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Influences on Parental Involvement in Youth Sport

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to explore the influences on parental involvement in youth sport. Specifically, this study sought to address the following research questions: 1) What are the individual and environmental influences on parental involvement? and, 2) How is parental involvement influenced by these individual and environmental factors? Data collection occurred through an online survey, which was completed by 70 parents. Data were first analyzed through thematic data analysis to identify the influences on parental involvement. Vignettes of different types of parental involvement were then created to illustrate how involvement was influenced. Results indicated that parents were involved as supporters, coaches and managers, and providers of opportunities. The types of involvement appeared to be influenced by: (1) the youth sport context, (2) other parents and coaches, (3) concerns regarding own behavior, (4) knowledge and experience of sport, (5) previous experience as a sport parent, and (6) goals, expectations, and beliefs for child's sport. Such findings highlight the importance of considering individual and socio-contextual factors when creating parent initiatives to ensure messages are more appropriately tailored to parents. Such tailoring will, hopefully, result in the development of more effective initiatives.

Keywords: Parental involvement, youth sport, coaching, parenting experiences, parenting initiatives

Much has been written about the involvement of parents in youth sport and the important implications this has for children's sporting enjoyment and development (Holt & Knight, 2014). Parental involvement entails "the time, energy, and money parents invest in their child's sport participation and includes things such as transportation, attending practices and games, providing instructional assistance, and purchasing sport equipment" (Stein, Raedeke, & Glen, 1999, p. 592). Children place great importance upon their parents' involvement in sporting endeavors and consequently, parental involvement can influence children's motivation, enjoyment, and long-term involvement in youth sport (Fredricks & Eccles, 2004). For example, if parents provide unconditional love, encouragement, and praise, as well as other forms of emotional, tangible, and informational support, they are likely to have a positive impact on children's sport experiences, enjoyment, and potential (Fraser-Thomas & Côté, 2009; Knight, Boden, & Holt, 2010; Wolfenden & Holt, 2008; Wuerth, Lee, & Alferman, 2004). In contrast, if children perceive parents to engage in pressuring behaviors, such as excessive expectations, criticising play, or withdrawing love after competition it can lead to negative sporting experiences (Gould, Lauer, Rolo, Jannes, & Pennisi, 2006; Knight, Neely, & Holt, 2011; Sagar & Lavalley, 2010).

Recognizing the positive and negative influences different types of parental involvement can have upon children's sporting experiences, a number of researchers, practitioners, and sport organizations have begun to develop initiatives to enhance parental involvement in sport (Dorsch, Dunn, Osai, & King, 2015; Holt & Knight, 2014). However, although there is an understanding of the types of involvement to encourage and discourage among parents, there is a more limited understanding of what influences parental involvement in sport. To effectively enhance parental involvement we need to know not only what parents should be doing but also why they engage in the ways they do (Holt & Knight, 2014).

Insight into what influences parental involvement in sport can be drawn from the work of Eccles and colleagues (e.g., Eccles, 1993; Eccles, Wigfield & Shiefele, 1998), who created a model of parental influences on children's motivation and achievement. This model has been used as a theoretical framework to explore parents' influences on children's beliefs and values regarding sport participation (Fredricks & Eccles, 2004; Horn & Horn, 2007). Within Eccles and colleagues model parents' beliefs and behaviors are thought to influence children's beliefs, values, goals, and performance, with parents' beliefs and behaviors being adjusted in response to child characteristics. Further, parent characteristics such as parent education, family income, occupation, and number of children are thought to influence parents' beliefs and behaviors. As Fredricks and Eccles (2004) wrote, "the model assumes that one cannot understand the effect of the family on children's motivation unless one considers the larger social context" (p.149).

Drawing on Eccles and colleagues (1998) model, it can be assumed that various individual or personal factors might influence parental involvement in sport. However, the focus of this model is on how parents influence children, rather than what influences parents. Thus, although some personal characteristics are included, it is feasible that a broader range of personal and environmental influences on parental involvement in sport might exist. For example, based upon studies of parental stressors in youth sport, it has been suggested that inappropriate or negative parental involvement might result from parents struggling to cope with the stressors they encounter (Harwood & Knight, 2009; Knight, Holt, & Tamminen, 2009). Additionally, research has demonstrated that the empathy parents experience when they are watching their children compete, particularly when children are underperforming, might influence the comments they make during and after competitions (Dorsch, Smith, & McDonough, 2009; Holt, Tamminen, Black, Sehn, & Wall, 2008; Knight & Holt, 2013a). It has been further suggested

that certain parental behaviors at competitions might result from anger parents' experience in certain situations, such as witnessing their child being injured or seeing dangerous play (Goldstein & Iso-Ahola, 2008; Omlil & LaVoi, 2009). Taken together, these findings suggest that some of the behaviors parents display at competitions arise due to the emotions parents experience when watching their children compete (Gould, Lauer, Rolo, Jannes, & Pennisi, 2008).

Beyond emotional reactions, it has also been suggested that parents' own past sport experiences might influence the manner in which they are involved. For example, when reviewing the sport history of talented athletes parents have been shown to introduce their children to the sports in which they competed or participated themselves (Bloom, 1985; Côté, 1999). Thus, parents are able to contribute some knowledge of the sport system, which can help as children progress. If children compete in sports parents are unfamiliar with it can be challenging initially for parents because they may not understand the sport-specific context (cf. Dorsch, Smith, & McDonough, 2015a). Parents' own sport experiences might also influence the nature of parents' involvement at competitions (Dorsch et al., 2009; Knight & Harwood, 2009). For example, a study by Holt and colleagues (2008) examining parent comments at youth soccer matches found that parents with high levels of perceived expertise thought they were more capable of providing performance-contingent feedback at competitions than other parents. Similarly, it has been posited that parents with more sport experience might be better able to manage with the stressors and emotions encountered at youth sport competitions (cf. Harwood & Knight, 2015). In contrast, emerging research indicates that parents with little or no personal experience rely on significant others (e.g., parent peers, coaches) when learning how to think, feel, and behave in sport (Dorsch et al., 2015a, Dorsch, Smith, Wilson, & McDonough, 2015).

