

## Parents' Perceptions of Child-to-Parent Socialization in Organized Youth Sport

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The purpose of this study was to enhance understanding of how parents are socialized by their children's organized youth sport participation. Five semistructured focus groups were conducted with youth sport parents ( $N = 26$ ) and analyzed using qualitative methods based on Strauss and Corbin (1998). Sixty-three underlying themes reflected parents' perceived socialization experiences resulting from their children's organized youth sport participation. Each theme represented 1 of 11 subcategories of parental change, which were subsumed within four broad categories of parent sport socialization (behavior, cognition, affect, relationships). Each category of parental change was interconnected with the other three categories. Moreover, six potential moderators of parent sport socialization were documented, namely, child age, parent past sport experience, parent and child gender, child temperament, community sport context, and type of sport setting (individual or team). Together, these findings enhance understanding of parent sport socialization processes and outcomes, thus opening avenues for future research on parents in the youth sport setting.

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Youth sport parents invest significant time, money, and emotional energy in the sport-related activities of their children (Eynon, Kitchen, & Semotiuk, 1980; Green & Chalip, 1997; Kirk et al., 1997), and the family environment (e.g., daily routine, goal structure, family budget) has been shown to be impacted by a child's sport involvement (Côté 1999; Jambor, 1999; Snyder & Purdy, 1982; Weiss & Hayashi, 1995). Nonetheless, there is limited understanding of how parents are socialized through their children's involvement in organized youth sport (Green-dorfer, 2002; Wiersma & Fifer, 2008). Given preliminary evidence that children influence their parents through youth sport and the potential for these parental socialization outcomes to have reciprocal influence on children's sport experiences (Fredricks & Eccles, 2004), careful exploration of child-to-parent socialization in youth sport is warranted.

Socialization is the continuing process whereby an individual acquires a personal identity and learns the norms, values, behavior, and social skills appropriate

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to the standards of their social environment (Arnett, 1995; Maccoby, 1992). This is the process by which culture is transmitted, enabling individuals to function as competent members of society (Martens, 1975). Most socialization research has been targeted toward gaining an understanding of how parents influence their children (e.g., Eisenberg, Cumberland, & Spinrad, 1998); however, the opposite direction of influence has been investigated as well (Cook, 2001; Huh, Tristan, Wade, & Stice, 2006). Contemporary perspectives have moved away from presenting socialization as something that is done to children or for children and toward a relational perspective whereby children are not only influenced by parents, but also elicit certain thoughts, feelings, and actions in parents (Bugental & Grusec, 2006; Cook, 2001; Kuczynski, Marshall, & Schell, 1997).

This idea of child-to-parent socialization has been widely represented in developmental literature (see Bell, 1968; Bell & Harper, 1977; Kuczynski et al., 1997; Peters, 1985). However, despite recognition of the importance of considering broader views of socialization within the youth sport setting (Brustad, 1992; Coakley, 2004; Greendorfer, 2002; Partridge, Brustad, & Babkes Stellino, 2008), few researchers have directly addressed child-to-parent socialization within the context of organized youth sport (e.g., Snyder & Purdy, 1982; Weiss & Hayashi, 1995). Expanding the knowledge base on this topic would seem valuable to the understanding of socialization and developmental processes in sport as well as to opening avenues for better understanding of the youth sport experience.

Snyder and Purdy (1982) examined changes in parents stemming from having a child involved in sport. Their conception of socialization was couched in symbolic interactionism, whereby social interaction is viewed as reciprocal, negotiable, and emergent. Through brief exploratory interviews with 71 parents of competitive youth sport athletes, Snyder and Purdy noted constructs inherent in both parent-to-child and child-to-parent sport socialization. When asked specifically about child-to-parent influences in sport, parent participants described increased interest in sport as a result of their children's sport participation. Interview responses suggested that this cognitive shift was reflected in certain sport-related behaviors in parents, such as attendance at their children's sport events, reading about sport, and watching sports on television. Moreover, the degree of socialization effects was linked to the sport background of parents, with increased attendance of parents more likely in those with a background, and increased interest in those without a background. Overall, though parents may initially socialize their children into organized sport (see Bloom, 1985; Côté, 1999; Horn & Horn, 2007), Snyder and Purdy's work suggests that a child's subsequent sport participation has cognitive and behavioral consequences for parents as well.

Building on Snyder and Purdy's (1982) work, Weiss and Hayashi (1995) explored perceptions of socialization influences in 24 competitive youth gymnasts and their parents. Gymnasts completed self-report assessments tapping perceptions of their parents' involvement and interest in sport, behavior at gymnastics meets, encouragement, beliefs about competence, and affective reactions. Their parents completed an interview containing open-ended and forced-choice questions addressing matters such as gains and sacrifice; effects on family relationships; and commitments, roles, and interests that evolved as a result of their children's gymnastics involvement. The gymnasts indicated that their parents frequently attended their meets, encouraged them, were pleased with their partici-

pation, and held positive and realistic competence beliefs about them. In addition, consistent with Snyder and Purdy's study, parents reported that their children's involvement in gymnastics increased their own attendance at meets and their sport consumption through reading and television. This was within the context of significant time and financial commitments to their children's gymnastics involvement and a variety of perceived affective (e.g., pride, more positive relationship with child) and cognitive (e.g., sport knowledge) benefits from their children's involvement.

