported they more frequently paid for children's sport programs ($M = 3.2$, $SD = 3.41$) than for equipment ($M = 2.1$, $SD = 2.28$). Since the parents answered these questions by using an individual's ability to recall

discrete events, such high standard deviations were not a major concern in measuring financial aspects of parents' support (see Tourangeau, Rips, & Rasinski, 2000).

The survey also assessed the frequency of parents' physical labors such as giving rides, doing laundry, cooking, or staying for an entire practice or game (Troost et al., 2003). These items except transportation were asked by using a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 7 (*always*), resulting in .82 of Cronbach's α with inter-item correlations of .48 to .88. Item-to-total correlations ranged from .47 to .81. Parents' labor at transporting children to games and practices was assessed by the frequency—in the week prior—of parents' having done so. Parents on average had provided 2.14 rides ($SD = 3.11$). An often salient dimension in the providing role of American parents is coaching (Dixon et al., 2008); however, most sport programs in Korea usually precluded parents from such opportunities. Thus, the survey left off coaching as an item.

And lastly, parents' modeling was assessed by determining the amount of time they took to engage in fitness and organized sport activities (three items). Parents reported about how much time they spent in organized sport activities in the previous week ($M = 66.5$ minutes), how much time they spent doing personal fitness the previous week ($M = 129.4$ minutes), and how much time they spent playing sports with their children the previous week ($M = 61.4$ minutes). All items were measured on a ratio scale (Bois et al., 2005). As they did for their role in providing, parents answered these questions also by recalling discrete events from the previous week (Tourangeau et al., 2000).

To analyze multivariate effects of cultural groups on parents' practices of the three roles, several specific items of each role were summed up and averaged into a global measure. All the questions can be found in Appendix A.

Parents' Values for Children's Education

Measuring Values

The study employed a scenario method to assess parents' beliefs and values for children's academic achievements. People tend to shape their values and beliefs according to their environment (Homer & Kahle, 1988; Kahle, 1984). In presenting those values, they are more likely to reference a group salient to them. This tendency causes their values to be more reflective of others than of their own (Festinger, 1954). Such a social comparison process can reduce or even erase the differences between two cultural groups despite their differences in terms of various behavioral and psychological outcomes. This relativity can distort parents' values regarding their children's education. This is a problem particularly for a study designed to find differences among a number of groups by comparing various outcomes and traits.

Additionally, people are more likely to place a higher value for something they need more. For example, although the parents of African American groups in the U.S. showed higher perceived importance of children's education than those of Asian and Anglo American group, their indicating behaviors turned out to be lower than those of their counterpart groups (Bratz & Levine, 1978; Galper, Wigfield, & Seefeldt, 1997). This discrepancy could be explained by people's stronger preference for something they lack (Peng, Nisbett, & Wong, 1997; Watkins, 2010). Such perceptions of deprivation lead people to report greater perceived importance of children's education than the actual level. This, of course, needs to be controlled to find genuine differences existing for different ethnicities and cultural groups. Otherwise, the study might reach a conclusion about group differences even though no differences actually exist or vice versa.

A number of studies suggest using a scenario method rather than rating or ranking scales in measuring values (e.g., Harzing et al., 2009; Peng et al., 1997; Watkins, 2010).

Such a method aims to minimize these effects of social comparisons and deprivation-based value judgments. A scenario method urges the respondents to pick a behavioral option given a hypothetical context. This method is particularly useful for cross-cultural studies because the created context of the scenario already defines in a specific way the value being measured. Thus it prevents cultural variations in interpreting the values being examined, making culturally inclined answers less likely. In the process of choosing their behaviors in a given situation, the respondents also become free from comparing themselves with others as well as seeking something more desirable for them (Harzing et al., 2009; Peng et al., 1997). Deciding one behavior makes the respondents exhibit the most likely one from various alternatives. It reflects exactly a respondent's views.

Study Scenario

Based on the previous studies about parents' value for children's education (Harter, 1982; Parmer et al., 2004; Parsons et al., 1982), this survey created a scenario in which the parents were required to decide on only one behavioral preference. In the scenario, the parents faced a hypothetical context—their child needs to travel for a playoff game instead of preparing an academic test one day after the game. Parents had to decide on one action. Five behavioral options were offered with corresponding scores: 1 = "Let your child go to the game and not worry about the test," 2 = "Go to the game, but help your child study for the test if there is time," 3 = "Take your child to the game. Have him/her study in the car. Return immediately after the game so that he/she can study more," 4 = "Attend the 1st hour of the game and leave early so that he/she can study for the test," and 5 = "Keep your child home Thursday to study for the test" (see more details in Appendix A). The higher score suggested a higher value placed on children's education.

A group of experts checked to see whether the suggested situation reflected the same value for the three groups (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955; Peng et al., 1997). The group of experts consisted of three graduate students, one representative from each culture majoring in sport management at the doctoral level. Through this process, the created scenario gained a validity that is applicable for three different cultures. Two graduate students from other fields then checked the linguistic equivalence between the Korean and English (Su & Parham, 2002).

The created scenario was tested with 163 parents across three different groups, along with two questions about the importance of children's education and sport participation. Fifty-eight Korean parents were recruited from an elementary school located in Korea's Southeast. Forty-seven Korean immigrant parents from a Korean ethnic language school located in America's Southwest participated in this pilot test while 58 Anglo American parents did so from an elementary school located in the same area.

Secured first were Pearson's correlation coefficients between the selected behavioral option and the importance of education. This was done to test if the scenario reflected well the degree to which the parents valued their children's education over sport participation. Across all the groups, the scenario was found to be positively correlated with the importance of children's education. The American parents showed the greatest magnitude of correlation ($r = .35, p < .01$). Those of Korean and Korean immigrant parents followed in order ($r = .22, p < .01$; $r = .14, p = .35$ respectively). When controlling for the importance of children's sport participation, all the degrees of correlations increased. For example, the Korean parents presented the largest degree of correlation ($r = .37, p < .01$). The American parents followed ($r = .36, p < .01$). The lowest group was the Korean immigrant parents ($r = .33, p < .05$).

Secured second were the patterns of scenario's responses. This was to know whether the scenario made sense to the populations across cultures. The frequency tables of scenario's responses were secured for each group. The most prevalent answer for all the groups was the middle option "Take your child to the game. Have him/her study in the car. Return immediately after the game so that he/she can study more." The mean score was highest for the American parents ($M = 3.28$, $SD = 1.02$). The Korean immigrant and Korean parents followed in order ($M = 3.13$, $SD = 0.88$; $M = 2.97$, $SD = 1.00$ respectively). Significant univariate effects of cultural groups on parents' responses were found ($F(2, 160) = 4.53$, $p < .05$). These responses of all three groups shaped a normal distribution curve with no outlier.

Finally, validity of the scenario was secured across different populations by performing a χ^2 test. The test was conducted to check if the response style of scenario would differ according to group and suggested the scenario reflected well the effect of cultures on the different outcomes. The results were found to be significant ($\chi^2 = 25.66$, $p < .001$), indicating each group's responses differed according to culture. The relationship between cultural groups and their responses was found to be substantial (Cramer's $V = .28$).

Some results of the pilot test suggested that the scenario might have an issue concerning measurement dependence (Beran, 1992). For example, the Korean immigrant parents' correlation between scenario and the importance of children's education was found, at .05 levels, to be not significant. Nevertheless, this didn't necessarily suggest a problem of the construct being measured (Beran, 1992; Mari & Kotz, 2001). Such a claim was enhanced by observing that the magnitude of correlations consistently increased after controlling parents' value for children's sport participation. Given all these results, the scenario gained validity and reliability for measuring parents' values of

children's education across the three populations. The study included a scenario free from the issue of construct dependence. Using this scenario, the final data ($N = 385$) suggested the majority of respondents picked the same optional behavior as did a pilot study (44.9%). Their mean score was 3.11 ($SD = 0.98$). Chi square test was also found to be significant for three samples ($\chi^2 = 73.33, p < .001, \text{Cramer's } V = .31$).

All groups answered demographic questions such as age, gender, profession, education, and children's age and gender; the Korean immigrant parents were also asked their acculturation and the duration of their stay in the U.S. All questions can be found in Appendix A.

TRANSLATION

The survey, conducted among three cultural groups who spoke either Korean or English or both, had to have English and Korean versions. A translation/back-translation was employed to maintain a linguistic equivalence between Korean and English (see Su & Parham, 2002). The original English questions were translated into Korean. Specifically, a bilingual scholar of language education, not otherwise involved in the study, and the principal researcher, a native speaker of Korean, collectively translated the English version into Korean. The Korean version was translated back by another bilingual scholar outside the study.

After comparing the original English version and the back-translated English one, revisions were made where necessary to better capture the original meaning of each sentence. After finalizing specific details on consistency and differences between the two versions, the final English and Korean versions were also reviewed by the three graduate students, one representative from each group, to check if the survey held appropriate local equivalents between cultures and if the intensity associated with these equivalents was the same in both languages. This process helped the survey avoid the problems of

having different meanings of items between cultures and between languages (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955; Harzing et al., 2009; Peng et al., 1997).

DATA ANALYSIS

All responses were coded into a statistical program, SPSS 21. After replacing all missing values with mean values, descriptive results—mean, standard deviation, and normal distribution—were secured to know the data's central tendency and variability. Cronbach's alphas were also secured to suggest the internal consistency of all items per factor.

The study then employed a one-way multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) suitable for testing the differences of parents' influences according to the three groups of parents, controlling for parents' values on children's education. Considering parents' child rearing that reflected substantial dynamics between children's sport participation and their academic works (e.g., Farver & Lee-Shin, 2000; Farver et al., 1995; Parmer et al., 2004, 2008), it was necessary to control parents' values for children's academic achievements. This was to ensure genuine differences among the three groups regarding parents' influences for children's sport participation. *F* value and significance level were considered to know whether multivariate effects would be significant for group differences (e.g., Wilks's Λ).

The study was designed to find cultural differences in parents' support of their children's sport participation from three populations across two countries. This made for a cumbersome job of satisfying such statistical assumptions as multivariate normality and homogeneity of covariance matrices (Hair, Black, Babin, & Anderson, 2009; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2012). Thus, more conservative indicators were also adopted to find whether significant multivariate effects really existed (e.g., Pillai's Trace). The effect size of group criterion on significantly different means of three groups was also secured to

suggest a statistical power (i.e., partial η^2). This value suggests a standardized measure of mean differences among groups. The greater the level of values is more likely to imply higher statistical power (Cohen, 1988; Stevens, 2009).

In significant multivariate effects, a univariate analysis of covariance (ANOVA) was performed to know which parental roles contributed most to the differences of parents' influences on children's sport participation. Also, *F* value and significance level were secured to find whether the univariate effect would be effective for group difference. While parents' values for children's education should not have varied widely among the three groups, it was easily assumed that those values for children's sport would show the clearest variations. American parents were expected to be the highest and Korean parents to be the lowest in terms of their influences on children's sport participation. Korean immigrant parents were expected to fall in the middle (see Farver & Lee-Shin, 2000; Farver et al., 1995; Lin & Fu, 1990; Tsai, 2006). Given this, the study conducted preplanned Helmert contrast comparisons instead of traditional post hoc comparisons. American parents versus Korean immigrant/Korean parents as well as Korean immigrant parents versus Korean parents were compared regarding their influences on children's sport participation. Contrast estimates and relevant standard errors were secured to suggest its statistical significance.

RESULTS

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON PARENTS' ROLES

To assess group differences among Korean, Korean immigrant, and American parents, a one-way MANCOVA was conducted on three dimensions of interpreting roles (parents' values, perceived competence, and encouragement of children's sport participation), three dimensions of providing roles (parents' physical labor, financial supports, and giving a ride), and three dimensions of modeling (parents' sport

involvement, exercising, and play with children), controlling for their values regarding their children's education. The test, at .05 levels of significance, resulted in the rejection of the null hypothesis that the vectors of the mean scores among three groups were the same. Specifically, the study found significant multivariate effects of cultural groups on designed parents' variables (Wilks' $\Lambda = .60$, $F(18, 746) = 12.23$, $p < .001$). Pillai's Trace was also shown as .42 ($F(18, 748) = 11.18$, $p < .001$). Thus, the study suggested that a significant criterion for explaining parents' different levels of supporting children's sport participation is the parents' cultural model. The study also found an effect of group criterion on significantly different means of the three groups (partial $\eta^2 = .23$ for Wilks' Lambda; partial $\eta^2 = .21$ for Pillai's Trace). Such magnitudes are considered to be enough to have a substantial statistical power (Cohen, 1988).

In significant multivariate effects, a one-way ANOVA was then performed on parents' values, perceived competence, and encouragement of children's sport to find which dimensions of interpreting roles contributed to specific group differences. Significant statistics were found for cultural groups on parents' values ($F(2, 381) = 8.03$, $p = .02$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$) and their encouragement of children's sport participation ($F(2, 381) = 31.78$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .09$). Parents' perceived competence was found to be not significant ($p = .30$).

Parents' financial support, physical labor, and transportation were entered into a one-way ANOVA to determine the factors involved in making group differences of providing roles. Parents' financial supports differed significantly by cultural model ($F(2, 381) = 84.71$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$). Providing physical labor and transportation were also found to be significantly different ($F(2, 381) = 245.55$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .30$; $F(2, 381) = 482.32$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .13$ respectively). All components of their modeling, however, were found to be not significant ($.65 < p < .85$).

The effect of the covariate on the difference of parents' roles was found to be significant only for the item of parents' value of children's sport participation ($F(1, 381) = 9.08, p < .01, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .02$).

PREPLANNED HELMERT CONTRASTS

Instead of traditional post hoc comparisons, the study conducted preplanned Helmert contrast comparisons. Based on theoretical considerations (Farver & Lee-Shin, 2000; Farver et al., 1995; Lin & Fu, 1990; Tsai, 2006), the study compared American parents versus Korean immigrant/Korean parents as well as Korean immigrant parents versus Korean parents to know the specific differences of significantly differing practices of each role on children's sport participation.

As per parents' interpreting role, only encouragement and value of children's sport were compared. The parents of each group showed different levels of encouraging their children's sport participation. Those of Americans ($M = 5.24, SD = 0.92$) were significantly higher than those of Korean immigrants ($M = 4.97, SD = 0.96$) and of Koreans ($M = 4.56, SD = 0.93$). The contrast estimate was .50 at .001 levels of significance. Korean immigrant parents on this item were significantly greater than Korean parents (contrast estimate = .42, $p < .001$).