Children and coaches also indicate that parents' past sport experiences might alter the types of involvement children desire or accept from their parents (Knight & Harwood, 2009; Knight et al., 2010, 2011). For example, through focus groups with junior tennis players, Knight and colleagues (2010) identified the parental behaviors that were preferred at competitions, specifically noting that children preferred parents not to provide technical or tactical advice regarding matches. However, if parents were perceived to have a high level of knowledge about tennis, technical and tactical advice was welcomed. In contrast to the seemingly positive influence of parents' past sport experiences on their present involvement, extant research also highlights potential negative consequences. One reason frequently cited in the popular press to explain parents' inappropriate behaviors at competitions is that they might project their own desires or unfulfilled sport ambitions onto their children (Brummelman et al., 2013; Dorsch et al., 2015b; Libman, 2008). This idea of vicarious parenting is often attributed to parents' desires for their children to achieve something parents themselves were unable to do (Holt & Knight, 2014).

Taken together, these studies highlight potential influences on parental involvement in youth sport, particularly at competitions. However, there is a need for further exploration of the individual differences in the types of parental involvement displayed in youth sport (Dorsch et al., 2015b; Holt & Knight, 2014). To this end, the purpose of this study was to explore the influences on parental involvement in youth sport. Specifically, this study sought to address the following research questions: 1) What are the individual and environmental influences on parental involvement? and; 2) How is parental involvement influenced by these individual and environmental factors?

Method

Participants

Seventy parents from the US ($n = 46$) and the UK ($n = 24$) participated in the study. The sample comprised 38 mothers and 32 fathers, ranging in age from 31 to 55 years ($M = 42.32$, $SD = 6.8$). Parents reported between one and 25 years of experience parenting in organized youth sport. Collectively, parents had 177 children ($M = 2.53$ per family), aged three to 29 years (see Table 1 for general demographic details). Of the 70 parent participants, 62 had competed in youth sport and 43 remained involved in sport as an adult (age 18+) (see Table 2 for parent sport demographics). At the time of survey completion, participants reported having children involved in 29 sports at various levels (see Table 3 for details).

Procedure

Following receipt of ethical approval, sources of potential participants were identified. In the US, contact information for league directors of non-school-based leagues was obtained from national websites. Emails were sent to 46 league directors explaining the study and requesting permission to contact parents of athletes on teams in the respective leagues. Once permission was granted, parents' email information was obtained and emails containing a brief overview of the study and a link to participate in the online survey were sent. In the UK, coaches and club managers known to the research team were contacted and provided with information regarding the study. Interested coaches and managers were asked to forward an email to parents containing an overview of the study and a link to complete the online survey.

Data collection

Data were collected via online instrumentation using Qualtrics survey software. An online survey was selected as the method of data collection for this study for two reasons. First, the decision was made to ensure that a broad range of participants would have an opportunity to

provide their insights (Krout, Olson, Banuji, Bruckman, Cohen, & Couper, 2004; Seymour, 2001). Given that the study sought to examine the influences on parental involvement in sport, accessing a broad range of participants who were likely to have different individual experiences and characteristics and be involved in different sport environments and cultures was important. Second, employing an online survey ensured participants could respond anonymously, which has been shown to help to reduce social desirability bias in participant responses (cf., Van Selm & Jankowski, 2006). Parental involvement in sport is a “hot topic” in the media both in the US and the UK (Holt & Knight, 2014) and research indicates that parents do not want to be or be viewed as “pushy” parents (Burgess, Knight, & Mellalieu, 2015). To identify why parents are involved in diverse ways, we needed parents to feel they could truthfully describe their involvement. It was hoped that an anonymous method of data collection (online surveys) would facilitate this and reduce parents’ attempts to present themselves in the “right” way.

In total, the survey comprised 34 questions (15 forced-response and 19 open-ended), and an additional 15 potential questions that were asked depending on participant responses to initial questions. Questions were broadly grouped into five categories and were generated based on the existing literature on parent sport socialization (e.g., Dorsch et al., 2015a, 2015b; Dorsch et al., 2009). First participants were asked to provide demographic information such as their age, marital status, ethnicity, the household income, and the number of children they had. This section also asked parents to provide their children’s age and gender, as well as to list the sports their children were involved in and the level at which they participated (e.g., club, county, country). This section consisted of 10 forced-response questions, with parents being asked to answer questions using the options provided. The second section focused on parents’ own sport experiences. This section started with five forced-response questions to identify parents’ own

youth sport involvement and their current sport involvement. Depending on responses to these questions, additional questions regarding parents' current involvement in different capacities were provided. These questions were followed by five open-ended questions, which asked parents to describe their youth sport experience and highlight the benefits and costs of participation. The third section focused on their children's sport experiences (e.g., the benefits they hoped their children would gain as a result of their sport participation as well as the outcomes parents hoped their children would avoid). This section consisted of three open-ended questions. The fourth section shifted the focus to parents' perceptions of their involvement in their children's sport and consisted of five open-ended questions. Specifically these questions asked parents to describe their involvement in their children's sport, their involvement at competitions, how their children would describe their involvement, and specifics regarding the feedback they provided and the behaviors they encouraged. The final section consisted of six open-ended questions examining parents' perceptions of influences on their involvement in their child(ren)'s sport.

Data analysis

Data analysis occurred in two steps. First, data from the open-ended questions was examined. Participant responses were placed into a word document and data from different questions but relating to the same topics were grouped together. These qualitative data were then analyzed following the steps outlined by Miles and Huberman (1994). Initially data were reduced through a process of coding. First, descriptive codes were allocated to the data, Similar descriptive codes were then grouped together and labelled with interpretive codes. For example, all comments relating to coaching participants were labelled *coaching*. Finally, pattern codes were created to link interpretive codes together at a more abstract level. These pattern codes are

presented in the results section. This data analysis was carried out by one researcher before being subsequently shared with the rest of the research team. The research team then engaged in discussion regarding the themes and the allocation of data to different themes.

Having coded the raw data, the second step was to allocate the data into data matrices. These matrices allowed for codes to be compared across participants and provided an opportunity for the similarities and differences between participants to be identified. Based on these matrices, short vignettes detailing different types of involvement of parents were created. Vignettes are “compact sketches of individuals or groups in specific scenarios” (Sparkes & Smith, 2014, p.110). These vignettes serve to demonstrate the how parental involvement differs between individual and the associated influences on these involvement types.