These two investigations provide important information on how parents may change as a result of their children's organized sport participation. Behavioral outcomes were the primary emphasis of these investigations, in part because they built from previous work showing that a child's sport involvement results in family scheduling/time and financial accommodations (e.g., Eynon et al., 1980). However, cognitive and affective changes in parents were also showcased in the data. Building from these findings, a deeper understanding of how parents are socialized by their children's sport involvement could be obtained by (a) allowing parents to shape the discussion of their behavioral, cognitive, and affective changes through their children's organized sport involvement; (b) assessing the interplay among reported behavioral, cognitive, and affective changes; and (c) assessing parents' perceptions of factors that moderate such changes. The present investigation was designed accordingly, with the underlying goal being to enhance the present theoretical understanding of child-to-parent socialization in organized youth sport. Such an endeavor is in line with calls for a broader conception of sport socialization (see Brustad, 1992; Greendorfer, 2002; Partridge et al., 2008), in which young athletes are not reduced to passive agents of the socialization process, but instead are forwarded as active socializing agents themselves (Coakley, 2004).

Consistent with such a perspective on socialization, the concept of reciprocal determinism within Bandura's (1986) social cognitive theory provides a useful foundation for the present research. According to Bandura, behavior, the environment, and cognitive and other personal factors, such as affect, serve as determinants of one another in an interactive system of reciprocal causation. Reciprocal processes can take place within each of these components as well. Changes in the components of this interactive system can be stimulated through a variety of mechanisms, including observational learning, reward and punishment, self-regulation, and self-reflection. Thus, people are recognized as being able to exercise agency in the trajectory of their experiences while social factors also play a guiding, interwoven role (Bandura, 2001). In considering how to better understand child-to-parent socialization in the social environment of organized youth sport, this theory directs us to explore the interplay of parental changes in behavior and personal factors (i.e., cognition and affect) that stem from parents' exposure to youth sport. For this reason, *parent sport socialization* was defined in the current study as parents' changes in behavior, cognition, and affect that occur as a result of the organized sport participation of their children. Of particular interest were the connections among such changes as communicated by parents. Bandura also points to the value of attending to social-environmental factors that may moderate

parental behavioral and personal changes; therefore, the current investigation also explored parents' perceptions of possible moderators of child-to-parent socialization effects.

Given the scarcity of work on parent sport socialization, obtaining comprehensive accounts of this phenomenon from parents would be an especially profitable strategy for extending the knowledge base. Therefore, qualitative methods were employed in the present research. The compilation of qualitative data is especially useful when seeking to systematically describe and explain the perspectives of participants (Fontana & Frey, 2000). Moreover, this process can be enhanced by framing the work in extant theory, which assists in the conceptualization of research questions and the analysis and interpretation of qualitative data (Sandelowski, 1993). In the current study, the developmental and sport socialization literatures as well as the concept of reciprocal determinism within social cognitive theory served as our frame of reference, suggesting that socialization outcomes encompass interconnected behavioral, cognitive, and affective changes. To more fully elucidate the nature and breadth of these changes, purposeful sampling and coding methods based on Strauss and Corbin's (1994, 1998) recommendations were adopted. These methods emphasize the exploration of connections among constructs and the building of theoretical understanding (Creswell, 2007).

In summary, the purpose of our study was to enhance the present understanding of parent sport socialization. In pursuing this aim, a qualitative research strategy was adopted that enabled the uncovering of behavioral, cognitive, and affective changes in parents; the revealing of interconnections among these changes; and the exploration of potential social-environmental moderators of these changes.

## Method

### Purposeful Sampling

Purposeful sampling was used to recruit participants who could provide varied and detailed insights into parent sport socialization, while maintaining a manageable sample size for in-depth qualitative analysis (Bruce, 2007). Parents with a child (age 6–15 years) involved in organized summer baseball, basketball, softball, or soccer were recruited. Parents were recruited from team sports because they are well populated and would afford a representative sport parenting experience in the target community. Upon obtaining institutional review board approval, the first author contacted youth sport league directors and coaches to share the study purpose and schedule brief meetings with parents that followed their children's regularly scheduled team practice sessions. Following these recruitment meetings, consenting parents completed a short demographic questionnaire and indicated their availability to participate in a focus group. Based on the demographic information, focus groups that included participants across varying sports, personal sport experience, and family size were constructed.

## Participants

Twenty-six youth sport parents (16 mothers, 10 fathers), ages 34–57 ( $M = 44.2$ ) years, participated in the study. The participants reported having 34 boys and 39 girls, ranging in age from 5 to 26 years ( $M = 13.9$ ). Number of children per family ranged from 1 to 6 ( $M = 2.8$ ). Of the 26 participants, all but one indicated living in a two-parent household.<sup>1</sup> Twenty-four parents were Caucasian and two were African-American. Participants reported high educational attainment (77% had at least a bachelor's degree) and household income (median = 100,000+ USD), indicating that the participants represented an upper-SES tier of families within the research area.

In addition to the sports targeted for recruitment, the participants' children were or had been involved in two other team sports (football and volleyball) and several individual sports (e.g., gymnastics, tennis, swimming, cross country). A parent season was defined as having one child in one sport for one competitive season, and participants reported 12–62 seasons of experience as team sport parents ( $M = 30.5$ ) and 0–26 seasons of experience as individual sport parents ( $M = 6.8$ ). The majority ( $n = 17$ ) of parents participated themselves in organized athletics through the high school level. Three parents reported playing either collegiately or professionally. Five parents had limited experience ranging from youth through junior high school levels and one parent reported having no organized sport playing experience.

## Focus Groups

Data were collected in a focus group setting to document the nature and breadth of parent sport socialization experiences. Focus groups were chosen to allow participants to stimulate, build upon, and query each others' ideas through discussion (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005). Initially, a mock focus group with sport psychology graduate students and faculty members was implemented, followed by a pilot focus group with five parents. These were used to hone group interviewing skills and the focus group guide.<sup>2</sup> Mock and pilot focus groups are beneficial for both testing the questions being asked and illuminating potential responses to them (Krueger, 1998a). Though the pilot focus group data were not included in the primary analyses, they were helpful in this regard.