The difference in parents' value of children's sport participation was found to be not significant between American parents and Korean immigrant/Korean parents ($p = .57$) whereas Korean immigrant parents were significantly different from Korean parents (contrast estimate = .34, $p < .01$). The mean of Korean immigrant parents was 5.00 ($SD = 1.08$), which was greater than that of Korean parents ($M = 4.67, SD = 0.90$). Their competence was found to be not significant across all the groups' comparisons (overall $M = 4.35, SD = 1.31$). More detailed information on preplanned Helmert contrast

comparisons is provided in Table 1. Also, the means and standard deviations of three items of the interpreting roles can be found in Table 2.

		Interpreting Roles	
		Encouragement	Values
Americans vs. Korean Immigrants/ Koreans	Contrast Estimate	0.50**	-0.07
	Standard Error of Estimate	0.11	0.12
	95% Confidence Level	0.29, .071	-0.30, 0.16
Korean Immigrants vs. Koreans	Contrast Estimate	0.42**	0.34*
	Standard Error of Estimate	0.11	0.12
	95% Confidence Level	0.19, 0.64	0.10, 0.58

Note. * $p < .01$; ** $p < .001$

Table 1: Helmert Contrast Comparisons for Parents' Interpreting Roles

	Interpreting Roles		
	Encouragement	Value	Competence
Overall ($N = 385$)	4.89 <i>0.97</i>	4.79 <i>1.04</i>	4.35 <i>1.31</i>
Anglo Americans ($n = 112$)	5.24 <i>0.92</i>	4.70 <i>1.13</i>	4.43 <i>1.25</i>
Korean Immigrants ($n = 126$)	4.97 <i>0.96</i>	5.00 <i>1.08</i>	4.41 <i>1.40</i>
Koreans ($n = 147$)	4.56 <i>0.93</i>	4.67 <i>0.90</i>	4.24 <i>1.28</i>

Table 2: Means and Standard Deviations of Interpreting Roles

Regarding parents' providing roles, all the items such as financial supports, physical labor, and transportation were compared. The differences in physical labor and transportation were found to be significant across all the comparisons. American parents scored highest in terms of physical labor ($M = 5.74$, $SD = 0.93$) and transportation ($M = 3.79$, $SD = 3.74$) while Korean parents scored the lowest ($M = 3.79$, $SD = 1.26$; $M = 1.01$, $SD = 1.60$ respectively). Korean immigrant parents hovered between these two ($M = 4.89$,

$SD = 1.44$; $M = 1.99$, $SD = 3.21$ respectively). Providing physical labor's contrast estimate was found to be 1.42 between American parents and Korea immigrant/Korean parents ($p < .001$). The estimate was 1.10 between Korea immigrant and Korean parents ($p < .001$). The estimates of transportation, in the same order, were 2.30 ($p < .001$) and 0.98 ($p < .01$).

The difference in parents' financial supports was found to be not significant between American parents ($M = 2.79$, $SD = 2.21$) and Korean immigrant parents ($M = 3.10$, $SD = 2.90$), though Korean immigrant parents were significantly higher than Korean parents ($M = 2.04$, $SD = 1.66$). While the first contrast estimate turned out to be not significant ($p = .30$), the second comparison resulted in a contrast estimate of 1.07 ($p < .001$). More detailed information on preplanned Helmert contrast comparisons are provided in Table 3. Also, the means and standard deviations of three items of the providing roles can be found in Table 4.

		Providing Roles		
		Physical Labor	Transportation	Financial Supports
Americans vs. Korean Immigrants/Koreans	Contrast Estimate	1.42**	2.30**	0.27
	Standard Error of Estimate	0.14	0.33	0.26
	95% Confidence Level	1.15, 1.70	1.65, 2.96	-0.25, 0.79
Korean Immigrants vs. Koreans	Contrast Estimate	1.10**	0.98*	1.07**
	Standard Error of Estimate	0.15	0.35	0.28
	95% Confidence Level	0.81, 1.40	0.29, 1.67	0.52, 1.62

Note. * $p < .01$; ** $p < .001$

Table 3: Helmert Contrast Comparisons for Parents' Providing Roles

	Providing Roles		
	Physical Labor	Transportation	Financial Supports
Overall (<i>N</i> = 385)	4.72 <i>1.47</i>	2.14 <i>3.11</i>	2.61 <i>2.33</i>
Anglo Americans (<i>n</i> = 112)	5.74 <i>0.93</i>	3.79 <i>3.74</i>	2.79 <i>2.21</i>
Korean Immigrants (<i>n</i> = 126)	4.89 <i>1.44</i>	1.99 <i>3.21</i>	3.10 <i>2.90</i>
Koreans (<i>n</i> = 147)	3.79 <i>1.26</i>	1.01 <i>1.60</i>	2.04 <i>1.66</i>

Table 4: Means and Standard Deviations of Providing Roles

Three aspects of parents' modeling were found to be not significant at .05 levels of significance on every comparison of cultural models. The overall means were 66.48 (*SD* = 110.58) for sport involvement, 129.35 (*SD* = 151.77) for exercising, and 61.35 (*SD* = 91.83) for playing with children.

IMMIGRANT PARENTS' ACCULTURATION

Only for Korean immigrant parents did the study examine different dimensions of acculturation. Employing Berry's concept (1991, 2001, 2003), the study queried participants on four aspects of acculturation. All items of each factor were found to be internally consistent (see Table 5).

Assimilation was found to be positively related to all the roles of parents. This aspect of acculturation positively affected interpreting ($r = .11, p = .12$), providing ($r = .17, p < .05$), modeling ($r = .19, p < .05$) roles. Integration had the same effect on these roles in order ($r = .23, p < .01$; $r = .20, p < .05$; $r = .13, p = .08$; respectively). Marginalization and separation, however, showed a negative influence on these roles. The magnitudes of marginalization were .03 on interpreting role ($p = .39$), .03 on

providing role ($p = .38$), and .12 on modeling ($p = .09$). Those of separation were .19 on interpreting role ($p < .05$), .15 on providing role ($p = .05$), and .04 on modeling ($p = .34$).

	Dimensions of Acculturation (N = 126)			
	Assimilation (5 items)	Integration (4 items)	Marginalization (5 items)	Separation (3 items)
Averaged Means	2.70	3.90	5.61	1.69
Chronbach's α	.88	.94	.78	.77
Inter-items correlations	.49 - .83	.67 - .96	.22 - .73	.38 - .70
Item-to-total correlations	.65 - .78	.78 - .89	.48 - .73	.47 - .72

Table 5. Acculturation Items' Internal Consistency

DISCUSSION

In sport management, there has been a recent marginalization of the subject of parents' influences for children's sport participation. This study contributes to sport management and other closely related disciplines such as sport development by expanding theoretical knowledge of how parents' role practices for children's sport participation differ according to cultural model. Using the three mechanisms of parents' role practices—providers, interpreters, and models—for children's sport participation, the study found cultural similarities and differences on how the parents supported their children's sport participation. The results of the study found that parental socialization influences on children's sport were exhibited differently according to the parents' cultural model.

PARENTS' INTERPRETING ROLES

In sport development a growing issue has been understanding how parental belief and value systems affect children's sport participation. While some studies have

examined the effect of parents' and children's gender on choosing children's activities and shaping parents' values on such activities (e.g., Brustad, 1996; Dempsey et al., 1993; Fredricks & Eccles, 2005; Fredricks et al., 2005), no studies have investigated the differences of cultural groups in the dynamics of parental influences for children's sport participation. This lack of understanding on parents' mechanisms becomes more critical for young children's socialization toward sports because parents' cultural differences can be a beginning point of bringing these populations together.

Parents' interpreting role about children's sport experience is a powerful mechanism because young sport participants are more likely to adjust their behaviors and attitudes according to how their parents value their achievement in sport. Parents can deliver their messages in two ways: One is to communicate with their children using direct and overt socialization messages such as encouragement and positive feedback. This can be seen in play at games and practices. The second is through daily conversations and affirmations.

What groups of parents offered the most and least encouragement? American and Korean respectively. Korean immigrant parents were in the middle. Different parenting styles by cultural models explain this result (Parmet et al., 2004; Suizzo, 2002; Suizzo et al., 2008). Although Korean parents wanted to encourage their children and provide positive feedback, there was little observation of such behaviors. Their tradition-based belief cautions against doing so lest their children get spoiled and lose humility (Rohner & Pettengill, 1985). Korean immigrant parents, as a result of being exposed to American cultures, were relatively more engaged in such interpreting roles. They naturally see the positives of praising children's achievement by observing the examples of American parents (cf. Bhalla & Weiss, 2010; Turman, 2007). In fact, Suzuki, Davis, and Greenfield (2008) found Korean American athletes interacted with other American teammates in

reacting to praise of their good play and criticism of their mistakes. Being reflected with parents' parenting, their reactions differentiated from their teammates. Korean American athletes were less likely to accept praises and more likely to accept criticism. This suggests the parenting style of Korean immigrant parents explains the degree of their encouragement for children's sport.

Although no significant difference separated them from American parents, Korean immigrant parents were found to be the highest in their values for children's sport participation. Korean parents were significantly lower than both these groups. According to the theories of social comparison and deprivation-based judgment (Kahle, 1984; Peng et al., 1997), Korean immigrant parents are more likely to value what they lack compared to mainstream society. Living in contexts where youth sports are highly encouraged, Korean immigrant parents strive to adapt. One catalyst for such a mind-set was the desire to take the greatest advantage possible from their immigration. Obviously, children's sport participation represents one such advantage (Farver & Lee-Shin, 2000; Farver et al., 1995; Suzuki et al., 2008).

As expected, no significant differences were found in the parents' competence of children's sport activities. A number of studies have found parents' comparative competences through the children's selected areas such as English or mathematics (Eccles, Freedman-Doan, Frome, Jacobs, & Yoon, 2000; Eccles, Wigfield, Harold, & Blumenfeld, 1993). Nonetheless, a parents' natural tendency is to give credit for their children's activities. Regardless of culture, parents are more likely to believe their children to be competent at selected activities. This might be more easily observed in a sport context because few if any sport programs, unlike English or mathematics, provide standardized outcomes. No significant cultural differences were thus expected on parents' perceived competence of children's sport activities. Additionally, the study examined the

parents who already had a child in sport programs. That they would have higher competence was taken for granted.

Practical implication for sport organizations

Youth sport marketers and managers can obtain meaningful information by developing an understanding of Korean immigrants' interpreting role. First, these sport marketers and managers need to focus on this group's higher value for children's sport participation. Korean immigrant parents were heavily motivated to support children's sport activities after observing the behaviors of American parents and experiencing the numerous benefits gained from children's sport participation. Youth sport organizations could thus create more opportunities where immigrant parents interact with American parents in children's sport and overall education. These events could take a form of activities that immigrants scarcely experience in their home country. This could ensure that a new opportunity derived from immigrating is their children's sport participation not to mention the parents' supportive behaviors. The parents' coaching or assisting their children's sport is a good example of such a strategy. If sport organizations educate the parents about how their direct involvement increases children's sport outcomes, immigrant parents are more likely to initiate their direct support and to have chances to interact with American parents.

Second, sport organizations should be aware of that parents' perceived competence of children's sport was high within each group observed in this study. Parents might be perplexed at seeing some inconsistencies between their children's performance and their level of perceived competence. Consequently, parents might reduce their support having never experienced the positive results of children's sport participation; or they might perceive such a gap as amounting to an unbreakable barrier to other children's superior level of athleticism. Sport managers can adjust parents'

expectations by providing more obvious and clear indices of children's performance or by educating immigrant parents about the social and psychological values of children's sport participation. Finding a participant's suitable level of program is one way to moderate parents' excessive expectations of children's sport.

PARENTS' PROVIDING ROLES

Parents' roles of providing is the salient aspect of parenting for children's sport participation (Green & Chalip, 1997, 1998; Howard & Madrigal, 1990). Performing this role is critical to making children's sport happen. For example, parents pay for children's sport programs, buy sport equipment, provide transportation to games and practices, and do logistical support to facilitate their participation. Even though such roles can be observed in any culture and in any nation, little information has been found to understand the effect of culture on parents' providing behaviors for children's sport. Between mothers and fathers, gender has explained effectively different roles of providing (Howard & Madrigal, 1990). An understanding of parents' different providing behaviors would help sport marketers and managers market their products to families of different cultures.

Multivariate effects of cultural groups suggested that parents' providing role differed significantly according to cultural model. American parents claimed the highest position in this role. Next were Korean immigrant parents and Korean parents. Among parents' providing roles, the American parents were again highest in physical labor and giving rides. In these supportive behaviors, they differed significantly from the other groups. In helping with their children's sport financially, American and Korean immigrant parents were not significantly different. A significant difference, however, did separate Korean parents from their American and Korean immigrant counterparts.

How do we account for the difference in providing transportation? Two reasons seem possible. First, Korean immigrant parents must adapt to America's auto-dependent society. Here, fathers are more likely to serve as drivers. This stands in stark contrast to America's "soccer Mom." Considering the similar number of mothers in each sample (American mothers = 70 and Korean immigrant mothers = 72), Korean immigrants' responses were lower than those of American parents—due perhaps to the fact they were from mother only. Second, it seems that Korean immigrant parents were more likely to drop off their children on their way to other destinations such as the grocery store or work, although such an explanation might be somewhat incompatible with the above factor of mothers-only responding. Korean immigrant parents' staying for their children's sport programs, one aspect of providing physical labors, was found to be significantly lower than that of American parents ($p < .001$). This could come down to the fact that the purpose of the trip was not children's sport—sport was a secondary concern. Why Korean immigrant parents left their children's sport site is certainly reason for further study. In South Korea, most youth sport programs provide their own transportation from home to the venue. Unsurprisingly, Korean parents were the lowest at providing transportation.

It appeared that to make their children's sport happen American parents vigorously provided physical labor. Korean immigrant and Korean parents followed in that order. In supporting children's sport, parents' physical labors include doing laundry or preparing food as well as staying for the entire sporting event. American parents were more likely to stay at the venue and watch their children's practice or game than were their Korean counterparts. Actually, such behaviors work as strong facilitators of their children engaging in sport activities. Children felt more support when observing at least

one parent stay at the venue (Babkes & Weiss, 1999). Given such results, more inquiries should be made to know why Korean immigrants were less likely to stick around.

Lastly, Korean immigrant parents surpassed the other groups in the observed means of financial support, though it was not significantly different from that of American parents. This could be a reflection of their highest values for children's sport, suggesting the Korean immigrant parents sought out, without hesitating about expenses, every chance for children's sport. America's well-developed sport markets are a potential facilitator of Korean immigrant parents providing so much financial support. Commercial sectors for sporting goods and various lessons were well positioned for this group, which had little chance to consume these products before. This explanation is also well matched with Korean immigrant parents' higher level of modeling. They were willing to consume sport products and programs for themselves as well as for their children. In addition to this, their higher education might be a reason. Together with their perception that immigration translated into opportunities for their children, their socio-economic status made them excel at this role.