Methodological rigor

Prior to data collection, pilot surveys were completed to ensure the appropriateness and readability of the survey questions across the two different populations. Substantive feedback on the wording of some items/responses resulted in the removal of some questions and the rewording/simplifying of others. During the two-month data collection period, the research team also constantly reviewed the survey data to ensure participants understood the questions and no changes were required to the survey. For example, responses to the questions were read to ensure the answers being provided made sense with respect to the questions and that participants were answering all the questions. Given the nature of the data collection method, the research team were conscious to ensure sufficient data were being obtained from the participants.

Consequently, raw data were continually reviewed to ensure participants were answering the majority of the questions (e.g., over 80%) and providing sufficient information in their answers (e.g., providing a minimum of one sentence in response to open-ended questions). Participants

who only provided responses to the forced-response questions ($n = 4$, all from the US) were removed from the study (and are not included in the total number of participants).

Initial data analysis occurred throughout the data collection period and data collection continued until sufficient data had been obtained (i.e., until we had accessed participants who were involved in youth sport in a variety of capacities and had detailed different influences on their involvement). This process of data saturation ensured that the breadth and depth of our data were sufficient to answer the research questions. This initial analysis was retained and used in the final production of the vignettes. Following the production of vignettes, the thematic analysis was repeated and findings were shared with the research team. The research team served as “critical friends” and questioned the revised themes and allocation of the data to the themes (Hill, 2002; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000). This process encouraged the researcher who conducted the analysis to question the creation of themes and led to the development of more thorough explanations of themes.

Results

Data analysis provided insights into parents’ perceptions of their involvement in their children’s sport along with individual and environmental influences on involvement. In the following sections, an overview of the individual and environmental influences on parental involvement is provided. Short vignettes are then offered to illustrate how parental involvement was influenced by these different individual and environmental factors.

Individual and environmental influences on parental involvement

The youth sport context. Parents shared concerns regarding the demanding and competitive nature of youth sport, which subsequently influenced their involvement in their child’s sport. As one father wrote he always tried to be supportive because, “I don’t want my son

to feel too much pressure to achieve his goals ... he enjoys swimming and is very committed, and trains very hard. He gives up a lot, and I hope in [the] future he doesn't regret this." Another parent explained the reason he coached his own child was because, "I feel that so many children become disenchanted with sport and give up far too early because of the overly competitiveness of the sporting organisations." Parents also described how the politics of youth sport might influence their involvement, particularly leading to them reducing their (and subsequently their children's) participation. One participant simply explained, "It's [being involved] getting more difficult, parents are crazier, coaches in youth and high school are weaker."

The costs and time demands associated with youth sport were also identified as influencing parents' involvement. As one mother explained, her involvement is influenced by, "What my schedule can accommodate, the cost of equipment/fees." Participants indicated that the amount of time they had to commit to work greatly influenced their involvement in their children's sport. For example, one participant said, "I need to be at work, so it limits me going to "away" events," and another said, "I work a lot. I quit coaching my son's baseball because I was too busy." Other parents also described the influence other family commitments had on the amount of time and money they could commit to their children's sport.

Other parents and coaches. Concerns regarding the behaviors of other parents and coaches also influence parents' involvement. Specifically parents indicated that they took more active roles in their children's sport because they wanted to avoid or limit exposure to poor coaching or negative parents. For example, one father explained that he took an active role in his children's sport, "To avoid poor coaching and advice, not to be pressured" and another parent sought to avoid, "Coaches who put their own goals ahead of their players and anyone or event that makes my child feel worthless."

Participants also acknowledged the influence other parents could have on their involvement at competitions. As one parent stated, “I notice that when the opposing team parents get riled up and loud, it becomes hard to be a good fan and not cheer in a negative way.” A mother explained, “I think being around other parents who have done this before influences me... I follow the lead of others in how loud I cheer.” Finally, another parent explained, “It’s easy to get caught up in the moment when surrounded by negative fans – you try to curb it, but can be difficult in certain environments.” However, some parents actively sought to be different to other parents. As one mother said, her involvement is influenced by, “Watching other sport parenting. You see people and events and think, ‘I hope that’s not me!’”

Concerns regarding own behavior. Parents explained that concerns about their own behaviors influenced how they were involved in their children’s sport. That is, parents’ concerns regarding having a negative influence on their children’s sporting experiences (being “overly involved” or “pushy”) led to them regulating their behaviors to ensure they were involved in a supportive manner. As a coach-parent said, “As a coach I know how important it is not to be ‘that’ parent.” Another participant summed up the views of many explained she wanted to avoid:

Being a slave driver that is making them go run or practice all the time... I also don't want to be that parent who is always trying to dictate the coach...let the coach do their job as coach and you do your job as a parent.

Instead parents described actively attempting to be involved in the “correct” ways and avoiding placing excessive expectations on their children or find themselves, “living my life through them.” As one participant explained, “I don’t want my children to turn around and tell me they didn’t like my involvement.”

Knowledge and experience of sport. Many children were involved in the same sports as their children and parents perceived that this influenced the quality of their own involvement. As one father wrote:

My wife plays competitive soccer and I play competitive volleyball so our children were more exposed to those sports than others. Although they didn't show too much interest in other sports, it could have been difficult for us parents to support our daughter's involvement in the same way we have for soccer and volleyball.

Many parents also indicated that they chose to coach their own child because they had good knowledge of the sport based on their own experience. For example, one father who coached his children explained, "I coached high school and junior high sports, so I think I know how to do it better than other people that have volunteered." In contrast, some parents did not want to coach their own children but struggled not to because of their sporting knowledge and experience. A mother explained:

I stay out of coaching my own kid as much as possible. It is difficult when my daughter plays my sport and is not being coached well in practice or during games. I know my baggage travels with me, so I try to be a cheerleader, but my knowledge hampers me at times. I am not just another parent watching the game and not understanding the game. It is my world, which creates unique dynamics.

Some participants also thought they were better able to provide support to their children because they were more knowledgeable as a result of their own sporting experiences. One parent said, "I believe I am a better parent for youth sports because I went through them myself. My expectation of my kids is better because I participated in the activity myself." For others, they

perceived their own sporting experiences increased their empathy for their children. A mother explained, “For myself, it has been hard to watch them not make teams like all stars or hardly play at all because I remember what that feels like, but keep my feelings in check and help them with their feelings.” Similarly, some parents were motivated to facilitate positive experiences because of their own negative experiences. One mother shared, “I did not have an entirely positive experience in youth sport. I want my kids to have a positive experience.”