The first author, with the help of an assistant, subsequently conducted five focus group interviews ( $n = 4–6$  participants) for the main study. The final semi-structured focus group guide began with the question, "Are you different now as a parent and person because of your children's sport involvement?" in an effort to avoid the presumption that parents would perceive or acknowledge such change. All parents in all groups responded affirmatively; therefore, the interviewer posed the question, "How so?" This open-ended question allowed parents freedom to interact conversationally within the semistructured format (e.g., parents often built upon one another's thoughts and opinions by directly questioning one another, sharing personal experiences, or explicitly agreeing or disagreeing with points). Following this opening discussion, a set of main questions was used to discern parents' perceptions of how their behaviors, thoughts, and emotions had specifically changed as a result of their children's participation in organized youth

sport (e.g., “Have the emotions your child has experienced in sport influenced your behavior over time?”). This portion of the discussion lasted about 30–40 min. Again, the relatively free-flowing discussion provided parents the opportunity to contribute new ideas beyond those included in the interview guide or build upon ideas shared by other group members. A second set of main questions was used to explore potential moderators of the parent sport socialization process. Specifically, the parents were asked if they believed their child’s age, their and their child’s gender, and/or their own past sport experience were germane to their parent sport socialization. In addition, parents were given freedom to identify other potential moderators. This part of the discussion lasted about 25–35 min. Throughout the focus group discussion, probes were used to further assess the nature, mechanisms, and possible moderators of parental change. Following each of the two sets of main questions, the assistant performed a conversation summary (i.e., a brief synopsis of the main points offered by parents). This strategy has been outlined by Krueger (1998b) as providing participants an opportunity to extend and/or clarify their previous responses while together as a group. In many cases, parents recalled personal anecdotes or opinions and amended or adjusted previous remarks, thereby enhancing both the detail and the trustworthiness of the data. Upon completing the focus group session, participants were invited to disclose privately (on a sheet of paper made available on site, or later via e-mail) anything they wished to share but were not comfortable expressing in the group setting. No parents took advantage of this opportunity.

## Data Analysis

Each focus group was digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim. Before data analysis commenced, names of participants were replaced by pseudonyms. Data organization and analysis was facilitated by NVivo 7 software and open and axial coding methods forwarded by Strauss and Corbin (1998) were employed to conceptually analyze the focus group data.

Open coding (i.e., the process of identifying themes in the data; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) was implemented independently by the first and second authors to inductively identify key concepts in each focus group transcript. After thoroughly reading a transcript, portions of text were coded that described aspects of parent socialization or moderators of that process. Data were coded into themes representative of similar concepts. Each theme was defined to identify its essential characteristics. The first and second authors then met to discuss their coding and reach a consensus in the case of any discrepancies. Following this thematic analysis and consensus formation, the third author independently examined the transcript with coded text highlighted, as well as a list of the themes and theme definitions developed through the first two authors’ coding, and attempted to match the coded text to themes. Where discrepancies existed in this coding check, the authors met to create consensus on how each of the discrepancies should be coded. In each case, consensus was reached.

Axial coding (i.e., the process of identifying categories and subcategories of the themes identified in open coding; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) was used to develop structure through hierarchical organization of the data. Theory can play an important function in qualitative research as an organizational framework fol-

lowing preliminary stages of data analysis (Sandelowski, 1993); therefore, the socialization components of behavior, cognition, and affect drawn from social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986) served as a starting point for creating overarching categories. Specifically, axial coding began by grouping codes into the categories of behavior, cognition, and affect where theoretically justified. As themes were categorized into one of these broader categories of parent sport socialization, subcategories emerged inductively from the data as we aimed to cluster emerging themes into specific types of behavioral, cognitive, or affective change. Through the analysis process it also became evident that the creation of a fourth category of parental change would aid in more appropriately delineating the subcategories and specific themes of parents' socialization experiences. Therefore, a fourth category subsuming subcategories and themes of parent relationships was created. Moreover, in line with the concept of reciprocal determinism in social cognitive theory, the interconnections between categories, subcategories, and themes were explored. Specifically, the first author reread each coded quote, noting any sequenced links between parents' perceptions of their socialization outcomes. This process highlighted parents' perceived causal links between and within each of the four categories of parent sport socialization. This process was followed by a consensus meeting between authors in which coding results were substantiated.

Data analysis commenced immediately after the first focus group, and adjustments to subsequent data collection and analysis were made as appropriate to achieving the study aims. New concepts that arose in a focus group were questioned and probed in subsequent focus groups and member checking interviews. For example, in the first three focus groups, parents were prompted to describe the ways in which they had changed in their behavior, cognition, and affect. Through data collection and analysis, however, it became apparent that another, separate category of parental change was emerging. Therefore, in subsequent focus groups, the interviewer questioned and probed participants on changes in their relationships with others in the sport setting as a result of their children's participation in organized youth sport. Open and axial coding were employed using a constant comparison approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Constant comparison is an iterative process involving contrasting newly collected data with previously analyzed data such that the emerging coding scheme evolves over the course of the project (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In addition, definitions of themes identified in open coding were sometimes expanded to include similar concepts discovered in later transcripts. This ongoing analysis allowed thematic organization to occur as the study progressed, leading to the amalgamation, deletion, and expansion of overlapping themes and subcategories. Similarly, constant comparison played a role in determining when theoretical saturation was reached. This is when the collection of additional data no longer yields new information concerning the research question (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). By using constant comparison and conducting focus groups and data analysis simultaneously, it was possible to determine that no new themes emerged from the fourth focus group. A fifth group was conducted and then, when again no new themes emerged, data collection was ended.