Practical implications for sport organizations

Sport organizations can draw several implications from knowing that Korean immigrants' greatest financial support is given to purchasing children's equipment and signing their children up for sport programs. The group placed the highest value on children's sport and that was the driving force behind them putting money out for their children. They implemented financial support as a means to actualizing several opportunities from immigration. This tendency was more salient with children's activities. This process was accelerated in America's well-developed youth sport markets; Korean immigrants found giving financial supports to be easier in such a consumer friendly market. Given this, sport organizations need to create co-marketing activities with local

sporting good retail shops. Bundled discount promotions or coupons make for effective marketing where immigrants can take an initial step in exploring their interests in children's sport. What really precipitates their financial supports is when they are offered various consumption choices. Immigrant parents can thus begin to learn about children's sport and discover their personal tastes into children's sport products such as clothing or equipment. Immigrant parents face several barriers in their immigration; finding the right equipment for their children's sport and customizing the choice according to their children are activities easily picked up. Thus, sport organizations need to develop more contents that aim at stimulating parents' consumption for children's sport. Such a strategy can also be implemented to develop parents' interest in the sport beyond than mere purchasing behavior.

Parents' providing of physical labor did not match their valuing of children's sport. A large part of this can be attributed to the parents' not staying at their children's sport venues. Although this matter was not examined in this study, a couple of reasons for it may be suggested. Immigrant parents might think it better strategy keep themselves out of sight, especially in case their children need to be disciplined. They might feel no obligation to attend their children's sport activities. Perhaps they refrain from going to the venues to avoid feeling uncomfortableness stemming from cultural and language barriers. According to Babkes and Weiss (1999), these behaviors can halt their children's deeper involvement in sport activities. To get to the bottom of this, sport organizations should observe parents' behaviors or ask them how they could find better environments. Sport organizations can lure these groups into staying for the entire event by providing decent facilities or equipping sites with simple services such as wireless network. Additionally, an attractive point for this demographic group would be American parents' volunteering to have English conversation with immigrant parents and to share cultural things.

PARENTS' MODELING

No significant group differences were found in terms of parents' role modeling. A couple of reasons contribute to such findings. First, the parents' time to engage in organized sport, fitness, and playing with children were measured by each single item. The item asked the parents how many minutes they engaged in these activities the previous week. In exhibiting role modeling, the quality of sport experience was also an important factor (Brustad, 1993, 1996; Dempsey et al., 1993; Fredricks & Eccles, 2004). However, the data of the study make it impossible to know this qualitative aspect of their experience. It would be useful to catch more specific aspects of group differences by including such a factor as the intensity of sport and participants' affection during their participation.

Second, there appeared to be overlap of the meaning of participation between organized sport activities and individual fitness activities. Respondents might struggle to distinguish fitness activities from organized sport participation. This ambiguity might be more prevalent for Korean immigrant and Korean parents because they hold a different meaning of sport to American parents. The meaning of sport for Korean immigrant and Korean parents originated from the concept of physical education (Hardman, 2008). American parents interpreted, however, the meaning of sport toward more recreational, competitive themes (Kellet, 2002; Stewart & Lacassagne, 2005). Although the study clearly asked them their participation in "organized sport," it could not control how the cultural models viewed differently the meaning of sport.

Third, the study included parents who answered they participated in no activity. The percentages of answering zero to three modeling activities ranged from 23% to 57% for American parents, from 37% to 64% for Korean immigrant parents, and from 37% to 59% for Korean parents. The wide range of no participation for all the parent groups

might cause a homogenous character of the modeling role. However, this study interpreted no engagement as also being an indicator of parents' influence on children's sport participation.

Still, there are on-going debates about the effect of parents' role modeling on children's sport participation. Most studies using more objective assessment, such as electronic monitoring devices, have indicated substantial relationships between parents' role modeling and children's sport outcomes (e.g., Freedson & Evenson, 1991; Moore et al., 1991). A number of studies have, however, suggested inconsistent results, especially when they adopted parents' self-report methods or children's report on their perceived level of parents' role behaviors (e.g., Babkes & Weiss, 1999; Dempsey et al., 1993). For example, Babkes and Weiss (1999) suggested that children's reports on their parents were related to their own outcomes. Parents' self-reports, however, did not relate to their children's sport outcomes.

According to Bandura (1977, 2001), children's learning from role model is more likely to happen when several conditions are satisfied. To make a child fully learn a role's behavior, the child should pay attention to the occurrence. The child also should remember the details of the observed occurrence so that he or she can reproduce it. Finally, the child should have a motivation to do so. Several studies have examined the relationships between children's outcomes and role modeling without considering if those conditions were met. To examine such relationships, further studies need to reflect these conditions.

Another possible reason for why there exists no difference of parents' role modeling is the homogeneous characteristics of samples across different contexts. Since the samples were recruited from the middle-upper class of each nation, their lifestyle was more inclined to engaging in sport and/or fitness activities. In fact, unexpectedly, the

observed means of modeling activities for Korean immigrant parents were greater than those of American parents. Given that half of the Korean immigrant samples were graduate degree holders (51.6%), this claim is more supported. A number of studies suggested that sport participants are generally characterized as possessing higher income and education (e.g., Cerin, Leslie, Sugiyama, & Owen, 2010; Walters, Barr-Anderson, Wall, & Neumark-Sztainer, 2009).

Practical implication for sport organizations

Parents' modeling is a powerful mechanism for affecting children's behaviors. However, to make this happen, several conditions need to be met and sport organizations should focus on creating these conditions. First, sport organizations need to provide programs in which parents and children can play a sport together. In these programs, children get to witness their parents being playful and having fun, creating pleasant and unforgettable memories. For example, coaching children is an opportunity for parents to learn about how to help children's sport and practice their lessons with their children. Second, sport organizations should be aware of that a crucial factor, though not sufficient on its own, to motivate children to emulate their parents' behavior. Based on this, sport organization can create just-for-fun events where children find any artifacts related to parents' sport participation or make a movie about their parents' sport. These family-oriented activities will turn children's attention more to their parents' sport participation. Ultimately, it will stimulate them to do as their parents do.

The fact that no significant differences in parents' modeling existed among three groups suggest that sport organizations not need try to customize programs according to ethnic characteristics. However, family-oriented events can be more effective for immigrant families who are likely to perceive such events as new experiences of immigration.

THE EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION ON IMMIGRANT PARENTS

Each group's differences can be explained by the theory of acculturation. Korean immigrant parents may be a part of an acculturation process where they have to deal with psychological and cultural change. Such change is a multi-aspect product from picking up new items from their newfound environment and holding on to their original culture (e.g., Chao, 2001; Farver & Lee-Shin, 2000; Farver et al., 1995; Nguyen et al., 1999). Particularly, immigrant parents' child-rearing is more susceptible according to its context (Sohn & Wang, 2006). Child-rearing in a foreign country, of course, makes them explore every resource available for them. Korean immigrant parents observed and learned several positive benefits of children's sport participation. In particular, they saw American sport-friendly environments as an opportunity to maximize their children's various developmental outcomes (cf. Roer-Strier, Strier, Este, Shimoni, & Clark, 2005). As a result, they were more likely to interpret children's sport activities positively and provide various resources for children's participation in sport.

The effect of acculturation is also supported by the results that showed parents' different encouragement of children's recreational and competitive sports participation. The observed mean of parents' encouraging behaviors for children's recreational sport was largest for Korean immigrant parents ($M = 5.42$, $SD = 1.12$), notwithstanding any significant difference with American parents ($M = 5.30$, $SD = 1.35$). However, both groups differed significantly from Korean parents ($p < 0.01$). The same pattern was observed for encouraging competitive sport. American parents encouraged most their children's competitive sport participation ($M = 4.39$, $SD = 1.62$). Korean immigrant parents followed at no significant difference ($M = 4.28$, $SD = 1.42$). The parents in Korea, however, were significantly lower ($p = .05$). Koreans rarely encourage the value of being competitive (cf. Green, 1997) and this is especially true when it comes to being

competitive in children's activities. American parents, though, valued the sense of competition their children would gain from sport participation (e.g., Kremer-Sadlik & Kim, 2007; Wiersma & Fifer, 2008). Given patterns of Korean immigrant parents account well for the effect of acculturation on their bicultural characters of parenting children's sport.

Nonetheless, the Korean immigrant parents' experience and quality of acculturation should be explored further. Although several studies have suggested different dimensions of acculturation process, the theory of acculturation still needs to be tested more across different contexts and populations (Barry, 2001; Lee et al., 2003; Padilla & Perez, 2003). The results of this study supported this claim by suggesting inconsistent relationships between various aspects of acculturation and parents' three supportive roles for children's sport. For example, it was found that Korean immigrant parents' length of stay in the U.S. was negatively and barely related to their interpreting role ($r = -.06$). Neither was much relationship shown regarding their role of providing role ($r = .06$). Little relationship was found with modeling as well ($r = .02$). These results stand in opposition to the assumption of uni-dimensional theory of acculturation. This assumption holds that the longer immigrants stay in a host society the greater they are acculturated into it (Suinn, Rikard-Figueroa, Lew, & Vigil, 1987).

Of the multi-dimensional aspects of acculturation, assimilation of acculturation in fact showed positive relationships with all three roles—interpreting ($r = .11$), providing ($r = .17$), and modeling ($r = .19$). Integration of acculturation showed the same with the three roles ($r = .23$, $.20$, and $.13$). The dimensions of marginalization and separation in acculturation presented negative influences on these three roles. All the magnitudes of both dimensions on these roles were slight, less than $.2$. It is hard to describe how immigrants adapt to new environments because they become acculturated by mixing their

individual traits with surrounding contexts. Given this, further research should be done to know how Korean immigrant parents support—through interacting with their contexts—their children’s sport.

LIMITATIONS

While the study successfully suggested how parents’ sport parenting differed according to cultural model and revealed the effect of acculturation on the sporting parenting of Korean immigrant parents, several considerations must bear on the interpreting of the results.

First, the study collected data from only parents. Since socialization is a bidirectional process, further research should include the influences of children on parents in order to reflect more exact cultural dynamics on sport parenting. Second, the study purposively selected middle-upper class family at every sample of group. Given the main purpose of detecting the difference of parents’ practices for children’s sport, the study had to choose the parents who could afford to implement their goal for children’s sport participation. Many other studies on parents’ socialization of children’s sport selected, for the same reason, very similar samples (e.g., Babkes & Weiss, 1999; Brustad, 1992; Fredricks & Eccles, 2005; Green, 1997; Green & Chalip, 1997). Further research should include more diverse samples in terms of socio-economic status and resources. Third, the study implemented various techniques to minimize cultural variations that existed inherently between different cultural models across two nations. Even though such various methodological methods as scenario and expert validation were applied, the results of the study might not present, on the designed variables, pure cultural differences. Fourth, only a few Korean studies have sought to understand how Korean parents support children’s sport participation. The focus of these studies have more to do with children’s

developmental outcomes from sport participation (Yoo, 2007). Hence, the absence of counterpart studies using parents' three role mechanisms represents a limitation insofar as the results of the study in Korean youth sport context cannot be so validated.

Lastly, the study limited the sample to parents who had at least one child in a sport program. Moreover, to secure the least parents' influence on education, the children's age had to be between 5 and 10. However, parents' socialization was also affected by various factors such as neighborhood, media, peer, and spouse as well as various tangible and intangible assets of society. The design of the study didn't reflect these potential factors.

CONCLUSION

This study contributed to sport management by finding the difference, according to cultural model, of parents' influences on their children's sport participation. Parents' influences were examined by three mechanisms—parents as interpreter, provider, and model. The results suggested some similarities and differences of parents' practicing these roles among American, Korean immigrant, and Korean parents.

Each role showed its own pattern of difference by cultural model. Regarding the interpreting role, American parents and Korean immigrant parents were the same whereas these groups were significantly greater than Korean parents. Specifically, parents' encouragement differed according to their cultural model; however, parents' competence of children's sport was the same regardless. Korean parents' values for children's sport were found to be lower than those of American and Korean immigrant parents.

Parents' providing role was found to differ between American parents and Korean immigrant parents. Parents in Korea were significantly lower than the other two groups. Providing transportation and physical labor to make children's sport happen

differed according to cultural model. Korean immigrant parents and American parents were the same in terms of financial support, while Korean parents were significantly lower. Additionally, no significant difference was found for all the parents on role modeling.

Korean immigrant parents were more likely to have styles of sport parenting similar to those of American parents. This result may be explained by the theory of acculturation. The dimensions of assimilation and integration were positively related to parents' three roles. Separation and marginalization were negatively linked. Although assimilation was significantly related only to the providing role, integration significantly interacted with providing and interpreting roles. That is, Korean immigrant parents learned and accepted new sport parenting models from members of mainstream society, yet hung on to their traditional one for sport parenting. An emerging necessity of further research was raised to understand deeper aspects of Korean immigrant parents' sport parenting. To know the dynamics of their sport parenting, it was necessary to know how they shaped their support for children's sport according to their contexts.

Chapter 3: Exploring Interactions of Korean Immigrant Parents with Contextual Factors in Supporting Children's Sport Programs

LITERATURE REVIEW

On a daily basis, parents shape various strategies to handle their children's activities. Parents formulate these strategies by interacting with surrounding contexts. That is, their parenting model and related practices are reflected by their interactions with the structural and contextual factors (Kotchick & Forehand, 2002; Seginer, 2006). Immigrant parents are often asked to adjust their ways of parenting while they interact with unfamiliar and strange contexts. Their involvement and practices are often regarded as different from traditional ways of parenting, usually defined by middle-class culture and norms (Lopez, 2001). The fact that immigrant children attend school, for example, compels their parents to learn and practice emerging tasks such as volunteering at school, for fundraising functions, and/or attending parents' meeting. Such behaviors are shaped by both external and internal influences and the negotiation of both forces (Lee, 2005). Thus, an understanding of how the surrounding context affects immigrant parents and how the parents respond to those influences sheds light on immigrants' parenting for children's sport participation.

PARENTING: AN ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Ecological theory suggests that human development and human behaviors are the materialization of interactions between a person and surrounding contexts (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1979, 1995). Bronfenbrenner (1979) proposed a model in which a child develops in a context analogue to concentric circles. In this ecological perspective, a child develops through adaptations to various circumstances, given his or her biological constraints. This theoretical perspective mostly came from the groundwork of Vygotsky

(1978, 1986). Vygotsky argued that children's learning should be understood in and from their socio-historical background and surrounding environments (cf. Piaget, 1952). In this view, a child's learning and development is achieved through the substantial aid of surrounding social agents and social-cultural processes. Based on this, Bronfenbrenner suggested four aspects of ecology: microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem. Bronfenbrenner (1977) described a microsystem as:

the complex of relations between the developing person and environment in an immediate setting containing that person (e.g., home, school, workplace, etc.). A setting is defined as a place with particular physical features in which the participants engage in particular activities in particular roles (e.g., daughter, parent, teacher, employee, etc.) for particular periods of time. The factors of place, time, physical features, activity, participant, and role constitute the elements of a setting. (p. 514)

A microsystem refers to the developing person's immediate experiences in a particular small setting such as family, school, peer group, or community. One's development is affected not only by one's relationships with others in such settings but also by interactions among participants of the particular context.