Previous experience as a sport parent. In addition to adapting their involvement based on sporting experiences, parents with older children indicated changing their involvement based upon previous sport parenting experiences. For example, one parent provided an extensive example of the lessons learnt from parenting an older sibling:

I try to be more diligent about time our children spend in sports...The oldest daughter (who didn't live in our home year round) travelled extensively with her youth team and, as a result, by the time she finished high school she was burned out... To be sure things weren't overdone (or the kids weren't over-scheduled), it requires us to sometimes tell our kids they wouldn't be able to go to a Sunday open gym, or we visit with the coach of the travel team to offer our opinion of how many out of state tournaments is reasonable.

Other parents explained that based on their older children's experiences they knew more about the process. As one mother wrote, “We certainly learned some lessons on how leagues and selection processes worked with the first daughter that made it easier to navigate through with the second daughter.”

Participants also felt their expectations changed for younger children and they were more relaxed about their participation, which resulted in them providing more unconditional support to

their children. As one parent said, “I’m more laid back with second child. She’s started sports earlier because we’ve already been through them with older children and have ties to the coaches and organisations.” Another explained, “It helps set your expectations in line. Parents are a little turbo at first and then settle down after they go through the youth sports process a couple of times. Time and experience has improved my perspective.”

Goals and beliefs about child’s sport. Finally, parents indicated that their involvement was influenced by their goals or beliefs about sport, many of which were based on their own sporting experiences. For example, based on his own experience, one father explained he was very supportive of his children’s sport because:

I want him (and eventually her) to gain some of the positive things I feel I have gained from playing sports. I'm not a ‘win at any cost’ type of parent, but believe there are some great character traits that can be developed through sports.

Other participants, in line with the benefits they associated with youth sport, focused on the learning experiences and life skills their children could develop. A father explained, “There are many “teachable moments” that arise from the competitive sports environment. We try to take every opportunity to talk to our daughter when both positive and negative events occur.” Another mother explained that her feedback and responses to her children were influenced by what she wants them to achieve. She said, “I think kids should approach athletics in a certain way and I require my kids to play with respect for their opponent and their coaches.” Finally, a father explained his involvement was influenced by his beliefs about winning. He wrote, “I always tried to be the best and most of the time I was, and I tend to expect my kids to be the best even if they are just doing it for fun.”

How Parental Involvement is Influenced

Parents described various types of involvement that were broadly grouped into categories of supporter, provider, coach, or administrator. Parents classified within the supporter theme described their involvement as, “A supportive parent cheering from the sideline,” or “As a spectator and the teams we are part of all encourage positive attitudes.” Provider type involvement was apparent through statements such as, “Taking them to training, competition matches, part coach reminding them of the objectives,” “Chauffeur, cheerleader,” and “taxi, bag carrier, financier, kit organiser.” The coach category was allocated to parents who described their involvement with comments such as, “Helping with their coaching at the clubs they are involved with,” and “I started out assistant coaching, moved to coaching, and serve on the board of our local soccer club.” Finally, administrators included parents who listed behaviors such as, “Team manager and fund raiser. Also, worked as club manager for Youth soccer club in our small city.”

Some parents indicated involvement across multiple categories, which are detailed below in vignettes. The vignettes are provided to illustrate how parental involvement was influenced by the above factors. The titles of the vignettes are based on the main types of involvement recalled by parents. Additional information regarding each type of involvement is provided in Table 4.

The Supporter. Tony¹ participated in numerous sports during his childhood and adolescence. Generally Tony competed at a club or school level but achieved a higher-level in one sport (e.g., university level in the UK or an elite travel team in the USA). As a young athlete, Tony hoped he would experience athletic success while enjoying his experience and being part of a team. Tony recalled that participating in youth sport had provided him with enjoyment, health/fitness benefits, and opportunities to socialise. However, Tony also recalled that sport had taken up a large amount of his time and was financially draining, which had prevented his

¹ Unless explicitly stated, these profiles apply equally to mothers and fathers. The only profiles that were exclusively fulfilled by one gender (females) were the administrator and the provider.

participation in other activities. Further, Tony had experienced disappointment when he was not selected for teams and occasionally had been embarrassed by his lack of sport prowess.

Given his sport experiences, Tony hopes his children would avoid disappointment and would not encounter poor sportspersonship or teasing from other children. Tony's goals for his children's sport participation are focused upon them having fun, gaining some social benefits, and developing life skills. Tony is no longer formally involved in sport. However he has taken on the role of supporter for his children, providing emotional support and generally encouraging them to participate and enjoy sport. This focus on enjoyment is particularly important to Tony and he often communicates on the sidelines, offering his children (and others) encouragement and praise when they are successful and reassurance when something does not go well. Tony perceives that his children appreciate his involvement, and find him to be positive and supportive. But he also recognizes that his children might find some of his comments embarrassing.

The Coach. Having been actively involved in a variety of sports throughout childhood, Kerry went on to compete in one sport at a relatively high-level (playing at University in the US or at the senior county level in the UK). While participating, Kerry was motivated to win matches, gain scholarships, and reach her potential. Kerry had an extremely positive sporting experience and associates numerous benefits with her youth sport participation; namely enjoyment, a long-term love of sport, and numerous life-skills and social benefits. Occasionally, Kerry struggled with injuries or time demands but the positives outweighed the challenges. She wants her children to enjoy sport and develop life skills from participating. Kerry hopes her children will not encounter poor coaching or feel under pressure to perform. Kerry also harbours some concerns regarding the potential influence of other parents and fans.

Kerry recognizes that her involvement as a coach allows her to remain in sport and spend quality time with her children. Given her involvement as a coach, Kerry's sideline behavior fluctuates between silence and instruction and encouragement during competitions. After competition Kerry often provides performance-based feedback. She thinks her children like her involvement but acknowledges that they might find her to be a little intense or demanding.