## Member-Check Interviews

Member checking (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) was used to ensure that the results represented the participants' intended meaning. A short report of findings and a descriptive pictorial model of parent sport socialization were sent to five participants via e-mail. The first author then interviewed each of these individuals by telephone to assess whether the depiction of the data was perceived as representing their experiences. Participants were asked to comment on their level of agreement with the findings, thoroughness of the report and model, and any additional information about their experiences with parent socialization through sport. Notes were taken during these conversations. As a result of these conversations, parents did recommend that greater emphasis should be placed on peer social networking in the final presentation of results. No entirely new themes were discussed; however, in multiple cases, parents' suggestions were used to combine (e.g., support and sacrifice), extend (e.g., the role of context as a potential moderator), or highlight (e.g., parents' peer social networking opportunities) specific subcategories and themes that were presented in the member check. This feedback helped us refine our conceptualization of parent sport socialization accordingly.

## Results

### Categories of Parental Change

Sixty-three descriptive themes of parent sport socialization illustrated parents' perceptions of the numerous changes that occur in their behavior, cognition, affect, and relationships as a result of the organized youth sport participation of their children (see Table 1). Each theme was structured hierarchically into 1 of 11 subcategories of parent sport socialization and each subcategory is subsumed within one of the four broader categories of parent sport socialization. Categories and subcategories are shown in relation to their underlying themes in Table 1 and are outlined below. In addition, direct quotations from the participants are shared to illustrate meaning of particular themes.

**Changes in Parent Behavior.** Parents indicated that their children's involvement in organized youth sport influenced both their *participation* in sport and the *support and sacrifice* they provide/make to facilitate their children's involvement (see Table 1). As a means of participation, many parents described volunteering to coach their children's teams in an effort to control their child's schedule or to set limits for their child's involvement. Parents communicated that participative behaviors were also driven by a willingness to learn a new sport and often gave them avenues to balance the need to attend to all of their children. Parents expressly indicated that the most notable change in their participative behaviors came in the form of an increase in their own sport participation as a result of the youth sport involvement of their children. As Candace said, "My littlest wants to play tennis, so [I] go out and play tennis now and I never would have done that. And so, you know, maybe I'll learn to play tennis." Parents also spoke of buffering their children's negative sport-related emotions. Most often, this followed a loss or minor

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

<b>Category</b>
<b>Subcategory</b>
<b>Theme</b>
<i>Changes in parent behavior</i>
Participation
Balancing the need to attend to all children
Becoming involved as a coach
Buffering child’s sport-related emotions
Increase in own participation in sport
Involvement as a means to control child’s schedule
Setting limits for child involvement
Willingness to learn a new sport
Support and sacrifice
Adopting time management strategies
Family sacrifice
Financial investment
Flexibility with time/travel demands
Increase in attendance at events/contests
Logistical support
Parent sacrifice
Protectiveness of child
<i>Changes in parent cognition</i>
Awareness
Awareness of child’s knowledge/ability in sport
Awareness of own knowledge/ability in sport
Increased interest in sport
Learning appropriate “bleacher behavior”
Goals
Adapting own goals to child’s goals
Adopting a “whatever it takes” attitude
Broader perspective on child’s sport involvement
Increased competitiveness
Surprise at child’s sport-related goals
Knowledge
Appreciation of difficulty of sport
Change in knowledge about sport
Consideration of scholarship opportunities
Recognition that child’s sport involvement will end

*(continued)*

**Table 1 (continued)**

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<b>Category</b>
<b>Subcategory</b>
<b>Theme</b>
<i>Changes in parent affect</i>
Emotional connection to sport
Anxiety about possible outcomes
Embarrassment in child's performance
Emotional tie to the youth sport setting
Enjoyment of sport
Living vicariously through child
Pride in child
Emotional management
Adoption of emotional regulation strategies
Coping with disappointment
Emotional "mirroring"
Reactive emotional experiences
Anger/frustration with child
Anger/frustration with family
Anger/frustration with the context
Guilt from lack of control or ability to help child
Guilt from lack of involvement
Mental exhaustion
Physical exhaustion
Relief for a break from sport
Relief in a child's sport participation choices
Resentment of oneself
Resentment of the youth sport context
<i>Changes in parent relationships</i>
Communication
Adapting parent-child communication style
Tempering spouse expectations of child
Constraints to parent-child communication
Enhanced parent-child communication
Providing sport-related advice and feedback
Parent-child relationship
Enhanced parent-child relationship
Opportunity to know friends of child
Parent-child relationship friction
Reliance on child's peers to help child in sport

*(continued)*

**Table 1 (continued)**

<b>Category</b>
<b>Subcategory</b>
<b>Theme</b>
Restraint to preserve parent-child relationship
Relationships with parent peers
Impression management
Loss of social network through child's sport transition
Opportunity to know other sports families
Peer social networking
Supporting peers' children in youth sport

setback, where the parent made a deliberate effort to provide encouragement to or reframe the competitive experience for the child.

Parents also spoke of the need to support their children's organized youth sport involvement and the associated sacrifice that was necessary to achieve this end. Nearly every parent spoke of personal and family sacrifice that was made to allow for their children's participation. With many families, this support came in the general form of parents' attendance at the child's events and contests. For some families, the financial responsibilities of being a youth sport parent were also salient. Some parents labeled this support as a sacrifice, whereas others described this financial support as an investment. In each case, however, parents suggested that this money would otherwise be devoted to vacation or other leisure activities. Parents also noted becoming more flexible with their time owing to the travel demands of youth sport, spurring many of them to adopt time management strategies and to provide logistical support for the organized youth sport participation of their children. In addition, many parents, especially mothers, described protecting their children from negative outcomes of being a youth sport athlete (e.g., yelling coaches, team politics, high expectations). Overall, parental support and sacrifice was summed up by Francis, who said, "If you look at [youth sport], there are a lot of negatives, you know. The financial burden, the time given up . . . from your family, and the other things you want to do." According to the parents, the degree of support and sacrifice associated with the sport involvement of their children was typically greater than they had expected before becoming sport parents. Overwhelmingly, parents described their own support and sacrifices, though, as a means to an end. They were not always thrilled with their role as a youth sport parent, but described being driven to provide their children with the best possible youth sport experience they could.