Bronfenbrenner (1977) said that a mesosystem:

comprises the interrelations among major settings containing the developing person at a particular point in his or her life. Thus, for an American 12-year-old, the mesosystem typically encompasses interactions among family, school, and peer group; for some children, it might also include church, camp, or workplace, although the last would be less common in the United States than in some other societies. In sum, stated succinctly, a mesosystem is a system of microsystems. (p. 515)

A mesosystem suggests that any one setting (e.g., home) interacts with others (e.g., school or community). In such relations, communication between contexts and information in each context concerning another are important. Also, ecological transitions are significant when people are exposed to new roles or settings. The more qualitative

relations between microsystems that developing persons have, the greater impact those relations have on their outcomes.

Brofenbrenner (1977) described exosystem as:

an extension of the mesosystem embracing other specific social structures, both formal and informal, that do not themselves contain the developing person but impinge upon or encompass the immediate settings in which that person is found, and thereby influence, delimit, or even determine what goes on there. These structures include the major institutions of the society, both deliberately structured and spontaneously evolving, as they operate at a concrete local level. They compass, among other structures, the world of work, the neighborhood, the mass media, agencies of government (local, state, and national), the distribution of goods and services, communication and transportation facilities, and informal social networks. (p. 515)

An exosystem is the setting in which the developing person does not actually participate but affects the person in one of their microsystems. For example, the impact of parents' child-rearing on children is influenced by such indirect factors as parents' work schedule, the help of friends and family, the quality of health and social services, and neighborhood safety.

Brofenbrenner (1977) explained that a macrosystem refers:

to the overarching institutional patterns of the culture or subculture, such as the economic, social, educational, legal, and political systems, of which micro-, meso-, and exosystems are the concrete manifestations. Macrosystems are conceived and examined not only in structural terms but as carriers of information and ideology that, both explicitly and implicitly, endow meaning and motivation to particular agencies, social networks, roles, activities, and their interrelations. (p. 515)

A macrosystem is the society and subculture to which the developing person belongs. It is viewed as consisting of certain patterns or a set of instructions for exosystems, mesosystems, and microsystems. From this perspective, examples include social class, ethnicity, religion, culture, or other types of broader social structures. All four ecologies are described in Figure 1.

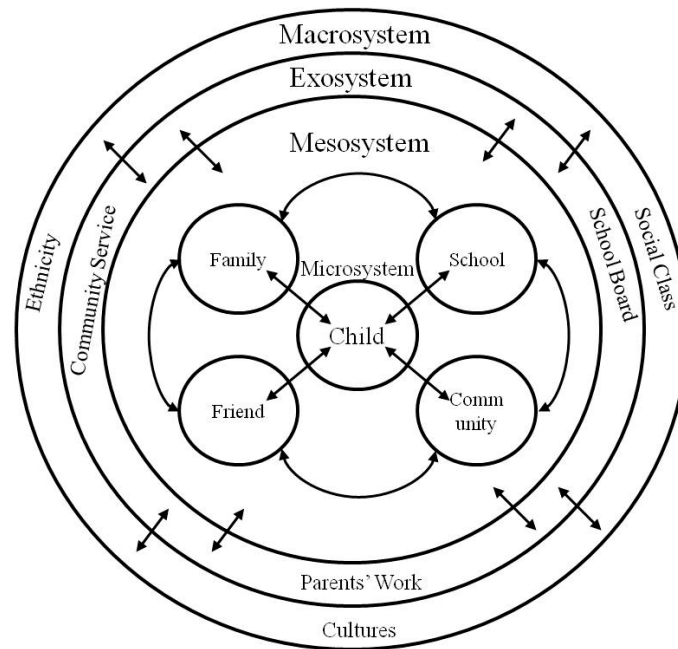


Figure 1: Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Model

LINKING ECOLOGICAL MODELS TO SPORT PARENTING

Bronfenbrenner's ecological models correspond to the analysis of parental involvement at multiple contexts. Those parental practices that occur daily are embedded in multiple contexts such as children's school, parents' social networks, workplace, neighborhoods, community, policy, and sociocultural beliefs (Garbarino, Bradshaw, & Kostelny, 2005; Kotchick & Forehand, 2002; Seginer, 2006; Super & Harkness, 1999). The perspective of microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem and macrosystem allow researchers to analyze parenting in those settings. The previous study (in this dissertation) looked at the influences of parents on their children's sport mostly involved microsystems, so the study focuses on sport parenting not only at microsystem but at meso-, exo- and macrosystem.

While the ecological model has been widely adopted by parenting studies, very little information exists for sport parenting from the perspective of the ecological model.

Holt, Tamminen, Black, Sehn, and Wall (2008) examined parents' verbal reactions to their children's athletic performance. Using Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory (1979, 1995), the study revealed reciprocal relationships between parents and surrounding context of children's sport. Parents were influenced by the social context but they also affected the social context. However, the study mostly focused on relationships between parents and their children's team performance, revealing only how the parents interacted with immediate environments. Strachan, Côté, and Deakin (2009) also employed ecological theory to study Bronfenbrenner's developmental assets in youth sport context. To study the relationships between children's sport participation and positive development through it, their study applied developmental processes, personal characteristics, contextual factors, and time elements. Still, the study's main focus hovered over interpersonal relations in finding several conditions to make positive development of children through sport participation.

Lee (2005) argued that structural and cultural barriers account for immigrant parents' low participation in school. Actually, this requires immigrant parents to take their own strategies for children's activities including sport participation. Despite its importance, researchers have seldom explored the topic of how immigrant parents interact with family, school, community, social values, or existing policy. Understanding this interaction is important because it reveals how they implement their resources (as distinguished from those of mainstream society) for children's sport participation.

IMMIGRANT PARENTS IN YOUTH SPORT

A number of studies have found what patterns immigrant parents present in interacting with surrounding components and what underlying factors explain for such behaviors, particularly in their children's school activities (e.g., Lee, 2005; McClelland & Chen, 1997).

Rearing a child participating in sport programs might be a demanding task for immigrant parents with little sport experience themselves as youngsters or who struggle to make use of every resource go to supporting their children. In children's sport programs, they voluntarily or involuntarily interact with other parents, coaches, sport organizations, and even social norms and values of embedded society. In such interactions, the way they implement their resources is widely different from those of parents in a mainstream society.

Helping their children participate in sport programs puts them into a place where they encounter more cultural and structural barriers than they would in other fields. In spite of these obstacles, the number of children of immigrant families is ever growing and those occurrences are being observed in various sports and at different skill levels. For example, recent dominant success of Korean LPGA golfers well explains such outgrowth of the population in sport (Shedloski, 2012; Shin & Nam, 2004). There have been a number of studies that dealt with parents' devotions for children's academic activities and explored how those dynamics were shaped (e.g., Kao, 2004; Kim, 2011; Zhou & Kim, 2006). However, the same doesn't apply for children's sport participation. We are uncertain about the way they, as an immigrant, interact with surrounding components in helping their children's sport participation. Specifically, not only by focusing on their supports in micro aspects but by focusing on their interactions with broad contexts would reveal how immigrant parents make their environments useful for supporting their children's sport. It would fill the gap of previous literatures so that we can set up appropriate strategies through which the families are fully engaged in youth sport.

RESEARCH CONTEXT

While strong ethnic attachment and ethnic lifestyles are common for Korean groups in the U.S., each community presents its own peculiar characteristics formed by the surrounding environment. For example, in terms of practicing ethnic lifestyles and acculturating into a mainstream society, Koreans residing in Silicon Valley are quite different from those living in Koreatown, Manhattan. Thus, it is important to understand the regional character of the Korean community where the in-depth interviews were conducted.

The interviewees were mainly recruited from two different Korean communities in Texas. For the parents of children participating in recreational sport programs, parents living in Austin, Texas were selected. The Korean parents who supported their children's elite sport programs were recruited from Austin as well as Dallas, Texas. Dallas and the greater Dallas are bigger than Austin in terms of city size and population and its infrastructure. This also applies to Korean communities. In 2007, the population of Korean immigrants in the Dallas areas was about 25,000, the largest Korean community in Texas and the second, following Atlanta, GA, in America's South (Rincón, 2009). They are spread around suburban areas around Dallas and Fort Worth such as Carrollton, Plano, Richardson, and Irving. Two Korean towns provide a wide range of ethnic businesses from grocery markets to medical and legal services so that Koreans can maintain their daily life as they did in their home country. Also, six Korean ethnic schools help children's education and seemingly uncountable Korean churches serve the Korean immigrant communities. From this substantial size of ethnic population in Dallas and the greater Dallas, the study was easily able to find the parents who were supporting their children's elite sport participation. On the contrary, it was somewhat difficult to find the ethnic families of youth elite sport at Austin.

Thanks to the robustness of the high tech industry in Austin, the city is one of the fastest growing regions in America. Since one globally known Korean company built a semiconductor factory in Austin, the city's Korean immigrant population has grown rapidly. According to Kasturi (2010), the Korean population of the greater Austin areas was estimated to be around 10,000. A number of Korean subcontractors working with the company have been moving to Austin. Such growth is reflected by growth in the ethnic economy, such as more grocery stores, restaurants, houses, education, and even churches. Additionally, the state-representative university has a sizable population of Korean students. This makes ethnic economy keep growing.

Even though regional characteristics and living conditions are not exactly the same between two different cities, the study context were almost similar each other. According to Min and Bozorgmehr (2000), the size of ethnic economy is a crucial determinant to shape immigrant group's lifestyles. Employing the researcher's deep understanding of the study context through his own immigrant experiences and parenthood, it was found that well-established ethnic infrastructures in the two Texas cities provide Korean immigrants with similar ethnic lifestyles and interactions with surrounding factors.

In addition, it was assumed the patterns of parents' interactions might be different by sport itself (i.e. individual sports vs. team sports) and the level of sport (i.e., recreational sports vs. elite sports). Having interviewees from two different cities allowed the study to be able to cover a number of different sports at various levels in identifying how the parents interact with their own given environments. Thus from a total of 12 families, the study interviewed nine parents involved with recreational sports and eight parents involved with elite sports. Their children participated in six different sports. The majority of families had two children, though two families were rearing three children

and three families were rearing a single child. Among 23 children, fifteen were boys and eight were girls. Eight children (six girls and two boys) didn't participate in any sport program. The average age for the children was 13. Sport participants' average age was 12.9, the same as the overall average age. These study contexts, although each was from different regions, found to be appropriate for the purpose of the study. Interviewees' pseudonyms and the sport their children were engaged in are presented in Table 6.

	Pseudonyms	Children's Primary Sport
1	Do-hyun (father) / Min-joo (mother)	Recreational Basketball & Soccer
2	Dong-soo (father) / Jin-joo (mother)	Recreational Soccer
3	Seo-wook (father)	Recreational Soccer
4	Dong-young (father) / Ye-jin (mother)	Elite Fencing
5	Jun-sik (father)	Recreational Basketball & Soccer
6	Tae-gi (father)	Recreational Soccer
7	Jae-pil (father)	Elite Golf
8	Han-gil (father) / Sun-mi (mother)	Elite Volleyball
9	Ji-soo (mother)	School Soccer
10	Kyung-a (mother)	School Basketball & Football
11	Tae-kyung (father) / Se-ran (mother)	Elite Golf
12	Woo-sung (father)	Elite Golf

Table 6. Interviewees' Name and Children's Sport

INTERVIEWS

The sampling frame for the interview was formed by Korean immigrant parents whose children were participating in either elite or recreational sport programs. Using the researcher's ethnic networking, initial participants were contacted regardless of the gender. Mother and father were encouraged to participate in the interview together but it rarely happened. They did not feel each parent's role would be widely different within the family and/or either found no time to do the interview because of their job or daily child-rearing. Then each participant was asked to introduce other parents who have young children participating in youth sport programs. Finally, the participants consisted

of a total of 17 parents from 12 families. With five of the families, the mother and father were interviewed together. The average age of the parents was 43 and the annual income was around \$116,000 (only for eight houses). Four families provided no annual income data. Thirteen parents were green card holders; the other three were awaiting their green cards. One father changed his status from green card to citizenship. Their average length of stay was 12 years, ranging from 4 to 25. Most fathers had professional careers such as that of professor or IT engineer; five of them ran their own businesses. Although all the mothers were housewives, some of them helped with family businesses.

In-depth interviews typically focus on relatively small samples purposively selected, suggesting the substance is not the volume of interview participants but the richness of their responses (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006). Thus, the study continued to recruit participants until new information came to a stop. Also, to draw deep, meaningful answers from the participants, the researcher spent a substantial amount of time building a rapport with the parents. For example, the researcher traveled with the parents to observe their children's game nearby town. To make them feel comfortable, the interviews were held wherever they requested them (homes, local café, restaurant, and game venues). Every interview was recorded using a digital audio device.

Using semi-structured questions, the researcher asked the parents what roles they play in supporting children's sport participation. The parents were asked about what facilitators and barriers they might have experienced in carrying out such roles. Particularly, the researcher explored how the parents interact with contextual factors such as school, community, sport organizations, and any relevant ethnic resource. The researcher also probed with several questions as needed. A big strength for in-depth interviews is the simultaneous data collection and analysis (Thorne, 2000). Give this, it is important to note that each parent was interviewed several times over the data collection

period. At every time the researcher needed further information and specific meaning as interpreting their answers, each parent was contacted via email, call, or visit. All interview questions are described in Appendix B.

DATA ANALYSIS

All interviews were transcribed verbatim. The study employed the process of content analysis because several in-depth interviews with the participants produced a volume of text data. Further, content analysis was appropriate to have subjective interpretations of text data through the systematic classification of coding and identifying themes and patterns (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008).

First, the researcher repeatedly scrutinized whole transcripts based on the categorized contexts of environments (e.g., family, school, work, sport program, system, and culture) and specific engagements and experiences they might have in fulfilling such interactions. Then, the researcher cut out all the quotes related to the themes and used them, for each interviewee, as units of analysis. The themes, subthemes per theme if available, and each related statement were presented as a produced coding list. Then a researcher's ethnic colleague, with expertise in youth sport but not a part of the study, was asked to independently code the transcript (while keeping in mind the established code list). The coder ranked every quote from 1 (*don't agree at all*) to 3 (*strongly agree*). Cohen's kappa coefficient was secured to check both coders' agreement ($\kappa = .37$). Although the magnitude was not great, it was fair enough to suggest agreement (Fleiss, 1981). The calculated percentage of agreement between the two coders was 100.0% for the following: theme of family, 82.4% for the theme of community and neighborhood, 60.0% for the theme of school, 76.5% for the theme of sport organizations, 100.0% for the theme of work, 75.0% for the theme of policy and system, and 69.2% for the theme of cultures and values. The total calculated percentage of agreement was 78.5%. While both

coders retained all they agreed on, the text in question was reviewed until both had reached a consensus on whether it held a sense of the themes. Seventeen quotes were removed from 93.