Kerry believes her own sport experiences have been very influential on her involvement in her children's sport. Kerry acknowledges that her love and enjoyment of sport has led to her wanting her children to develop a similar love. Kerry also believes her sport experiences have provided her with a better understanding of sport, which has helped her ensure her children have access to the correct opportunities. Kerry also thinks she learned a lot from her older children's sport involvement, resulting in lowered expectations for younger children.

The Administrator. As a youth athlete, Kathryn wanted to achieve at a high-level, for example winning games, making elite teams, and gaining scholarships. Although Kathryn did not achieve this level she generally enjoyed her participation and believes that she gained a range of short- and long-term health benefits. Additionally, Kathryn perceives that, through sport, she developed friendships and gained a range of life skills and psychological benefits. Kathryn did think her involvement in sport as a youth was associated with substantial time costs, which prevented her from participating in other activities.

Kathryn's children have followed in her footsteps, choosing to participate in the same (primarily individual) sports in which she competed and at a similar level. Kathryn hopes her children will enjoy their participation in sport, achieve their potential, and remain involved in sport over the long-term. Kathryn wants her children to avoid any pressures associated with competing or winning and is particularly concerned with avoiding injuries and burnout.

Kathryn does not participate in sport as an adult, but she does take on a number of formal volunteer roles within her children's sports clubs. Specifically, Kathryn is involved in helping to run and organize at least one of her children's clubs or teams and takes on multiple tasks at competitions. Kathryn is generally silent when watching her children compete. If she does comment, it is usually encouraging her children whether they are playing well or poorly. Kathryn perceives that her children enjoy her involvement in sport. She believes her children view her as committed and supportive – something she attributes to her familiarity with sport from her own sporting experiences and having had older children compete in sport.

The Provider. Clare participated in a limited number of sports as a youth. She generally focused her attention on individual sports and participated at a club or school level. Clare's children appear to replicate her sport experiences, participating in similar sports and at a similar standard. Clare's own youth sport experiences were mixed; she enjoyed the social aspects of her participation but she also encountered issues associated with being embarrassed by her lack of sporting competence and being teased by other children when she could not complete skills.

With regards to her children's sport experiences, the most important thing to Clare is that her children enjoy their participation but she also hopes they will develop their sporting aspirations and perhaps achieve at a higher level than her. Clare also wants her children to gain a range of short- and long-term health benefits through sport participation. Clare is cognizant that she does not want her children to experience pressure when they are competing and would like to avoid issues with other parents and coaches in youth sport.

Clare described her involvement in terms of offering opportunities for her children to participate, taking them to training and competitions, and ensuring they had the equipment and clothing required to participate. Clare recognizes that she is quite vocal on the sidelines at

competitions, providing her children with encouragement and congratulating them when they are successful. Clare believes her children find her involvement helpful and supportive. However, perhaps in line with her own experiences as a youth athlete, Clare thinks her children might also find her embarrassing. Given her limited involvement in sport as a youth, Clare does not believe her own experiences influence her current involvement; however, she does think she is better able to manage her expectations due to her past sport parenting experiences.

The Supporter and Coach. During his youth, Tom competed in numerous (usually team) sports. He achieved varying levels of success in the different sports, generally competing at a high school or university level (or higher). Tom focused on one or two sports, rather than sampling multiple sports. Achievement at a high-level (e.g., gaining a scholarship to college or playing professionally) was one his primary goals, along with wanting to win while enjoying his experience. Overall, Tom's experience in youth sport was extremely positive; he developed a range of life skills while having fun and making friends. Tom recalled very few costs associated with his participation. Occasionally he was disappointed when he was unsuccessful and sometimes found the time commitment challenging. He sometimes encountered poor coaching.

Tom's main goal for his children's sport participation is that they enjoy it and develop various life skills. Given Tom's positive experiences in sport, he decided to remain involved in sport by coaching his children. However, perhaps indicative of his past experiences in sport, Tom is acutely aware that he does not want to be seen as "one of those parents," who has high expectations for his children and is very intense. In fact, Tom's most frequent concern is regarding his own involvement at competitions. Tom would also like to avoid issues associated with poor coaching or the politics that exist in youth sport. Tom believes his children like his involvement and thinks his children find him fun and supportive. However, Tom does realize his

children might find him too intense. Given Tom's concerns regarding his involvement, it is understandable that he generally stays silent on the sidelines. But, in fulfilling his role as a supporter, he does sometimes shout comments he perceives to be encouraging and reassuring.

Tom thinks his own experience in sport has greatly influenced his involvement in his children's sport, particularly by increasing his understanding of the sport systems and what his children are experiencing. Thus, Tom thinks his own sport involvement has enhanced his empathy for his children and heightened his awareness of not becoming "that parent" on the sidelines. Tom's experience with his older children in sport has also provided him with greater understanding of what it is to be a youth sport parent.

The Supporter and Provider. Michelle played numerous sports as a child and continues to participate in sport as an adult. Michelle remains motivated to improve her sport performance and to be a role model for her children. Michelle enjoyed her youth sport participation, which generally occurred at school, and recognizes that she was able to develop a range of health benefits, social benefits, and life skills through her participation. However, Michelle's youth sport experiences were not without challenges; she encountered issues due to the time demands, injuries, and also pressure.

Michelle hopes her children will enhance their health through participation and enjoy sport, while developing some life skills. Michelle would like her children to avoid issues associated with burnout and injury, poor coaching, and negative interactions with other parents. Michelle would also like to avoid being negatively involved in her children's sport and is concerned she might put undue pressure or expectations upon her children.

Michelle does not participate in her children's sport in a coaching capacity, but identifies strongly with the supporter and provider roles. Michelle might take on some informal coaching

roles, but this is infrequent. Michelle perceives her role is to ensure she supports her children, particularly providing emotional support when it is required and facilitating the require opportunities to participate. When watching her children compete, Michelle provides some encouragement and reassurance, but often remains silent. Michelle thinks her children find her involvement supportive and that she is a positive influence. However, she is also aware her children might find her intense. Overall, Michelle believes her enjoyment of sport is apparent and her children realise her involvement stem from her desire for sport to be part of their family life.

The Provider and Coach. Jordan had a very positive experience in youth sport and believes she benefitted greatly from her sport participation with regards to future career opportunities, chances to travel, and experiences of success. Jordan does not associate any costs with her participation. Jordan competed in a limited number of sports as a youth athlete and went on to a professional/international sport career. Jordan's children are currently competing in the same sports that she competed in and are achieving at relatively high levels.