**Changes in Parent Cognition.** Parents communicated that their children's involvement in youth sport influenced their *awareness* in, *goals* for, and *knowledge* about sport (see Table 1). With regard to awareness, parents described youth sport as a forum for gaining a better idea of their own and their child's knowledge

and ability in sport. This process facilitated a greater interest in sport for most parents as they reported thinking about sport on a more regular basis as a result of their socialization as youth sport parents. Many parents also described a remarkable cognitive change in their learning of appropriate “bleacher behavior.” Through modeling and reinforcement, parents described becoming experts at blending into the crowd. This was evidenced by Barb:

[My son] did tell me one time, “Mom, I could hear you, you were *loud*.” You know, that made me reevaluate a little how I was looking to the others around me. I don’t want to be *that* mom, you know, so, I tried to pipe it down a little bit.

Parents also spoke of adjusting the goals they held for their children in the context of youth sport. Specifically, parents adapted their goals to their children’s goals—often reflected in parents lowering or raising the importance they placed on their children’s sport involvement. In some cases parents believed that this provided them with a broader perspective on their child’s sport involvement. In those cases where parents were surprised to see their young children set high goals, it often resulted in an increase in their competitiveness or their adopting of a “whatever it takes” attitude. This was exemplified by Kendra, who described the necessity to adopt a creative mindset as she worked through the logistical nightmare of taking care of two infant children while also providing transportation for two youth sport athletes:

It changes your lifestyle too . . . with my older two, when they were, uh, involved in sports, here I had infant twins and my husband works nights. “How am I gonna take these two to their sporting events?” Well, I put a TV/VCR combo in the van and I packed a playpen in the back and there they were.

Parents’ increase in knowledge about sports also was a recurring theme, especially among parents who held little sport experience themselves. Grant, who reported no sport experience as a child, spoke of being introduced to sport through his kids, “I never played youth sports . . . and, so my increase in knowledge has been tremendous.” Parent comments also suggested that as parents gain experience in the youth sport setting, they gain a broader appreciation for the difficulty of sport and parents of older athletes admitted beginning to consider athletic scholarship opportunities for their children. However, these parents of older athletes also more readily recognized that their child’s sport involvement would end, a realization that many parents described as difficult to accept.

**Changes in Parent Affect.** Parents indicated that their children’s involvement in youth sport influenced their *emotional connection to sport*, *emotional management strategies* they employ in the youth sport setting, and their *reactive emotional experiences* in the youth sport setting (see Table 1). Building an emotional connection to sport was described by parents as a natural consequence of being a youth sport parent and seemed to be driven by the evolving process of being consumed by that setting. For instance, many parents described global feelings of pride and enjoyment as a result of their children’s participation. Conversely, others

spoke of feelings of anxiety or embarrassment stemming from the sport participation of their children. For a smaller group of parents, their emotional tie came in the form of living vicariously through their children. For example, Art spoke of his own emotions as being tied to the successes of his sons on the basketball court, "I tell people that I'm reliving my high school dreams . . . both my boys are better than I ever was when I was playing high school basketball . . . I got really into it [when they began playing] in high school." The majority of parents who discussed an emotional connection to sport also touched on their emotional tie to the youth sport setting. Candace described the link between her child's participation in organized youth sport and her own positive affect this way: "When you think, 'okay, [my son]'s not going to do a sport, big deal,' but it really is . . . I guess [his participation] does affect us more than we realize it does."

Parents also discussed the management of their emotions in sport-related situations. While parents were frequently able to adopt personal strategies to manage their sport-related emotions and cope with disappointment, they also reported developing "emotional mirroring" strategies. Specifically, they spoke of learning to look to their children for emotional cues and adjust their emotional reactions to match. This tactic was most often cited by parents who had less sport experience than their children. As Sandra said, "Yeah, I think mine is a natural reaction. I was happy for her that she was happy . . . initially, my first reaction was embarrassment, but if they're happy then I'm happy."

Parents experience many emotions on a daily basis and some of these reactive emotional experiences were described by parents as a consequence of youth sport parenting. Specifically, parents spoke of five discrete emotions that occurred regularly as a youth sport parent. Of these short-term, reactive emotions, the most commonly discussed by parents was the feeling of anger/frustration. In some cases this was directed at their child or the entire family, but was most often centered on the context of youth sport. As Lucy described,

So many kids are starting off all of their sports so young that, even when kids are at an age where they should still be learning things, a lot of them don't feel comfortable coming in and trying to learn. . . . It's frustrating.

In addition, parents spoke of feelings of guilt (from a lack of control or ability to help their child, or from a lack of involvement in their children's sport endeavors), exhaustion (both physical and mental), and resentment (of oneself and of the youth sport context) that arose as a consequence of being a youth sport parent. When parents reported resentment of themselves, they attributed this to an inability to provide opportunities for, or be as involved as they would like in, their children's youth sport participation. In contrast to these negative emotions, parents also discussed experiencing relief from certain sport-related decisions made by their child or when there was a break from the sport. As Sandra said,

Our oldest . . . ended up playing 70 baseball games from April to the end of July. I was actually glad when they lost at the Zone [tournament] instead of going to Texas because I knew what all I had waiting for me at work. . . . God, I'm so glad [they] lost! It's like, "Oh, it's so nice to be home!"

**Changes in Parent Relationships.** Parents noted that their children's involvement in organized youth sport influenced their *communication*, the *parent-child relationship*, and their *relationships with parent peers* (see Table 1). Parents described adapting their parent-child communication style as a result of their child's youth sport participation. Specifically, some parents felt that sport created additional opportunities for general communication (e.g., in the car, traveling to and from practices and games) or provided opportunity to give advice and feedback to their children. An interesting finding was that parents also perceived communication changes with their spouses. Specifically, parents spoke of attempting to temper spouse expectations of their child. As Emma described, it became her sport parenting role to be supportive of her children regardless of their athletic outcomes, forcing her to confront her husband, who was a yeller and a screamer during their children's sporting events. "I found myself telling [my husband], 'leave [the boys] alone. Don't stand behind home plate and yell at them. Leave them alone. That's not gonna make 'em play better.'" In line with this example, several parents spoke of having intense discussions with their spouse about their respective sport-related expectations for their child.