Finally, another ethnic scholar, not involved in the study, served as an external reviewer to perform random coding that matched each quote with the given themes. This resulted in a 78.5% match with the final results of the previous step. The final list yielded achieved credibility on the basis of comparing and synthesizing three code lists.

One way to gain validity in a qualitative study is to conduct experts' and interview participants' checking (Golafshani, 2003; Jehn & Doucet, 1997). The experts and a few participating parents were asked to check if each statement belongs to the themes. Each of them marked every statement as either belonging (i.e., 1) or not belonging (i.e., 0) to the relevant themes. Intercoder reliability values were achieved through the online intercoder reliability software called 'ReCall 3' (Freelon, 2010) which is appropriate for calculating the agreement among multiple coders. The average percentage of agreement for two participants was 79.6%, which was greater than 74.9% of three experts. All external reviewers' averaged agreement was 75.9%. Those values indicated the transferability of the study's results.

RESULTS

Parents' support for youth sport is manifested in a number of practices. These range from their beliefs about and expectations of their children's sport participation to the trouble they go to, in all sorts of situations, to continue and advance children's involvement in sport. To be able to do this successfully, parents must interact with their surrounding environments such as family, school, sport organizations, community, neighborhood; they must also have a grasp of the local culture and social values. The way

they interacted with such contextual factors has been analyzed in terms of family ecological perspectives (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1979, 1995; Fleury & Lee, 2006; Lohrmann, 2010; Tudge, 2008). Hence, this study aimed to understand the interactions of Korean immigrant parents with their environment and to apprehend how these interactions affected their roles in children's sport.

FAMILY

Centering on a child participating in either elite or recreational sports, mothers and fathers were required to vigorously interact with each other on a daily basis. In every situation they encountered, they needed to talk things over before making a final decision. This was particularly so when they encountered unexpected situations or when they needed to maintain their children's momentum upward. For example, one couple with one child at the elite level described their interactions with one another to motivate their exhausted, ready-to-quit children:

We adjust to what each has in mind with the other. We do that a lot. You know we must do that. Through long conversation, we reach the point where we all agree. Sometimes children suddenly go down in their sport and they can keep struggling with that. In such situation, we first need to agree on how to encourage children. Unless we are on board with the same idea, children usually get confused. This is critical, especially for such important things as choosing a college for athletic scholarship. This is only one piece about how I and my wife interact each other for children's sport. [Han-gil and Sun-mi]

For parents who have elite performers and those who have recreational participants, the perceived pressure was presented differently. Nevertheless, logistical support (providing transportation for a daily practice or a tournament trip) usually involved a great deal of interactions within the family. Unused to America's dependence on cars, the mother and father had to work out providing transportation for their children. It would sometimes turn out to be a challenge when the team traveled out of state. In such cases, the fathers usually chauffeured the children while the mothers maintained their

family business and took care of the other children at home. Deciding who's going to stay on-site also brought lots of interactions especially when there were other children besides the sport participant. One father, whose child played elite golf, described such interactions:

I always go see his tournament because I know his swing. It's not every time but I always try to stay with him even during his daily practices. My wife thinks her support for him is to maintain our business when I am away. We've talked about this a lot. My wife really wants to see him playing golf because he's very good at it. Anyway, we cannot attend his tournament together because we open our business everyday. One of us should be there. She knew it would be better for him if I went together because I know how to play golf. [Jae-pil]

Determining strategies to handle a child's sport participation was a family matter where mother and father were required to both be involved. However, there was an obvious role distinction by gender in terms of operations of such strategies. One mother, whose son participated at an elite level in fencing, explained this aspect:

I give him rides to his practices and stay there until he finishes. However, as far as attending games, my husband travels with him because I cannot keep a poker face. I know I became so emotional while watching him. My son really doesn't like it. That's the nature of a woman. My husband is really good at pretending to stay cool even though he's about to go crazy when my child loses a match. After making a few mistakes, we decided our proper roles for this. This goes for other things as well. [Ye-jin]

Regarding parents' gender role, one mother, a former Olympic gold medalist in Tae-Kwon-Do, explained how she helps her daughter golf. Her daughter was a nationally known player:

I don't attend her game. Of course, I really want to but I knew it won't help her. Since I still feel like an athlete, I cannot advise her with an impartial attitude. I'm sure I would coach her. I know it would ruin her entire game. This is particularly true for such a mental sport as golf. Although my husband was also an athlete, he is very good at helping her. As my daughter entered puberty, I and my husband felt that we had to let her know girls' things so that she can prepare for the game. Of course, my husband didn't want to talk about that to her. You know. I gave her

some useful tips about how she can focus on a game while dealing with a certain physiological condition such as period. [Se-ran]

These gender-based roles differed according to whether one's child was at an elite program. Even though the roles they fulfilled looked so different based on the parents' gender, all the parents of elite sport performers asserted that their roles were not differentiated by gender. However, parents of recreational participants felt their roles differed obviously by gender. The fathers were more likely to position themselves mainly as the financial provider while the mothers tended to limit themselves to being the daily coordinator.

COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

In supporting children's sport participation, Korean immigrant parents were exposed to various interactions with the community and neighborhood, which included Korean ethnic elements but also plenty of American ones. The American interactions were substantial, but those Korean ones were long-lasting and involved deep trust. The Korean mothers' and fathers' interactions showed different patterns.

Korean immigrant parents were motivated by seeing how American parents spent so much time helping with children's practices. This was particularly true for the fathers. They began coaching or helping with children's practices, despite feeling they had no time to do so. One father whose child was in a local recreational soccer program said:

I often see American fathers provide huge support for children's sport activities. They are good at helping their children practice sport. In my apartment complex, one American father catches his daughter's pitching every afternoon. I think he is doing that right after coming back home. Almost every day when I come back from my job, I see and hear them playing together. I have such passion in my mind but it's hard to do. Anyway, it really caused me to help my children practice soccer. I am now enjoying it although I always feel it's not enough. [Seo-wook]

These proximal interactions are connected to exploring local sport infrastructures such as sport facilities and youth sport programs. They sought out what kinds of sport

facilities were available in their community. By doing so, they got to know their community. It caused them to initiate other interactions. The father of a son participating in a recreational basketball league described this: “I found American sport infrastructure is very well established. The U.S. has many more soccer fields and basketball courts. This really stimulates me to help with my child’s sport practice” (Jun-sik).

As for the Korean mothers, they mainly interacted with other Korean parents to support their children’s sport. They sought and verified, among their fellow ethnic mothers, information for children’s sport participation. They looked for places with good reputations. Although all the information they looked for was available on various websites, the Korean mothers resorted to peer checking and word-of-mouth from the ethnic community. One Korean mother whose son participated in several recreational sport programs such as basketball and soccer described such interactions:

I’ve heard of many stories about American moms who are crazy about their children’s sport. One of my friends told me how one American mom berated a referee at children’s soccer game. I can’t even imagine how I would be able to do the same. It sometimes makes me feel bad and sorry for my child. So I focus more on where good sport programs are. I have a close friend who is very knowledgeable about such things. She often brings good information from somewhere and likes to share it with other Korean mothers. From my experience, her information has always been correct. I know how I can get such information since I’ve been here for 10 years. But I always like to double check with the Korean community. They are the most reliable source for me as they are for most other Koreans. [Min-joo]

As expected, Korean parents’ ethnic dependence was more prevalent at the beginning of their immigration. One father remembered how he sought out such information for his son: “I just followed my Korean church friends’ directions. They told me T-ball might be good for my children. We just did it, not even knowing what T-ball was” (Do-hyun).

SCHOOL

Regarding children's sport, the Korean immigrant parents' interactions with their children's schools rarely came up through entire interviews. Regarding sport participation, the parents talked about how much busier and busier their children became as they engaged in both school work and sport activities. They described how they experienced a conflict between children's involvement in sport programs and the amount and quality level of children's academic works. Regarding this conflict, one mother with several elite volleyball players said, "I believe we are fine now. But we know of many Korean families who stopped their children's sport activities because of their studies" (Sun-mi). Seeing their children challenged by two tasks, the parents helped their children balance them by letting them to come up with their own solutions. If needed, they intervened in children's interests. One mother whose sons played in a school soccer program at their high school said:

Unfortunately, they are not free and relaxed anymore. It's not as much as it used to be. Now they have a limited time to practice and play soccer. They are the ones who know such issues exactly. They are taking several advanced classes this semester and told us several times their focus was changing to academics, only a little though. We have not taken any direct action whenever we hear such a story. Rather, we just tell them, "You need to learn how to balance them." [Ji-soo]

It was found that Korean parents' lack of interaction with the school was related to whether their children participated in a local sport club or school sport. This study found that the salient type of children's sport for the Korean immigrant families were local sport clubs and leagues. In fact, only four children from two families participated in school sport teams such as soccer, basketball, and football. The parents of these children also thought there was nothing, regarding children's sport, to cause them to interact with the school. The mother above explained, "I might be wrong. Participation in school's

soccer team is just seasonal thing. It does not make much interaction with school” (Ji-soo).

A conflict between children’s club sport participation and their school sport participation was usually prevalent for recreational participants, though this did not necessarily mean elite performers were exceptions. There might be a number of different factors that affected such occurrences. In this interview, peer influences in children’s school were found to be greater than any other component. Another factor was the availability of different sports by season. In both cases, it was hard to see consistent connection between participating on school team and participating on a club’s team. The father of the fencing athlete explained:

You know he has very limited time. It’s normal for his age. He needs to handle many things between school and sport. One day he suddenly told us he wanted to join the school’s lacrosse team because one of his buddies played on the team. Of course, his involvement and passion for fencing was declining. I could see fencing was no longer his priority. We didn’t ask him anything about this. We knew it comes and goes all the time. I think this served as a good example of how his main sport was affected by other sports. I am not sure, but I didn’t really see anything that would make me interact with a child’s school on this matter. [Dong-young]

Korean parents commonly interacted little with their children’s schools. In fact, a number of studies have already pointed out that little connection exists among family, school, and sport organization for children’s sport experience and quality (e.g., Acker et al., 2011; Eime & Payne, 2009). This might be particularly true for the Korean immigrant parents because they simply didn’t know the merging point into which school and regional sport clubs would incorporate. The same might also go to American parents. Given this, the Korean immigrant parents did not know how to exploit the school’s resources for children’s sport participation and did not even know of the existence of such resources.

SPORT ORGANIZATIONS

Korean immigrant parents interacted a great deal more with coaches and other parents of the team. These interactions were their most salient, so they were more forthcoming about those experiences. For them, the most significant point of contact with a sport organization was clearly the coach. The coach was vital, especially when the family had just joined a team and had little information about it or the sport. Additionally, the coach played a role through which the family was able to continue their children's sport involvement. One father whose daughter had participated in Junior Olympic volleyball said:

When we joined the local volleyball club, I had no idea about the sport system and all the things considered. All I did was just register my daughter for the program. It was so fortune for us to meet such a nice coach. He provided us lots of information regarding how the club was managed, what different levels of league the club provided, what other local leagues we might move to, and so forth. His information was so useful because it was not only about volleyball but also about how we could support her participation generally. Later, he arranged try-outs for the Junior Olympics. [Han-gil]

Of course, not all their interactions with coaches were satisfactory. Some complained about a coach's decisions, calling them unfair. Some decisions they saw as a light form of discrimination, but these reactions mostly originated from lacking a close relationship with the coach. Whenever they experienced such unfair situations, they wished to become a strong and active parent for their children's team and sport organization. One mother, whose sons play in several local leagues, said:

It might be invisible to other parents but I can surely see my children suffering from the coach's unfairly picking players. I often saw a coach give some benefit to the player whose parents were close to him. Also, I can't understand why coach's children always take a key position even though other children are better than them. Every time I saw such things, I always blame myself. I need to get more involved with the team. Then my child will get some benefits. [Kyung-a]

One Korean instructor at a local sport club was a strong asset to his community, facilitating families' getting into a sport quickly and smoothly. Because of their coaching styles, which were more disciplined than those of American coaches, the parents were fully motivated to try new sport for their children. Also, the parents were satisfied with ethnic resources and networks that the coach brought in for children's sport. It is not a usual thing to have a coach of one's ethnicity in the Koreans' immigration context. However, the parents thought such an occurrence was a chance they had to take in their parenting. As a result, the Korean coach catalyzed parents to join a new sport and club. One father whose child participated in fencing had this to say:

I never thought that my son would fence. I knew what it was but I was certainly not interested in it. It suddenly came to us. One day, I found out about a Korean coach at the local fencing club. I was wondering that if my child joined the club, would the coach be able to give him a quality lesson. I assumed the coach might be motivated to teach another Korean at his club. Fortunately, I was right. He suggested that we let my child stay and practice fencing in South Korea over the summer vacation. He arranged for everything including practices at his university and a number of games. We thought it would be a good opportunity to improve his fencing skill as well as to learn Korean culture. We were so surprised to see how much his fencing improved after the trip. [Dong-young]

Children's sport club or game venue was the place where the Korean parents interacted with other American parents. Sport organization was an exclusive opportunity for the parents to be able to meet the indigenous members of the community and to begin the process of acculturating to the society. Since all the parents shared a common interest in their children's sport, the Korean parents found it easier to join in conversation with other American parents. They questioned, however, the depth and quality of such interactions. The Korean parents still found them wanting. For one thing, these interactions never began until they had spent a substantial amount of time in the club. A mother who would stay for entire soccer practices said:

I intentionally avoided contacting them. I just felt had nothing in common with the other parents. Especially, I was so uncomfortable bearing myself in American cultures. You know how it is. I am now getting better and better as some relationships have begun with them. Every new season, they give me a big welcome and it's good to meet them again. But I think it's still very limited. I can imagine that is also how American parents in the club think of our family. They are sometimes more conservative than we are. [Jin-joo]

Information about children's sport was the benefit most desired from interacting with sport organizations. Learning and getting used to an American interscholastic sport system was not an easy task for them. After all, they barely had any of their own sport experience as youths and found no reliable information from ethnic community. Although close ethnic parents were useful resources, sharing their own testimonials about the children's sport program, such information usually circulated only around the recreational programs. Only a few Koreans were well aware of how a child could get athletic scholarships or find appropriate colleges that would be the best for their children's academics and sports. Thus, sport organizations were the only resource where they could gain such information. One mother whose daughter had an athletic scholarship in volleyball explained:

I was invited to "college night" hosted by the sport club. I didn't know what it was but I went to it anyway. The club also invited several coaches from a number of different colleges representing a number of sports. Each gave presentations about their program and funding opportunities available for my child. It was so useful for me at that time. They provided us very specific information on how to make children's portfolios and when their deadlines were. It was an overall information on how my child could get athletic scholarships. I didn't know that it was a matter of strategy. Since then, my husband and I have continued attending any event that is available. Now I can advise other parents if they need it. I didn't spend any extra time learning these things. I just took advantage of opportunities that the sport organizations provided us. That's the way how I interact with my children's sport organizations. [Sun-mi]

Another platform on which the parents were able to interact with sport organizations were game venues and sport organizations' website. For the Korean parents, attending children's game afforded them the chance to meet other Korean parents in the

same sport and exchange information about children's sport. Also, sport organization's websites were very useful in learning such a complicated sport system as point system or sanctioning tournaments. Since sport organizations are more likely to implement social media to enable two-way interactions, the parents began to interact in this way. One father whose daughter play golf at national level said the following:

You don't know how complicated golf tournament systems are. Finding the right tournament is a very picky process because we don't have plenty of resource and time to attend. Certain tournaments are not eligible for accelerating to upper level. I researched a lot on websites. I used to ask a number of questions at game day. Each tournament might have their local and provisional rules, so I have to learn them and let my child know about them. Other Korean parents do the same. We often meet at golf courses and share information. [Tae-kyung]

WORK

The interactions of Korean parents with their work were determined to a large extent by the type of their work. For example, Korean fathers working for big organizations, say multi-nationals or state universities, struggled to find the flexibility to support their children's sport. They often ran into conflicts when trying to adjust their schedule. Although they sometimes succeeded, the biggest obstacle blocking them from fulfilling their role was being simply too busy and under too much pressure. One father whose sons play at regional soccer programs said:

When my child's soccer games are out of town on the weekend, I feel like I should drive them to the game. It's not that far from here. However, I am now in charge of a big project so I need to go to work even on Saturday. I feel so sorry for them, especially when they wanted to relax in a family car after the game. I just dropped them off to the team bus while I am on the way to my work. I or my wife needs to be there to pick them up when they came back to town. I am always busy with work. [Tae-gi]

The parents who have a family business are relatively flexible and can adjust their work time so as to help their children participate in sports. At least one of the parents, however, has to stay and keep shop. During peak season, when both parents have to run

the business, they register their children in a sport program in which close ethnic neighbors' children also participate. One father said, "I asked my neighbors to give my children rides to the practices because both of us [parents] had to stay at work. Whenever possible, I did the same for my neighbors' children" (Jae-pil).

Regardless of the nature of their work, all the parents—particularly the fathers—agreed that it's easier to support children's sport in the U.S. than in South Korea. One father who was a strong proponent of the advantages gained from their immigration said, "At least nobody here pushes me to drink. I am free from such culture" (Do-hyun). All the interviewed fathers said they wouldn't have supported their children's sports had they been working in South Korea. Thus, whatever their actual level of support, all the parents seemed satisfied with that level. One father whose children play at recreational league said:

If I were in my home country, I know I could not do it like this. South Korea has its own way and we need to follow it as long as we live there. If I would stay there, I was more likely to work and work to support my family. Supporting children's sport should fall entirely on my wife. Although there are pros and cons, here is much better in terms of the balance between my work and children's sport. I can't complain. [Jun-sik]

POLICY AND SYSTEM

Generally, a sport's policy and system is not a tangible context with which the Korean parents physically interact. Rather, their interactions were shown as their perceptions and interpretations in taking advantage of such contextual factors.

Interacting with an existing policy and system regarding children's sport, the Korean parents thought American sport systems balanced well children's sport activities and their academics. They were more likely to give credit to academic policy in which youth athletes have to meet a minimum requirement of academic standard to participate in a game. Such a policy provided these parents peace of mind. They often saw the more

their children want to play a game the harder they engage in study to maintain their academic performance. In South Korea, young athletes are quite vulnerable to the risks of neglecting study (Ha & Mangan, 2002; Hong, 2011). Hence, the parents considered the American policy to be an opportunity in which their children could not only fully participate in sport programs but also maintain their studies. A mother and father who had children participating in several local leagues across sports explained:

We of course think very seriously about our children's school performance just as other typical Koreans do. It's something valuable that we would never give up. But we also know that once the worries begin they go on forever. One day we decided not to worry like that. We thought it was okay as long as our children could keep up with their studies. If they can't and fail to satisfy the club's minimum standards, the club won't allow them to play a game. Our children know that very well. They study as hard as they want to play a game. Our belief is sports won't affect children academics as long as such a policy exists. We are pleased to see our children pursue two things at once. [Do-hyun and Min-joo]

Also, the Korean parents see that the American sport system offers more chances for their children to choose programs from a number of different sports. They thought their interactions with such a system were very beneficial for their children especially when they are at the entry level or are struggling at an unsuitable level. One father expressed surprise to see a number of different programs for young children: "What really stunned me was that all children could join any programs no matter what their physical ability" (Tae-kyung). They saw the Korean sport system as heavily oriented to developing elite performers (Hong, 2011). They were pleased to find in America many sport programs with various levels from that of just for fun to that of serious competition. They found their children stuck with a team until they improved. If they never really fit in with a team, they could find other leagues or teams more suitable and thus continue. One mother who really liked the American sport system said:

I am pretty sure that American society looks like a sport paradise. I've been really surprised to see this system. Children can start their sport from around 4 or 5.

Their innate ability of sport is no issue in choosing sport. If a child is excellent at a certain sport, the child will move up to a varsity team. If not, the child can play on the local recreational teams and still enjoy the sport. I am a proponent of this system and environment. How good a child is at a sport is not an issue here. The whole point is the mind-set. What kinds of minds they have is important. For example, nobody says you stop the sport because you are not good at it. Instead, everybody says practice and learn the skills until your chances go up. You know, such a system and atmosphere is not something we were used to in our home country, especially in sport. [Jin-joo]

One way in which the parents interacted with policies and the system is through their children's home schooling, though this was not the norm. One family who enthusiastically supported their daughter's golf let her do home schooling; that way she could focus more on golf. Obviously, they considered the system to be a big advantage in American educational policy for children's sport participation. Home schooling is not an option in South Korea. The father of an elite golfer said:

One of the good things about the American educational system is the well-organized system where children can practice their sport with fully concentrated energy. The idea first came from my daughter. We had a long debate about how my daughter would focus on her golf career. We finally decided to have online home schools. She has been satisfied with her school so far because she really can put more energy and effort into golf. She is taking online classes after finishing her daily drills. There is no way where she neglects her studies because she must pass the test to continue with the home school. [Jae-pil]

CULTURES AND VALUES

The Korean parents interacted with American culture and its values as well as those of Korea. As immigrant parents, they adopted a parenting strategy of choosing whatever they wanted from either side (Farver & Lee-Shin, 2000; Farver et al., 1995; Li, 2001; Parmer, Harkness, & Super, 2004; Parmer et al., 2008). For their children's education, however, parents leaned more towards the American side. Supporting children's sport participation is a prime example. Free of South Korea's education fever,

they savored the comparatively stress-free education culture in America. One Korean mother, whose sons played soccer, said:

Sometimes I feel it's not easy to support children's sport. But, I feel we're lucky. Every story from South Korea is unbelievable, especially when it's about how Korean children study everyday. Korean children come home around midnight and study for one or two more hours. Then they wake up early and go to school. They're like machines rather than humans. I am getting more used to American culture. Education is important in all cultures and nations. But, I am just happy to be able to make my children participate in sport. There are also competing but it's different. [Ji-soo]

Parents, released from the grip of education fever, changed their attitudes and strategies in supporting children's activities. They were conscious of the many Asian parents pushing their children's education in the hope of getting into Harvard or the like. These parents, however, adopted new perspectives and practiced new strategies according to the cultures and values that were fresh and new to them. One father, whose children played on regional soccer team, had this to say:

I might be wrong, but immigrant parents have much higher expectations for their children than do parents in the home country. The reason is we expect them to survive in the dominant society. I sometimes feel stress whenever I realize this. I feel like I must do something for my children. Maybe that's why so many Asian parents want their children to study harder and harder. There is a joke about Jeremy Lin. One Asian father complains to their child "Why didn't you play basketball and become like Lin?" The child answers, "Because you always insisted that I become a medical doctor." I believe this joke explains who we are. Whenever I see my children playing a sport, I become sure it is a good choice for them. As long as our family lives in American society, entering those universities really doesn't matter. [Tae-gi]

The more they interacted with American cultures, parents were more likely to focus on children's life-long lessons of their sport participation. Those lessons mostly centered on such children's developmental outcomes as socialization, cooperation, experiencing failure, competition, and fairness. In their interactions with American culture, the parents came to believe that having such outcomes would do more for the

children's leadership and immigration life than would a mere high GPA or a diploma. A volleyball mother said:

They've gotten something from sport. I cannot teach. For example, at home they go into a rage about a bad ref. My child might be right. But she learned how to cope with such things. Finally, she regretted losing her composure. I think immigrant children must have a sport, any sport. When they grow up without those experiences, they are usually timid and have no place to hang out. Sports are a great help for these children. [Sun-mi]

Those parents who eagerly interacted with American values and beliefs were not the parents of recreational youth sport participants but those of elite performers. Their motto in short was "Go get your dream." They seemed to believe their children would have an equal opportunity to build a successful career in sports, even though the competition was getting tougher than ever. In fact, such faith fueled their work ethic. Visible and invisible disadvantages were mere obstacles to be overcome. They tended to accept such impediments as part of being an immigrant. Of course, the same mentality applied to children's sport. Given this, they selected positive things about the sport opportunities. One father whose son played elite golf said:

At every tournament, all children have the same chance where they can hit a long shot. Once he did it, all the galleries cheered for him. The key is not he's Asian or White. How he plays explains a lot instead. That's American society. If my child does a good job, everyone around him claps. [Woo-sung]

DISCUSSION

Currently, sport management gives scant attention to immigrant families, particularly regarding sport parenting. Yet, parenting is known to be a crucial factor in children's sport participation. A previous study found the significance of cultural models in identifying different levels of parental roles—using three mechanisms as interpreter, provider, and model—in children's sport participation. As they acculturated into the mainstream society, Korean immigrants created their own ways to support their

children's sport. Instead of holding the mechanism of parents' roles, the ecological theory was adopted to further explore this particular aspect. The theory was appropriate for delving into how Korean immigrants differed from American and Korean parents by scrutinizing their interactions with contextual factors. Sport managers and practitioners have much to learn about the interactions of immigrant parents and their contexts. Employing Bronfenbrenner's ecological paradigm (1977, 1979, 1995), this study has offered critical insight into understanding the influences of immigrant parents on children's sport participation.

In interviews, the Korean parents vividly depicted their interactions with their contexts. Parents interacted with a number of parties as part of their supporting their children's sport participation. These parties include their spouses, other parents, coaches, neighborhood and community, work, sport organizations, policies, and social and cultural values. The ecological paradigm was useful in identifying the patterns of the Korean immigrants' sport parenting as well as in getting a grasp of their strategies and practices for children's sport.

Employing Bronfenbrenner's microsystems (1977), this study confirmed a variety of interactions, among family members, that went into supporting children's sport participation. In such interactions, the Korean parents exhibited a pattern of gender-specified sport parenting similar to the results found in studies of American families (cf. Bois et al., 2005; Dixon et al., 2008; Fredricks & Eccles, 2005). For example, the fathers were more likely to take on visible roles such as coaching or co-practicing. The mothers' support was exercised behind the scenes—keeping the house going, or the family business. This pattern became explicit in their logistical support (e.g., Dixon et al., 2008; Green & Chalip, 1997; Howard & Madrigal, 1990).

The study found that the parents of recreational participants were more likely to perceive gender-role differences than were those of elite performers. It was found that how, and the degree to which, the mother and father interacted were substantially related to each role type for children's sport. Given this, we might assume that those interacting heavily with their spouse tended to take their roles to be not gender-determined but purposely given. This means the Korean parents of elite performers were willing to fulfill any role to help with their children's sport. The same cannot be said of the parents of recreational participants.

The study found the Korean parents interacted with Korean ethnic community, of course, but also the American society. The way they interacted with community, however, differed according to gender. The extent to which parents interacted with their children also differed by community. American parents, particularly fathers, served as role models for the Korean parents. Korean fathers emulated the American fathers practicing in their front yards with their children. From observing this, the Korean fathers were motivated to find sport resources and opportunities for their children. However, these observations did not necessarily lead to substantial interactions with American families.

On the other hand, the Korean mothers interacted a great deal with the ethnic community. Unfamiliar with youth sport, the mothers found the ethnic community to be the most reliable (often the only) source to hear about certain sport programs. The ethnic community was a way to get peer verification about what was available and what was worthwhile.

Unsurprisingly, the deepest interactions occurred at children's sport organizations. Children's sport organizations and game venues were the place where the parents were where the parents were able to interact with coaches and other parents. Coaches played a significant role in keeping families with the team and in the sport (Gould & Martens,

1979; Wiersma & Sherman, 2005). Particularly, the Korean coach was a sufficiently important and iconic ethnic resource to keep families involved with their children's sport. By interacting with coaches and parents and by attending events like "parents' night," Korean parents familiarized themselves with the American sport system. The question still to be explored is how sport organizations might be able to facilitate and maintain these relationships. The Korean parents could see a great deal of room for improvement. Sport managers, if they want to attract more diverse populations, should confront this issue. In fact, a number of studies indicated that the quality of children's sport experiences is determined by parents' socialization with other parents and commitment to sport organizations (Green, 1997; Green & Chalip, 1997, 1998a).

A quality interaction with children's sport organizations was generally connected to the parents' positive perceptions and interpretations of the policies of children's sport and academic performance. The system requires that youth athletes maintain a certain level of academic performance. Consequently, the Korean parents expressed little concern about any potential imbalance between children's sport participation and their schoolwork. Although they recognized the system wasn't perfect, they believed it preserved the importance of academic works.

Another benefit of interacting with policy is that it gives more diverse opportunities and chances to play. The parents were also satisfied with a system where children's sport opportunities were systemically matched, based on their sport experience and ability, with an appropriate team and league. Otherwise, their children would have to either quit or transfer to another sport. They thought such a system was an asset not to be found in their home country. They exploited the system to produce positive effects for their children's sport participation.

As they reared their children in the U.S., they felt a cooling of the “education fever” they suffered from in Korea. Nevertheless, their children were swamped with extracurricular activities. They embraced a culture that highly encouraged childhood sport participation. The benefits the parents were seeking from this were the children’s life lessons. Through their interactions with dominant values and beliefs, Korean parents began to shape strategies to which leadership and social skills were essential to have successful careers. On the other hand, Korean parents with children in elite sport programs focused on the instrumental functions of children’s sport participation. They saw children’s sport as a vehicle to actualize children’s goals. They saw sport as a field of equal opportunity and an ethic of hard work compensate for the disadvantages of being immigrants in the U.S.