To facilitate her children's experiences, Jordan has taken on the tasks of informally coaching her children to help enhance their sport skills and also providing them with the necessary funding, equipment, and logistical help to ensure they have opportunities to participate. Jordan's coaching role is informal and fulfilled by providing performance-contingent feedback to help her children improve. Jordan indicated that she would like her children to enjoy their participation in sport and to learn to try their best when competing. Jordan would like to avoid costs associated with poor coaching, particularly wanting to avoid coaches who might damage her children's perceptions of competence. Further, Jordan wants to avoid any negative consequences due to her own involvement. Fortunately, Jordan perceives that her children like

her involvement, viewing her as positive and committed. Jordan thinks her children enjoy the feedback she provides.

The Supportive Administrator-Coach. Jamie achieved at a high-level in sport, having competed at University in the US (this profile was only fulfilled by parents in the US). Throughout his youth, Jamie sampled a variety of sports, many of which his children now play. Jamie always wanted to achieve at a high-level, striving for college scholarships and to make the elite teams in his sport. Jamie generally thinks his youth sport experiences were positive and identifies benefits such as enjoyment, achieving and winning games, and developing life skills. With regards to his own experiences, Jamie did recall some costs such as the impact of sport on his involvement in other social and sport activities. Nevertheless, the positive experiences were dominant and Jamie wants his children to have similar experiences.

Jamie believes his own love for sport and his positive past sport experiences greatly influence his involvement in his children's sport. Jamie consistently fulfils the roles of coach and administrator in his children's sport. In his administrative role, Jaime helps to manage his children's teams, run the clubs they are involved in, and takes on active duties during competitions. In his coaching role, Jaime serves as the coach for at least one of his children but also informally coaches his other children. Additionally, Jamie also finds himself in the role of supporter, particularly providing emotional support to his children.

Jaime hopes his children develop life skills through their participation, and also wants his children to gain other benefits such as enjoyment and high-level achievement. Jamie hopes to avoid any negative or poor coaches, particularly coaches who place pressure upon his children. Jamie also hopes his children can avoid any negative interactions or involvement from other parents. Despite fulfilling numerous formal and informal roles in his children's sport, Jamie

generally remains silent on the sidelines unless he is coaching the team. Jamie prefers to leave the coaching to the coach but he does find himself making reassuring and encouraging comments when children do well or when they are struggling. Jamie thinks his children like his involvement but does recognize that they might also see him as very demanding at times. Jamie acknowledges that his experience with other older children has helped to shape his involvement in his younger children's lives, allowing him to tailor his expectations.

Discussion

The present study was designed to explore the influences on parental involvement in youth sport. In doing so, it answers recent calls for the examination individual differences among parents in youth sport (e.g., Dorsch et al., 2015b; Holt & Knight, 2014) and provides support for the importance of considering the broader social context when examining sport parenting (Fredricks & Eccles, 2004). Overall, findings indicate that parents' involvement in youth sport can be broadly categorised by the supporter, provider, coaching, and administrator roles. These roles align with previous literature highlighting parents' provisions of tangible, emotional, and informational support enabling children to progress and excel in sport (e.g., Bloom, 1985; Côté, 1999; Wolfenden & Holt, 2005), as well as helping act as interpreters and role models (Fredricks & Eccles, 2004).

Existing literature (e.g. Bloom, 1985; Côté, 1999; Wolfenden & Holt, 2005) shows parents to fulfil all the types of involvement detailed above. However, in the present study, many parents only indicated one or two roles (e.g., a number of parents only described their involvement in terms of supporting children). This may have arisen simply because parents only listed their main types of involvement. However, it might also be that some parents are unaware of the breadth of their involvement and subsequently the various ways in which they might

influence their children's sporting lives. Ensuring parents are aware of the varying ways in which they are involved and consequently influence their children's sporting experiences is important to ensure that parents are able to provide the most appropriate involvement.

A number of study participants indicated that they actively tried to limit their involvement (e.g., only providing opportunities or only supporting and encouraging their child), while others sought ways in which they could be more involved in their children's sport. Some parents, particularly those who had positive past experiences, seemed to positively seek to engage their own child because of the benefits they experienced and their belief that sport helps children grow. Thus, in line with Eccles and colleagues' (1998) model of parental influences on children's motivation and achievement, one of the key influences on parental involvement was parents' own beliefs regarding sport participation, and their goals for their children's sport experience. However, rather than parents' goals, beliefs, and behaviours being dictated only by personal characteristics such as gender, occupation, and income (as they are in Eccles' model), the current findings point to numerous environmental and experiential influences.

One of the greatest influences appears to be parents own sporting experiences. The influence of parents' past sporting experience has often been noted in the literature (e.g., Dorsch et al., 2009; Holt et al., 2008; Knight et al., 2010). However, the primary focus has usually related to the level at which parents have achieved and their knowledge of the sport. In the present study, it was apparent that parents' actual experiences of youth sport largely dictated their subsequent involvement in their children's sport. For example, parents who had enjoyed their sporting experiences, made friends, achieved at a high level, and/or perceived they had developed valuable life skills through sport generally thought that sport was a positive past time

and they wanted their children to experience the same benefits. Consequently, parents involvement in their children's sport was aimed at facilitate the achievement of these goals.

In contrast, parents who had more negative youth sport experiences expressed a motivation to prevent their children having similar experiences. For example, these parents often chose to provide very loud, positive, encouragement from their sidelines to help their children because they did not want their children to feel disappointment or that they were not performing well. However, if their children were disappointed or not performing well, these parents indicated that they experienced a great deal of empathy for their children because they understood what their children were experiencing. Parents perceived that such empathy influenced how they reacted to their children, with most parents thinking that it had a positive influence on their comments and involvement. However, previous research has indicated that when parents empathise with their children's disappointments it can, in some instances, lead to more reactive parent behaviours and negative parenting experiences (e.g., Knight & Holt, 2013a, 2013b). Thus, it is important that parents are cognizant of how they are reacting to different situations and how their children perceive these behaviors.