Change in the parent-child relationship was also discussed as a consequence of being a youth sport parent. Though many parents noted an enhanced relationship with their child and spoke of the opportunity to know friends of their children as a result of the child's youth sport participation, the parent-child relationship was also described by parents as fluid and dynamic. Parents frequently discussed parent-child relationship friction. Monica shared a story about her daughter and husband: "When her father coached her . . . we discovered that that can never happen again as long as they both live because they're cut from the same cookie cutter and they wanted to strangle each other all summer long." Parents often spoke of relying on a child's peers to help their child in sport and of using restraint in an effort to preserve the parent-child relationship when such friction was present.

Finally, parents' relationships with parent peers emerged as a distinct subcategory of parental change. Parents spoke at length about sport providing an opportunity to know other sport families in the community. Consequently, parents often reported supporting the sport endeavors of their peers' children. These relationships allowed parents numerous peer social networking opportunities. As Betty said, "I think we were exposed to a whole new peer group. I mean, the people we hang out with is, just totally revolves around who our kids play on teams with." Kurt spoke of his social interactions this way: "Before, my social grouping used to be about me and now our social group is about the kids." In this new environment, parents described attempting to manage the impressions others formed about them, in essence presenting a "public face" to their peers in the bleachers. On the back end of a child's sport career, or as a result of a child's sport transition, parents noted difficulty in accepting the loss of these social networks.

## Interconnections of Categories of Parental Change

Parents' expressions of the sequencing of their socialization outcomes offer deeper theoretical understanding of parent sport socialization. The coding process illuminated many interconnections of parent sport socialization themes both within and

across subcategories and categories. In the interest of providing a concise representation of broad theoretical value, the subsections below are organized by parent socialization category, with emphasis on subcategory-level antecedents of parent perceived change. Descriptions of these interrelationships are supplemented by direct quotations from the participants where appropriate.

***Antecedents of Parent Behavioral Changes.*** Various cognitive, affective, and relationship factors were reported by parents as influencing them behaviorally. Parent reports suggested that two subcategories of changes in parent cognition (awareness, goal structure) influenced parents' participation in sport. This interconnection was most evident in parents who learned about a sport through their children's participation and thus took up participation in that sport.

Similarly, parent reports suggested that two subcategories of changes in parent affect (emotional management and reactive emotional experiences) influenced their own participation in sport. Parents communicated that when they become more emotionally invested in the sporting events of their children they also attend events or contests more frequently, volunteer to coach their children's teams, and participate in sport on a more regular basis.

Parent responses indicated that two subcategories of changes in parent relationships (communication, relationships with parent peers) influenced changes in parent behavior. More specifically, parents pointed out that communication had an effect on the subsequent support and sacrifice they made for their children. This came about mostly through parent-child communication, with parents learning how to be "youth sport parents" through various communicative opportunities and then adjusting their future behavior in the setting. Likewise, relationships with parent peers were reported as influencing both parent participation and the support and sacrifice parents make in the youth sport setting.

Finally, within the behavior category, parental support and sacrifice was reported as influencing parental participation. As could be expected, parents described gaining a vested interest in becoming more involved as a youth sport parent, whether through willingness to learn a new sport or through personal participation, as they provided more logistical support for their children and sacrificed more to help them participate.

***Antecedents of Parent Cognitive Changes.*** Features of the affective, relationship, and behavioral categories were reported by parents as influencing them cognitively. Parent reports indicated that two subcategories of changes in parent affect (emotional management, reactive emotional experiences) influenced the subcategories of parents' changes in cognition. When parents managed emotions, they noted a subsequent increase in their awareness in the sport setting. This most often came in the form of parents learning appropriate "bleacher behavior." As Ted said,

I used to joke and say I could yell at the ref[eree]s as long as I paid for a ticket, okay. . . . It's not fair to do that, um, it doesn't matter how the game is being played. And you got to deal with that issue as a parent.

Reports also suggested that parents' reactive emotional experiences led to changes in all three parent cognition subcategories (awareness, goals, knowledge). Often,

these reactive emotional experiences came in the form of parents experiencing anger/frustration in the youth sport setting, which in turn resulted in greater parent awareness and knowledge. At times, parents' emotional management was a consequence of their experiencing these reactive emotions. As a result of these affective socialization experiences, some parents described adjusting their goals. This often manifested itself in the form of parents adopting a "whatever it takes" attitude toward the achievement of their children's sport goals.

Parent responses suggest that two subcategories of changes in parent relationships (communication, relationships with parent peers) influenced the subcategories of parents' changes in cognition. Parents expressed that their communication led to changes in all three subcategories of parent cognition (awareness, goals, knowledge). The source of these cognitive changes appeared to be communication with their children on and off the field and with parent peers in the bleachers. This was embodied by Alex's words in referring to his son: "We have a lot of debates about, you know, topical things. . . . Some of these ethical debates, um, yeah, it has influenced the way I think about sport." Parents were also quick to discuss how their own peer relationships are influential in how they structure their goals for their children. This was usually the case with less experienced parents, who took cues from more experienced parents in formulating or amending the goals they held for their children.

Parents linked both subcategories of changes in parent behavior (participation, support and sacrifice) to subsequent changes in all parent cognition subcategories. As would be expected, participation was perceived as leading to changes in all three subcategories of parent cognition (awareness, goals, knowledge). The support and sacrifice that parents make for their children in sport were said to increase both their awareness and knowledge with regard to sport. Unsurprisingly, parents' involvement and investment in their children's youth sport experience was perceived to lead to a greater understanding of youth sport.