The school was not an institution with which they actively made substantial relations. Even for families with children on the school’s sport team, this was the rule. They found no avenue through which they could interact with the school. They did not even feel the necessity of such interactions.

If we care about the quality of children’s sport experience, we need to address this lack of partnerships among parents, schools, and sport organizations. This should be particularly true where sport organizations have a strong and deep local base (Acker et al., 2011; Eime & Payne, 2009). In fact, the parents often experienced two different streams of children’s sport—one coming from the school and the other from local clubs. This fact leveraged their priority for where they should put more emphasis. Such leveraging became more explicit as their children advanced to higher grades.

In a model of Côté (1999), this is a common characteristic dominantly observed at a specializing stage of a child’s sport development. However, the model analyzed this in terms not of a conflict between two sport systems but of an individual choice during

one's developmental process. The Korean immigrant parents are more likely to perceive a lack of interactions with school as a systemic obstacle. Additionally, the parents, particularly the fathers, felt the pressure of work blocked their capacity to support their children's sport participation. They conceded, however, their work was more conducive to parental support than what is offered in South Korea. Thus, they interpreted children's sport participation as opportunities for development unavailable in their home country (cf. Roer-Strier, Strier, Este, Shimoni, & Clark, 2005).

Even though they perceived several disadvantages to life as a minority group, their interactions made them more likely to consider their immigration to be a good opportunity. Such belief strengthened their support for children's sport participation.

CONCLUSION

This study has extended our knowledge of the Korean immigrant parents' interactions with contextual factors. It has done so by exploring the parents' various interactions with family members, community, school, sport organizations, work, policy, and cultures and values. Although it has found aspects of their interactions similar to those of mainstream parents, the study provided important information on how they support children's sport in interacting with surrounding circumstances.

The parents' interactions with contextual factors may be presented differently by the social and cultural context in which they occur. Given this, their interactions reflect a group's certain behaviors, values, and beliefs. Thus, findings about this group may be informative and unique for sport managers and practitioners. Those who wish to develop sport among a certain immigrant group and those who want to attract more diverse participants to the program first need to understand how they shape their behaviors according to their surrounding environments. This is particularly so for such a cultural

behavior as sport parenting. This study highlights the immigrant parents' various interactions with different contextual layers in supporting children's sport.

Chapter 4: Overall Discussion

In the discourse of sport management and development, immigrant families have been relatively marginalized (cf. Bowers, 2011; Bowers & Green, 2013; Green, 2005). In spite of the fact that parents are central to a child's sport socializing, sport managers and practitioners have little knowledge on how immigrant parents support their children's sport participation. It is surprising that only a few studies have been performed to clarify the dynamics of immigrant parents and how they support their children's sport (e.g., Bhalla & Weiss, 2010; Kay, 2006; McGuire & Collins, 1998).

The first study thus examined how Korean immigrant parents influence their children's sport participation and compared it to how American and Korean parents do the same. It was found that a parent's cultural model was a significant criterion in determining their different degrees of practicing role mechanisms—parents as a provider and interpreter (Eccles, 1993; Eccles et al., 1998; Fredricks & Eccles, 2005; Fredricks et al., 2005). How did we account for the outcomes of Korean immigrant parents? The theory of acculturation was useful for understanding their support of their children's sport participation (Farver & Lee-Shin, 2000; Farver et al., 1995; Parmer et al., 2004, 2008). Nonetheless, the study still produced a limited perspective on the effects of acculturation on Korean immigrant parents' behaviors and practices for their children's sport.

Immigrants are acculturated according to their contexts and environments (Lee et al., 2003; Nguyen et al., 1999; Schönplflug, 2001). That is, they create their own sport parenting in interacting with social and cultural contexts where it occurs. The second study thus explored how Korean immigrant parents supported children's sport in adapting family characteristics and contextual factors. The interactions were specifically investigated in terms of family, neighborhood, children's school, sport organizations,

parents' work, policy, and cultures (Garbarino et al., 2005; Kotchick & Forehand, 2002; Seginer, 2006; Super & Harkness, 1999). The study suggested that parents' supports were affected not only by surrounding contextual factors but also by their traditional customs and values. Even though Korean immigrant parents felt little systemic (and consistent) aids for helping their children, they generally implemented an American sport-friendly environment to make their children's sport happen and continue (Roer-Strier et al., 2005).

The results of the cross-cultural study—especially regarding parents' interpreting and providing roles—might fail to follow a consistent interpretation. Although no significant difference was found between Korean immigrant parents and American parents for interpreting roles, American parents' providing outcomes were significantly greater than those of Korean immigrant parents. In fact, this result well accounts for the effects of acculturation on parents' sport parenting. People are more likely to report their preference for something, using a scheme of comparing with the members of a reference group and of favoring desirable values they lack (Festinger, 1954; Homer & Kahle, 1988; Kahle, 1984). Being exposed to an American sport environment and interacting with the parents of such environments, Korean immigrant parents' reference group was American parents. The more they saw how American parents supported their children's sport, the more they preferred their children's sport participation. This on-going process was the outcome of their acculturation of American parents' sport parenting.

Nonetheless, their providing roles were not as great as their interpreting roles. One reason for this is that they experienced several things to prevent their fulfillment of such roles from their interactions with American sport contexts. For example, the Korean immigrant parents were unsatisfied with the limited and superficial interactions with American parents in children's sport programs. Parents' socializing with other parents was found to be a crucial factor affecting children's sport experience (Green & Chalip,

1997). Additionally, their perceived cultural and language barriers factored into their not being able to do their best at fulfilling their providing roles (cf. Lee, 2005; McClelland & Chen, 1997).

The challenge for American sport managers and practitioners is how to provide immigrant parents with an atmosphere in which the parents enjoy helping their children's sport and socializing with other parents. This claim is enhanced by finding that one Korean immigrant family began fencing and accelerated their involvement by having the same ethnic instructor. This finding suggested that Korean immigrants could be more involved in children's sport than what was observed if they felt more embraced by the program and/or if they found the social relationships with others meaningful. If such conditions were met, their involvement would be shown even in a sport they had never experienced before.

Korean immigrant parents showed a higher level of financial support than American parents though neither group was significantly different in this outcome. This result reveals a future market of immigrant families. Korean immigrants as well as several immigrant groups in the U.S. are known for their consuming power (Kara & Kara, 1996; Xu, Shim, Lotz, & Almeida, 2004). The study's results also support that these parents' consumption of children's sport equipment and programs was not any less than that of American parents. A question that remains is how youth sport marketers might sustain such consumption and how youth sport organizations might implement such consumption to turn these parents into active boosters for children's sport and sport organizations.

During interviews, Korean immigrant parents—particularly fathers—attributed their greatest financial supports to the benefit of well-developed commercial sectors of youth sport in the U.S. (cf. Howard & Madrigal, 1990). They saw sporting goods retailers

as facilitating their shopping for children's sport. They considered, of course, these as opportunities for their children. If sport organizations want to attract this segment, future marketing strategies should be adjusted to suit these parents' needs. For example, local youth sport programs could create joint marketing with a franchised sporting goods retailer or locally owned sporting goods business. The marketing should be designed to connect parents' consumption for children's sport to the initiation of their interests in sport organizations.

Korean parents' original cultural model stresses children's education. Parents everywhere care about their children's education, though in Korea the term "education fever" explains the degree to which Korean parents obsess about it (Kim et al., 2005; Seth, 2002; Sorenson, 1994). To measure the genuine differences of parents' different roles among cultural models, the cross-cultural study used a scenario method to control the effects of parents' importance for children's education on their supports for children's sport participation. This was based on the opposing relations between the importance parents attached to their children's education and to children's sport participation (Fredricks & Eccles, 2004; Greendorfer & Bruce, 1991). By posing a hypothetical context, the scenario was able—across three cultural models—to control for parents' unconditional values for children's education.

Free of the burdens of education fever, Korean immigrant parents were pleased to support their children's sport. Instead of focusing on their children's academic achievements and college admissions, Korean families in the U.S. became relatively free of the stressful course for all-family-involved tasks. What else made them feel so? The parents observed and learned how American parents played sports with their children. They also watched how American parents supported their children's sport participation in sport programs. In these interactions, they developed their new perspectives in which

children could experience various developmental and social benefits from their sport participation. Such dynamics were more prevalent for the parents whose children were at recreational sport programs.

The parents of elite performers developed a slightly more active and progressive attitude regarding children's sport, feeling free of the "should-have-suffered" burdens concerning their children's education. For them, children's sport was a catalyst to active family interactions in line with the values of American society. They interpreted children's sport as a venue where their children began to develop a successful career and finally achieved their goal. The goal was, however, not beyond college athletic scholarship. Korean parents were well aware of how tough it is to build a good career as an athlete; they wanted to give their children the possibility of picking their future career. Whether their children were at recreational or at elite programs, the parents agreed that what worked positively for their family was not having great pressure on children's education, enabling them to initiate and develop children's sport.

These results provide sport managers several implications regarding the attracting of immigrant families who hold strong values of children's education. The parents were called on to find children's activities that could fill the gap that came from less pressure for children's education. Sport managers should thus try giving parents more details on how to keep supporting not only children's extra activities but also athletic participation. The information should include what benefits their children could gain from sport participation instead of engaging heavily in academic pursuits.

Also, it would be more effective for the parents of recreational participants if sport managers provided them with details on how a sport organization's policy and system should pursue children's academic achievements and athletic participation together. Although while residing in the U.S., Korean parents felt relief from pressure

about their children's education, they still seemed to cling to such values. Given this, an understanding of what the organization's policy is regarding a participants' GPA would help the parents transfer their passion and efforts to children's sport activities and programs. In fact, many parents answered that a critical factor in continuing children's sport participation was maintaining the balance between schoolwork and athletic activities.

Immigrant parents' child-rearing is a complicated process in which their parenting not only reflects the dominant contexts of a foreign country but also holds traditional ethnic values and ways (Chao, 2001; Nguyen et al., 1999). Korean immigrant parents, it was found, adopted a similar approach to helping their children's sport participation. For example, the cross-cultural study found that Korean parents' assimilation and integration, among multi-dimensional aspects of acculturation, were positively related to the degree of practicing their providing and interpreting roles. The more immigrants tended to learn and practice the values and customs of mainstream society, the more assimilated they seem. Additionally, integration explains immigrants' tendency to associate with the members and customs of their ethnic community as much as they follow those of the host society.

The in-depth interviews also revealed that Korean immigrant parents depended heavily on ethnic members and their resources to find appropriate programs for their children—particularly in the initiation of a child's sport. However, their reliance had shifted to the information of sport programs and advice from the members of such programs. As a result, it was found that Korean immigrant parents actively learned and accepted customs and practices of mainstream society for their sport parenting as by observing American parents in sport contexts and learning the way American youth sports should work. How they applied these things to their children's sport participation

was a different process. They kept checking with the values and customs of their own ethnicity and adjusted their knowledge and experience of American youth sport according to their ethnic standards. This customized sport parenting was a product of a combination of newly assimilated American customs and their traditional Korean ones. Although these patterns were more prevalent in the parents of recreational participants, the parents of elite performers had already shaped their own strategies from this bi-cultural coping.

The cross-cultural study examined the different degrees of parents' encouragement for competitive and just-for-fun recreational sports by cultural models. The results revealed both American and Korean immigrant parents' encouraging behaviors for different types of sports were homogeneous while these groups were significantly different from Korean parents in Korea. Additionally, Korean immigrant parents' encouraging recreational sports was higher than those of American parents, though when it came to competitive sports American parents' encouraging was the greatest.

Two interpretations were drawn from these findings. First, the on-going process of acculturation led Korean immigrant parents to emulate American parents and not their own counterparts in Korea. This claim is bolstered by the fact that competitiveness is not a virtue for a typical Korean (Lee, 2002; Min, 1995). That is, their emulating of American parents occurred thanks to the effects of acculturation. Second, relative freedom from education fever caused them to support their children's other activities that might have replaced heavy academic engagement. This is supported by the finding that many Korean immigrants really didn't push their children to pursue athletic involvement until once they had won college athletic scholarships. Some studies have indicated that immigrant parents' expectations of children's sports include the earning of athletic

scholarships or family status change (e.g., Bhalla & Weiss, 2010). In this study, however, Korean immigrant parents found children's sport as an alternative to children's immersion in academic studies. When combining Korean immigrant parents' highest rank for encouraging recreational sports with their short term (or tentative) expectations for children's sport, this study would argue that a lessening of education fever is the greatest determinant for them to develop support of their children's sport participation.

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS FOR SPORT DEVELOPMENT

The study presents two challenges to the national sport-governing body. One concerns their method of attracting and retaining immigrant groups in sport programs. The other is as to how they help immigrant groups develop their own sport through the system.

How should sport managers and developers implement these results for their programs? Whenever necessary, sport organizations should customize their strategies for a specific segment of immigrant families. For example, creating a booster atmosphere for children's competition doesn't necessarily mean all families and participants can get behind that. Certain demographics might feel overwhelmed by such an atmosphere. Finally, they become a bystander in the program or leave (or switch) it. Instead, sport organizations should seek to make them feel comfortable. First, sport organizations must allow them to explore the whole atmosphere by themselves; they should provide them sufficient information. This would be more effective if sport organizations provided them substantial peer connections to help smooth their stay.

The study found that many Korean parents failed to adapt themselves to the whole atmosphere of children's sport programs. Cultural and language barriers were the main factors. A representative characteristic of Asians is an over-sensitivity to how other

people in the same context see each individual (Nisbett, 2003). Given this, mainstream parents' understanding of this trait or organized social gatherings would be very useful for keeping immigrant parents in the programs.

To facilitate this change, the study suggests an intersectional approach between sport programs and commercial sectors. The study found the consumers-oriented market helps immigrant parents accelerate their support for children's sport participation. In fact, global sport brands might take up the role of removing cultural barriers for foreign parents, especially those of who have a high consuming power. The sport-governing body needs to develop sponsorships or strategic partnerships with easily recognizable brands in order to attract these groups. Actually, if the immigrants find that their familiar brands work for regional sport programs, they are more likely to trust the program and get involved with it. Such strategic relationships should not be a mere exchanging of goods or tangible benefits; rather, it should include reciprocity-oriented cultural programs. The more the programs customize their regional characteristics, the greater the programs succeed.

What if sport systems aimed to develop immigrant children's sports? What should sport managers and developers do? What might be their concerns in doing this?