One of the characteristics Eccles and colleagues (1998) posited to influence parents' beliefs and goals was the number of children they had. Consistent with this suggestion, parents in the present study indicated that their involvement in one child's sport might be dictated by the needs of other children. However, parents also indicated changing their involvement in their children's sport based upon their experiences of parenting other children. Thus, it would appear that it is not only the number of children, but also experiences with past children that influence parents. In discussing the influence previous parenting experiences have on their involvement parents explained that they had a better idea of the sport system and what they needed to help

their children achieve or they had adjusted their expectations for their younger children. Such comments suggest that, unsurprisingly, parents are learning how to be involved in youth sport by trial and error. Although such experiential learning is not uncommon for sport parents (Dorsch et al., 2009, 2015a; Holt & Knight, 2013b) it could, at least in some instances, have a detrimental effect on older siblings. For example, one of the many criticisms levelled at parents involved in youth sport is that they expect too much of children, usually aligned with an excessive focus upon winning (Gould et al., 2006; 2008). It is positive to see that parents are adjusting their expectations based on watching older siblings participate in sport, but this does not rectify the experiences of older siblings. Parents have previously indicated that a lack of knowledge of different sporting systems has limited the support they can provide their children and they have desired more guidance from organisations and coaches (Harwood & Knight, 2009; Knight & Holt, 2013). The present findings reiterate the importance of providing parents with such information from the outset, but also educating parents regarding appropriate expectations, the need to focus on task goals, and the benefits of constant communication regarding their involvement (cf. Harwood & Knight, 2015).

Unfortunately, although much of parents' involvement appeared to be influenced by their desires for their children to have positive experiences, a consistent finding was that parents' involvement was dictated by a desire to limit their children's exposure to negative environments. For example, parents raised concerns regarding the overly competitive nature of sport, poor and pressuring coaches, and negative involvement (e.g., pressure) from parents. Moreover, some parents shared concerns regarding their own involvement and how they might negatively impact their children's sporting experiences. Given the cultural trend for adults to see children as precious and valued commodities who are vulnerable to both physical and emotional harm

(Stearn, 2003; Holt & Knight, 2014), combined with the negative perception of youth sport, it is not surprising that parents appear to be taking very active roles in their children's sport (as coaches and supporters). However, in doing so, parents might fall victim to becoming "helicopter parents," not allowing their children the space to develop or make mistakes (Holt & Knight, 2014). Having opportunities to make such mistakes or face adversity during early sport experiences can actually have a beneficial effect on athletes' development of resilience and coping strategies (e.g., Tamminen & Holt, 2012; Tamminen, Holt, & Neely, 2013).

Applied Implications

The findings of this study clearly indicate that parental involvement in sport is influenced by a variety of individual and environmental factors and parents want to be involved in their children's sport in different ways. Further, different parents also want to avoid being involved in certain ways within their children's sporting lives. Consequently, it is necessary that practitioners, coaches, and sports organizations account for such differences when they are developing and delivering sport parent initiatives. That is, rather than delivering "one size fits all" programming, it would be more beneficial and effective to provide a series of different workshops or modules targeting parents with different levels of sporting experiences, different goals for their children, and who are involved in different ways in sport. Currently, parents are (usually) treated as a homogenous group with generic guidelines or suggestions being provided with little to no consideration of what parents are trying to achieve or what is influencing their involvement.

Additionally, practitioners could work with coaches to encourage them to take time to get to know the parents of children they are working with and understand what is influencing their involvement. Such understanding may be particularly important if coaches perceive that parents

are taking too active a role in their children's sport (e.g., coaching or providing too much support) because such behaviors might be a reaction to parents' own negative sporting experiences or perceptions of a negative sporting environment. By taking time to understand parents' experiences and expectations, coaches can subsequently tailor their guidance and interactions to best support the entire family. In attending to parents in this manner, coaches will not only enhance the support parents and subsequently children receive (Knight & Holt, 2013b), but also reduce some of the potential issues they might encounter with parents (Knight & Harwood, 2010). Moreover, by working closely with parents, coaches can help parents to overcome some of their concerns regarding the perceived negative environmental influences within youth sport, which may lead to them being able to make changes in their involvement if required.

Finally, given the range of influences on parental involvement and particularly the potential impact parents own sporting experiences can have upon their involvement in their children's sport and the goals they have for their children, it would be useful for parents to reflect on these experiences and influences. By reflecting on why they are involved, the ways they are involved, and particularly how their own experiences may be positively or negatively influencing their involvement, parents might be able to actively enhance their involvement. Such reflections could also be used to engage children in conversations about parental involvement to find out what they like and dislike.

Limitations and Future Directions

Despite offering evidence of the potential impact of parents' own youth sport experiences on their current involvement in their children's sport participation, the present work possesses limitations that should be discussed. First, the study utilized an online survey for data collection.

This method allowed access to a wide range of participants and, hopefully facilitated more honest responses. However, the detail participants provided to the questions might have been limited because the survey took a long time to complete and participants could choose to skip questions (Van Selm & Jankowski, 2006). Further, the face-to-face encounter in qualitative research is valued because it allows the researcher and participant to establish rapport, which may facilitate the generation of data that sensitively reflect the interests of both parties (Seymour, 2001). Future work might benefit from the use of interviews with parents who are involved in their children's sport in different ways to explore the extent to which they align with the vignettes presented and also to provide an opportunity to "tease out" any further influences on parental involvement.

A second limitation lies in the lack of data obtained regarding children's perceptions of parent involvement. Parents described their own involvement but parents' perceptions and children's perceptions often differ (Stein et al., 1999). Consequently, children might actually perceive parents who described themselves as supporters and providers to be pushy or pressuring. Obtaining children's insights would enable future researchers to identify children's perceptions of their parents and also identify the influence of different types of involvement on children (e.g., Eccles et al., 1998). By including data from children, researchers could also identify whether the influences on parents' involvement were recursively influencing child outcomes. Thus, including observations of parents and conducting interviews with children to explore perceptions and consequences of parental involvement, as well as carrying out data collection over an extended period of time would provide a greater understanding of the manner in which influences on parents subsequently influence children.