Finally, within the cognitive category, parent reports indicated awareness and knowledge to influence parent goals for their children. This was evident as Grant described how he and his wife's awareness of their daughter's gymnastic ability and their newfound knowledge about the sport resulted in their taking a broader perspective of their daughter's involvement:

Both my wife and I are frustrated with all of the time and the effort and the energy that goes into [gymnastics], to the point that, if it was up to us, we would have pulled her out years ago. But, it's not about us; it's about her. And she absolutely loves it, and it has made her stronger, and it's made her more confident, and it's made her a lot of good things. So, we're able to see past that.

**Antecedents of Parent Affective Changes.** Various aspects of the relationship, behavioral, and cognitive categories were reported by parents to influence them affectively. Parent responses indicated that two subcategories of changes in parent relationships (communication, relationships with parent peers) influenced the subcategories of parents' changes in affect. Specifically, parents' communication often led to their own emotional connection to sport. As Barb said,

I love a [sports] weekend because the three of us will go, and we learn more in a car than you do in every other day. You know, when I drive the kids back, they talk about things they wouldn't talk about . . . and I love to do that!

Also, parents linked relationships with parent peers to their long-term emotional connection to sport and to various reactive emotional experiences. Particularly, many parents described how their peer social networking was inextricably linked to their enjoyment of sport and emotional tie to the youth sport setting; others noted experiencing more reactive emotions such as anger/frustration, guilt, or exhaustion.

Both subcategories of changes in parent behavior (participation, support and sacrifice) were reported as influential in parents' development of an emotional connection to sport. One mother, Lucy, described her emotional connection to sport as being different now as a result of many accumulated seasons of youth sport parenting:

When I missed the end of softball season, I really missed it . . . the idea of missing softball season [before] probably would've been nothing to me. Now . . . the idea of not being there, I did not like that. I really wanted to be there.

The support and sacrifice that parents make was also reported to facilitate certain reactive emotional experiences and how parents employ various emotion management strategies, such as coping with sport disappointment. In one case, years of support and sacrifice went for naught when Francis's son failed to make the elite-level travel team. This led not only to anger/frustration at the context, but also to eventually coping with that particular disappointment.

Parent reports suggest that each of the three subcategories of changes in parent cognition (awareness, goals, knowledge) lead to change in parents' emotional connection to sport. This connection is foreseeable, as parents who gain awareness and knowledge of sport and adopt the goals of their children could be expected to develop a stronger emotional connection to sport.

Within the affective category, parents' emotional connection to sport was said to both influence, and be influenced by, reactive emotional experiences. Moreover, each of these subcategories was said to stimulate parents' emotional management efforts. Anger/frustration (especially with one's child or the context) was an especially prevalent reactive emotion that led parents to enter a cycle of emotional management whereby they developed ways to cope with their disappointments. Thus, participation in youth sport and the outcomes related to that participation appear to not only create an emotional connection to sport for parents, but also reactive emotional experiences that require regulation efforts.

***Antecedents of Changes in Parent Relationships.*** Behavioral, cognitive, and affective factors were reported by parents as influencing their relationships. Parents indicated that changes in their behavior (participation, support and sacrifice) impacted the three subcategories of changes in parent relationships (communication, parent-child relationship, relationships with parent peers). In one extreme example, Art described his relationship with his children as dependent on his own involvement in their sporting endeavors:

[Sport] helped me to spend a lot more time with my kids. Sometimes people say, my wife [for instance says], "If it wasn't for basketball, you wouldn't spend any time with your kids." Well, okay, if basketball helps me spend time with my kids, you know, be thankful for it. If it wasn't for basketball, I probably wouldn't spend that much time with them.

Parent responses suggested that two subcategories of changes in parent cognition (awareness, goals) influenced parents' communication. Generally, parents described how their increased awareness in sport opened avenues for providing sport related advice and feedback to their children. Parents also discussed how adjustments in their goals created opportunities for enhanced communication with their children. Parent reports also indicated that the awareness they gained in and of the youth sport context influenced their relationships with parent peers. Specifically, parents' increased interest in sport was said to influence their social networking opportunities and choices over time. As Candace said,

When [my daughter] was doing softball, I said, "Let's watch softball, you know, whatever's on TV." And I would have never done that before, so, I think, you know, it has changed me. Then, I think, maybe you start getting into a group of those people who are all a little more sporty.

Only one subcategory of changes in parent affect (emotional connection to sport) was reported to influence subcategories of changes in parent relationships, specifically parents' communication and relationships with parent peers. Many parents suggested that their emotional connection to sport, most notably their enjoyment of sport, was salient in how they communicated with others in the youth sport setting, especially with their children. As Alex shared, his children's sport participation gave him an opportunity to connect with his kids:

Look, I've got an interest in this sport, [and my son's] got an interest in this sport, you know, let's talk about it. So the next thing you know, my son's reading *Sports Illustrated*: "Hey Dad, did you see they traded so-and-so?" You know, their participation just opens up whole new avenues for [parent-child] relationships.

Parents also noted that their emotional tie to the youth sport setting drove their supporting of peers' children in youth sport.

Finally, within the relationships category, parents' communication and their relationships with parent peers were described as having a reciprocal influence on one another. Furthermore, communication also shared a reciprocal influence with the parent-child relationship. For example, many parents described how enhanced parent-child communication led to a higher quality relationship between parent and child. Other parents described sport as a platform for an enhanced parent-child relationship, which, in turn, positively influenced future parent-child communication. Either way, communication with others in the youth sport setting appeared to be inextricably linked with parents' relationships, both with their peers and their children.