Sport managers and developers should be aware that Korean immigrant parents generally consider their act of immigration to serve as an opportunity for them and their children. Children's sport participation is a relatively new thing that they want to bring for their children. Although many commercial and non-commercial youth sport programs are available in South Korea, the Korean immigrant parents felt that the American youth sport environment was of better quality. They depended on its support systems and policies. The best example of this was their appreciation of a club's restricting sport participation to those who could satisfy the GPA requirement. The parents thought that

quality experience of children's sport participation was a result of systemic supports and structured programs. Furthermore, they believed that the whole of American society was very supportive of children's sport participation.

The parents were also satisfied with the information offered by sport organizations. It worked for them to be able to continue their support for children's sport and they were finally able to become independent of sport organizations in helping their children's sport. The parents, however, ran up against cultural and language barriers in children's sport programs, especially when the parents were just beginning their supports. Sport managers and practitioners could create several meetings in which the new foreign parents become familiar with their adopted cultures. The way of doing this should be attending to what parents think best. Parents might feel uncomfortable with such initiatives. Also, the coming parents might not be ready for these things. Considering the immigrant parents utilized both American and Korean cultures and customs, one-party-driven assimilation does not work for their sport parenting. Instead, the sport club should provide a way by which the immigrant parents embrace new things based on their ethnic values and practices.

Finally, how should academia develop further interests in immigrants' sport development?

Scholars of sport development may now better understand how American values and beliefs affect immigrant parents as they support children's activities. Being released from education fever, the Korean immigrant parents interacted more actively with the values and customs of American society. This worked to create a bridge between informal and formal sports. We, as scholars, should know what facilitators and barriers work for this transition (cf. Green, 2005). Knowing how they interact with surrounding contexts is a one way to explore these dynamics. An understanding of immigrants'

acculturation produce useful information; however, it also produces a limited perspective because their acculturation shouldn't be the same according to where they live and how they maintain their immigration (Lee et al., 2003; Nguyen et al., 1999; Schönplflug, 2001). When we view their interactions with surrounding contexts, we get a better picture of how they support children's sport—differently and/or similarly with the parents of American culture.

The subject of sport development now affects a number of different fields such as sport management, health program intervention, and the national sport system. The study identified the role played by Korean immigrants' parents in their children's sport participation. They were affected by American contexts in several ways. They, of course, were also influenced by their own ethnic background. One meaningful finding of the study was that they actively shaped their own ways for supporting children's sport participation. Sport parenting is a cultural product. Culture is invisible but powerfully affects parenting. Cultural differences are not easily bridged, though the key is in how we understand such differences.

Appendix A: Parents Questionnaires (Study 1)

English Version

Think about a child of yours whose age is between 5 and 10. If you have more than one in this range, then think about the one closest to 10.

		strongly disagree	↔		average	↔		strongly agree
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	My child is great at sports compared to other things she/he is involved in.							
2	Sport participation is likely to be extremely useful to my child's success in life.							
3	My child has a talent for or innate ability at sports.							
4	Sport is extremely important to my family.							
5	I always give my child positive feedback about his/her sport participation.							
6	I vigorously encourage my child to play non-competitive (recreational, just-for-fun) sport.							
7	I vigorously encourage my child to play competitive sports.							
8	It is extremely important to me that my child does well in sport.							
9	My child is great at sports.							

		never		some times		frequently		always
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10	How frequently do you do household chores such as laundry or cooking to help your child participate in sport programs?							
11	How frequently do you stay for your child's entire sport practice or training session?							
12	How frequently do you stay for your child's entire sport event or competition?							

13. In the past six months, did you buy children's sport equipment?
 No () / If yes, how many times did you buy? (_____)
14. In the past six months, did you pay for a child's sport program?
 No () / If yes, how many times did you pay? (_____)
15. In the previous week, did you transport your child to practices or games?
 No () / If yes, how many times did you transport? (_____)

Unrelated to the questions above, the following questions ask you about your sport or fitness activities in the previous week.

16. In the previous week, how much time did you spend in organized sport activities?
 (_____mins.)
17. In the previous week, how much time did you spend in personal fitness?
 (_____mins.)
18. In the previous week, how much time did you spend playing sport with your child?
 (_____mins.)

19. Please read the scenario below and select the response that most closely describes what you would likely do for your child age between 5 and 10.

Scenario: It's Wednesday evening. Your child tells you that he/she has a big test on Friday that he/she has not yet studied for. His/Her sport team has a play-off game in a nearby town on Thursday evening.

What is your most likely course of action on Thursday? Please select only **one**.

- _____ Go to the game, but help your child study for the test if there is time.
- _____ Let your child go to the game and not worry about the test.
- _____ Attend the 1st hour of the game and leave early so that he/she can study for the test.
- _____ Keep your child home Thursday to study for the test.
- _____ Take your child to the game. Have him/her study in the car. Return immediately after the game so that he/she can study more.

20. What are your gender and age? (F/M, age=_____)
21. What is your highest level of education? (please circle one)
 → High School / College / Master (or equivalent degree) / Ph.D. (or equivalent degree)
22. What is your profession? (_____)
23. What is your ethnicity? (please circle one)
 → Anglo American / African American / Hispanic / Asian / Native American / Other:
24. What are your children's genders and ages?
 → (F/M, age=___) (F/M, age=___) (F/M, age=___) (F/M, age=___) (F/M, age=___)

The following questions are for Korean immigrants only.

		strongly disagree	↔		average	↔		strongly agree
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	I am better at writing in English than in Korean.							
2	I am better at speaking in English than in Korean.							
3	Most media formats I watch are in English.							
4	I am more comfortable hanging out with Americans than with Koreans.							
5	I am more comfortable with Americans than with Koreans.							
6	I am better at writing in Korean than in English.							
7	I am better at speaking in Korean than in English.							
8	Most media formats I watch are in Korean.							
9	I am more comfortable hanging out with Koreans than with Americans.							
10	I am more comfortable with Koreans than with Americans.							
11	I am good at writing in English as well as in Korean.							
12	I am good at speaking in English as well as in Korean.							
13	I am comfortable hanging out with Americans as well as with Koreans.							
14	I am comfortable with Americans as well as with Koreans.							
15	I am not as comfortable hanging out with Americans as I am with Koreans.							
16	I am not as comfortable with Americans as I am with Koreans.							
17	I feel that I am neither a Korean nor American.							

Korean Version

귀하의 자녀(들) 중 만 5살에서 10살 사이의 아이를 떠올려 주시길 바랍니다. 해당되는 자녀가 여러 명이라면 만 10살에 가장 근접한 아이를 생각하시면서 설문에 응해주시면 됩니다. 본 설문에서 스포츠는 운동 팀에 소속되어 연습 및 시합을 하거나 개인 교습을 받는 것을 의미합니다.

		전혀 그렇지 않다	↔		보통 이다	↔		매우 그렇다
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	참여하고 있는 다른 활동들과 비교할 때, 내 아이는 스포츠를 아주 잘 한다.							
2	스포츠 참여는 자녀의 성공적인 인생을 위해 매우 유용할 것이다.							
3	내 아이는 스포츠에 타고난 재능 및 소질을 지니고 있다.							
4	스포츠는 나의 가족에게 매우 중요하다.							
5	나는 항상 자녀에게 스포츠 참여에 대한 긍정적인 피드백을 준다.							
6	나는 자녀의 놀이 및 재미 위주의 스포츠 참여를 적극적으로 격려한다.							
7	나는 자녀의 승패 및 경쟁 위주의 스포츠 참여를 적극적으로 격려한다.							
8	내 아이가 스포츠를 잘 하는 것은 나에게 매우 중요하다.							
9	내 아이는 스포츠를 아주 잘 한다.							

		전혀	↔	가끔	↔	자주	↔	항상
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10	자녀의 스포츠를 도와주기 위해서 얼마나 자주 가정일(예: 세탁, 음식 등)들을 하십니까?							
11	자녀가 스포츠 연습을 하는 동안 얼마나 자주 같은 곳에 계십니까?							
12	자녀가 스포츠 경기를 하는 동안 얼마나 자주 같은 곳에 계십니까?							

13. 지난 6개월 동안 자녀를 위해 스포츠 용품(예, 운동화, 공, 유니폼, 헬멧, 라켓 등)을 구입한 적이 있으신가요?
아니오 () / 만약 있으시다면, 몇 번 정도 구입을 하셨나요? (___번)
14. 지난 6개월 동안 자녀를 위해 스포츠 레슨비를 지불하신 적이 있으신가요?
아니오 () / 만약 있으시다면, 몇 번 정도 지불 하셨나요? (___번)
15. 지난주에 자녀를 스포츠 연습 및 게임이 있는 곳으로 데려다 주신 적이 있으신가요?
아니오 () / 만약 있으시다면, 몇 번 정도 데려다 주셨나요? (___번)
16. 지난 주 귀하께서는 얼마나 많은 시간 스포츠 경기 및 시합을 하셨나요? (___시간___분)
17. 지난 주 귀하께서는 얼마나 많은 시간 개인 운동을 하셨나요? (___시간___분)
18. 지난 주 귀하께서는 얼마나 많은 시간 자녀와 함께 스포츠 활동을 하셨나요? (___시간___분)
19. 다음의 가상의 시나리오를 읽으시고 주어진 대안들 중 한가지를 선택해 주시길 바랍니다.

지금은 수요일 저녁입니다. 아이가 금요일에 학교에서 중요한 시험이 있다고 방금 말해주었습니다. 아이는 그 시험을 위해 아직 공부를 하지 않았습니다. 목요일 저녁에는 아이가 참여하고 있는 스포츠 팀이 가까운 도시에서 중요한 게임을 할 예정입니다.

다음 보기들은 목요일 저녁에 귀하께서 내리실 수 있는 결정들입니다. 귀하께서는 어떠한 결정을 하실지 오직 **한가지**만 체크해 주시길 바랍니다.

- _____ 아이를 게임에 참여시킨다. 게임이 끝난 후 만약 시간이 된다면 아이가 시험 준비를 하게 한다.
- _____ 아이를 게임에 참여시키고 시험은 걱정하지 않는다.
- _____ 아이를 게임의 첫 한 시간만 참여시키고 일찍 돌아와서 시험 준비를 하게 한다.
- _____ 아이를 게임에 참여시키지 않고 대신 집에서 시험 준비를 하게 한다.
- _____ 아이를 게임에 참여시킨다. 단 오고 가는 차 안에서 아이가 시험 준비를 하도록 하며, 게임이 끝나자마자 바로 집으로 돌아와 시험 준비를 더 하게 한다.

20. 귀하의 성별 및 나이를 적어주세요: 남 / 여 (만 ___세)
21. 귀하의 최종 학력은 무엇입니까? (_____)
22. 귀하의 직업은 무엇입니까? (_____)
23. 자녀들의 성별과 나이를 적어주세요
(남 /여, 만 ___살) (남 /여, 만 ___살) (남 /여, 만 ___살) (남 /여, 만 ___살)
24. 귀하께서는 얼마나 오래 미국에 머무르고 계십니까? (___년___개월)

다음 질문들은 이민자분들만 답해 주시길 바랍니다.

		전혀 그렇지 않다	↔		보통 이다	↔		매우 그렇다
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	나는 한국어보다 영어로 더 잘 적는다.							
2	나는 한국어보다 영어로 더 잘 말한다.							
3	내가 보는 방송의 대부분은 영어 방송이다.							
4	나는 한국인들보다 미국인들과 더 잘 어울린다.							
5	나는 한국인들보다는 미국인들과 있는 것이 더 편안하다.							
6	나는 영어보다 한국어로 더 잘 적는다.							
7	나는 영어보다 한국어로 더 잘 말한다.							
8	내가 보는 방송의 대부분은 한국어 방송이다.							
9	나는 미국인들보다는 한국인들과 더 잘 어울린다.							
10	나는 미국인들보다는 한국인들과 있는 것이 더 편안하다.							
11	나는 한국어와 영어 둘 다 잘 적는다.							
12	나는 한국어와 영어 둘 다 잘 말한다.							
13	나는 한국인들뿐만 아니라 미국인들과도 잘 어울린다.							
14	나는 한국인들하고 있을 때뿐만 아니라 미국인들하고 있을 때도 매우 편안하다.							
15	나는 한국인이나 미국인이나 다 잘 어울리지 못한다.							
16	나는 한국인이나 미국인이나 다 불편하다.							
17	나는 한국인도 미국인도 아니라고 느낀다.							

Appendix B: Parents' Semi-Structured Questionnaires (Study 2)

English Version

1. Could you describe the things you have to deal with to support your children's participation in sport?
 - 1.1. What are the ways that you deal or interact with the Korean ethnic community?
 - 1.2. What role, if any, does your neighborhood or community play in your support?
 - 1.3. Do you visit, work together, or generally interact with the other parents connected with your child's sport? If you do, could you describe the nature of those interactions and give examples?
 - 1.4. What are the interactions with your family members?
 - 1.5. Do you deal with your child's school at all? If so, what is the nature of those dealings?
 - 1.6. How are you involved with your child's sport programs?
 - 1.7. Does your work interfere with your being able to support your child's sport participation? If it does, how so? Could you provide details on how your work conflicts or interferes with these supporting roles?
 - 1.8. Do you find that Korean and/or American culture affects you how you support children's sport? If so, which culture most affects your behavior? In what ways do you alter your support and why are you motivated to change?
2. Please describe anything that is particularly helpful to you as you interact with these various elements.
3. Please describe anything that makes it hard to deal with such contexts.

Korean Version

1. 자녀의 스포츠 활동 참여를 돕기 위해서 귀하께서 하시는 것들을 설명해 주시길 바랍니다.
 - 1.1. 한국 이민 사회와는 어떻게 교류하나요?
 - 1.2. 이웃 및 커뮤니티는 귀하의 도움에 어떠한 역할을 하나요?
 - 1.3. 자녀의 스포츠 활동과 관련된 다른 학부모들과는 어떻게 교류하나요? 만약 그렇다면, 그러한 교류들이 어떠한지 예를 들거나 설명해 주시길 바랍니다.
 - 1.4. 가족 구성원들과는 어떻게 교류하나요?
 - 1.5. 자녀의 학교와도 교류가 있나요? 만약 그렇다면, 그러한 교류들은 어떠한가요?
 - 1.6. 자녀의 스포츠 프로그램에 어떠한 역할을 하나요?
 - 1.7. 귀하의 직장은 도움에 방해가 되나요? 만약 그렇다면, 좀 더 구체적으로 설명해 주시길 바랍니다.
 - 1.8. 한국 혹은 미국의 문화가 자녀의 스포츠에 대한 귀하의 도움에 영향을 미치나요? 만약 그렇다면, 어떤 문화가 영향을 주나요? 무슨 이유로 귀하가 도와주는 방법을 바꾸거나 어떤 식으로 바꾸게 하나요?
2. 이러한 다양한 요인들과 교류하는데 특별히 도움 되는 것들이 있다면 설명해 주시길 바랍니다.
3. 교류하는 것을 어렵게 하는 것들을 설명해 주시길 바랍니다.

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