Conclusion

The present study identified a number of individual and environmental influences on parental involvement in youth sport. Specifically, the findings point to the influence of parents' past experiences in sport and as a sport parent, their beliefs, goals, and values, the youth sport context, and concerns regarding other parents, coaches, and their own behavior. Based on present findings, it seems pertinent that researchers avoid treating parents as a homogenous group and recognize that parents all have different experiences of youth sport and are seeking different outcomes for their children. As such, researchers, practitioners, and sports organizations might find it beneficial to tailor interventions and educational materials to different parents.

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Table 1

Parent and Child Demographics

	US (<i>n</i> = 46)	UK (<i>n</i> = 24)	Total (<i>N</i> = 70)
Parent Age	Range: 33-55 years <i>M</i> : 44.22 years <i>SD</i> : 4.94	Range: 31-51 years <i>M</i> : 40.04 years <i>SD</i> : 7.12	Range: 31 -55 years <i>M</i> : 42.32 years <i>SD</i> : 6.8
Parent Gender	Female: 26 Male: 20	Female: 12 Male: 12	Female: 38 Male: 32
Parent Ethnicity/Race	Black/African-American: 5 White: 38 Mixed/Other: 3	Arab: 1 White: 22 Unknown: 1	Arab: 1 Black/African-American: 5 White: 60 Mixed/Other: 3 Unknown: 1
Parent Relationship Status	Married: 44 Divorced: 1 Single: 1	Married: 20 Living with partner: 2 Widowed: 1 Divorced: 1	Married: 64 Living with partner: 2 Widowed: 1 Divorced: 2 Single: 1
Parent Employment Status	Full Time: 33 Part Time: 2 Self-employed: 8 Homemaker: 6 Retired: 1	Full time: 12 Part time: 8 Self-employed: 2 Other: 2	Full Time: 45 Part Time: 10 Self-employed: 10 Homemaker: 6 Retired: 1 Other: 2
Household Income	< \$6500: 0 \$6500-16249: 0 \$16250-32499: 3 \$32500-48749: 6 \$48750-64999: 11 \$6500-97499: 18 >\$97500: 11 No response: 2	< £6500: 1 £6500-16249: 1 £16250-32499: 4 £32500-48749: 4 £48750-64999: 5 £6500-97499: 3 >£97500: 6	Not possible to combine due to different currency
Number of Children	Range: 1-8 <i>M</i> : 2.6 <i>SD</i> : 1.34	Range: 1-7 <i>M</i> : 2.17 <i>SD</i> : 1.31	Range: 1-8 <i>M</i> : 2.45 <i>SD</i> : 1.33
Child Gender	Male: 68 Female: 49	Male: 39 Female: 21	Male: 107 Female: 70
Child Age	Range: 7-29 years <i>M</i> : 13.45 years <i>SD</i> : 4.73	Range: 3-18 <i>M</i> : 11.8 <i>SD</i> : 3.77	Range: 3- 29 years <i>M</i> : 13.04 years <i>SD</i> : 4.49

Table 2

Parent Sport Demographics

	US (<i>n</i> = 46)		UK (<i>n</i> = 24)	
Participated in youth sport	Yes: 41 No: 5		Yes: 21 No: 3	
Years in Youth Sport	Range: 0-18 <i>M</i> : 9.19 <i>SD</i> : 4.39		Range: 1-18 <i>M</i> : 11.24 <i>SD</i> : 5.19	
Youth Sport Type	Team: 30 Individual: 0 Both: 14 Neither: 2		Team: 6 Individual: 4 Both: 8 No response: 6	
Sport	Basketball: 31 Baseball: 19 Cheerleading: 1 Dance: 2 Field Hockey: 1 Figure Skating: 1 Football: 13 Golf: 2 Ice Hockey: 2 Lacrosse: 1	Rugby: 1 Soccer: 13 Softball: 8 Swimming: 2 Tennis: 6 Track & field: 10 Ultimate Frisbee: 1 Volleyball: 17 Wrestling: 1	Badminton: 2 Cricket: 4 Cycling: 1 Dance: 1 Football: 7 Golf: 1 Gymnastics: 1 Hockey: 6	Netball: 5 Rounders: 2 Rugby: 3 Squash: 2 Swimming: 9 Tennis: 5 Track & Field: 11 Show Jumping: 1
Level reached in sport	Youth: 31 Middle/Junior high: 36 High school: 37 Elite/club/travel: 15 College intramurals: 1	College/University: 20 International youth: 1 International: 3 Professional: 2	School: 16 Club: 15 Junior county: 8 Senior county: 7 Junior regional: 6 Senior regional: 5 Junior national: 7 Senior national: 4	University: 5 Professional academy/ representative side: 2 Professional: 2 International: 1 No response: 2
Currently involved in sport	Yes: 30 No: 16		Yes: 13 No: 7 No response: 4	
Type of current sport involvement	Administrator: 11 Athlete: 12 Athletic director: 1	Manager: 2 Referee: 3 Sport Psychologist: 1 Team captain: 1	Athlete: 5 Coach: 5 Manager: 1 Administrator: 4	Psychologist: 1 Doctor: 1 Official: 2
Years of involvement as “sport parent”	Range: 1-25 <i>M</i> : 9.45 <i>SD</i> : 4.52		Range: 1-13 <i>M</i> : 7.11 <i>SD</i> : 3.53	

Table 3

Child Sport Demographics

	US (<i>n</i> = 46)		UK (<i>n</i> = 24)	
Sport	Basketball: 27 Baseball: 20 Cheerleading: 1 Dance: 1 Football: 18 Golf: 1 Lacrosse: 5 Skiing: 3 Soccer: 22	Softball: 5 Swimming: 2 Taekwondo: 2 Tennis: 1 Track and field: 10 Volleyball: 17 Water polo: 1 Wrestling: 3	Archery: 1 Badminton: 2 Cricket: 3 Cycling: 5 Dance: 1 Gymnastics: 2 Field Hockey: 4 Jujitsu: 1 Kick boxing: 1	Netball: 3 Rounders: 1 Rugby: 4 Soccer: 10 Squash: 1 Swimming: 17 Taekwondo: 1 Tennis: 6 Track & Field: 9
Highest level of competition	Youth: 43 Middle/Junior High: 36 High School: 26 Club/Elite/Travel: 25 College/University: 3		School: 15 Club: 17 Junior county: 8 Senior county: 2 Junior regional: 5	Senior regional: 1 Junior national: 3 Senior national: 1 Professional academy/ rep side: 2 International: 1