## Moderators of Parental Change

Parents identified six potential moderators of their socialization through sport. Three potential moderators were specifically targeted in the initial focus group interview guide: child age, parent past sport experience, and parent and child gender. The consensus among parents was that they are more strongly influenced in the sport setting as their children age, with requirements and expectations of them increasing as their children's level of competition increases. This was exemplified by Kurt, who described the change in his sport parenting role as his children aged:

I controlled when they went out to the court and . . . field, when we had practice time. Now, there is someone else that is doing that, so I have to change my life to fit into their life, whereas before their life fit in with what I wanted it to fit into.

A parent's own sport experience also appeared to be salient. Parents with little to no sport experience indicated more change in all sport socialization categories than parents with extensive sport experience. Emma described her immersion into youth sports as quite sudden:

When the boys started playing . . . it was an immediate dunking into the realm of my children's sports—especially at the level that they play at. It's not just a casual thing for fun; it's a world that I did not know at all.

Many parents also felt their own gender, their child's gender, and the interaction of the two, had an effect on their relationships and behavior in the sport setting. As Grant noted,

With the girls I had to do more with the emotions of what was happening rather than the physical events . . . with the boys [I dealt] more with the technique and this is what we can do to make things better.

Early in data collection, however, discussion of a child's temperament ("personality") took place. Over the interviews, many parents communicated that this moderator was more important than a child's gender in their sport socialization. As Candace stated,

I, personally, have been much more influenced by my daughter than my son, but she was like an über-sporty girl and my son wasn't. So, I think it's more the characteristic of that competitive sports thing, rather than a gender thing.

In addition, some parents felt their socialization outcomes might be less pronounced in a larger or less sport-focused community. Kurt expressed the consensus opinion this way:

As opposed to our little enclave we live in . . . when you go to [a larger city] or whatever, they come from such big communities that [the parents and children] don't socialize as teams the way that I think we do here.

Finally, parents indicated that different socialization outcomes are obtained in individual versus team sport settings. As Kylee expressed,

[At individual events] there's not the socialization like there is at a football game or a basketball game. . . . [If my kid] is not running 'til the relay at the end, I'm gonna leave for an hour and come back 'cause I'm not gonna sit here and watch everyone else's kid run.

In addition, parents noted that the need to see their own child perform well can be buffered in a team sport setting (i.e., child performs poorly but team wins) more easily than in an individual sport setting.

## Discussion

The purpose of our study was to enhance understanding of child-to-parent socialization within the context of organized youth sport. To guide our efforts, we built from the concept of reciprocal determinism within social learning theory (Bandura, 1986) and extant literature concerning the socializing influence of children on their parents in sport (e.g., Snyder & Purdy, 1982; Weiss & Hayashi, 1995). By way of parent focus groups analyzed using a theoretically based qualitative analysis, we obtained a more comprehensive account of parents' personal changes stemming from their children's organized youth sport participation than exists heretofore in the sport psychology literature. Consistent with developmental views of child-to-parent socialization (see Bell, 1968; Bell & Harper, 1977; Kuczynski et al., 1997; Peters, 1985), we found that parents not only perceive they are socialized behaviorally, but also in how they think, feel, and relate to others in the youth sport setting. Within these socialization categories, a host of themes and subcategories were reflected in the parents' perceptions. The breadth of themes and subcategories extend the understanding of parent sport socialization and offer a foundation for future theoretical and empirical efforts.

Many interesting observations were afforded by the focus group discussions. Among them, our data indicate that parents develop an emotional tie to their children's sport participation and to the youth sport setting itself. This bond is facilitated through parents' own sport participation as well as the support and sacrifices they make for their children's continued involvement. This accumulated investment seems to cause parents to experience stronger emotions in the youth sport setting, suggesting process research is warranted on the interface of parents' behavioral and emotional investment in the athletic careers of their children. Parents' emotional connection to sport also prompted many parents to discuss the empty feeling they had when their children either chose to quit playing or were cut from a more elite level or travel team. Not only did they report missing the sport setting itself, but also the social connections they formed with other youth sport parents. Although the current investigation did not explicitly target parents' experiences of socialization *out of* sport, our findings nicely complement work assessing athlete withdrawal or retirement and youth sport parents (e.g., Fraser-Thomas, Côté, & Deakin, 2008; Lally & Kerr, 2008).

Such observations show that, beyond uncovering a considerable breadth of child-to-parent socialization themes, our data highlight extensive interconnections

among and within categories of parent sport socialization. This is in line with Bandura's (1986) reciprocal determinism concept that we used in framing our investigation, showing parent sport socialization to be an interactive process whereby agency on the part of the parent, influence of the child, and social context are salient. As an example, parents report being responsive to their children and the sport setting, adjusting their sport-related behaviors based on the cognitive, affective, and relationship dynamics of being a sport parent. These interconnections are worthy of targeted study to enhance theoretical understanding of parent sport socialization, and particular attention to parent responsiveness to the child and environment is warranted. This is corroborated by youth sport parenting research by Holt and colleagues (Holt, Tamminen, Black, Mandigo, & Fox, 2009; Holt, Tamminen, Black, Sehn, & Wall, 2008). Their work suggests that parent verbal reactions vary as a function of empathy with the child, situation, and parent perceived knowledge and experience (Holt et al., 2008) and that autonomy-supportive and controlling parenting styles are in part defined by differing parent responsiveness to child emotional states (Holt et al., 2009). Furthermore, our findings suggest that it is important to determine not only how parents' behaviors, thoughts, and emotions might drive their relationships in the sport setting, but also how parents' relationships, particularly those they maintain with parent peers, might impact their behaviors, thoughts, and emotions. Doing so could shed light on why some parents become over-involved or act out of character in the youth sport setting—topics receiving plenty of media attention in recent years (Wiersma & Fifer, 2008). Importantly, our work and the extant literature shows that uniform cause-effect relationships characterizing the parent sport socialization process will be difficult to discern, in that many interacting influences occur simultaneously. As Bandura states in characterizing reciprocity, “. . . the same factor can be a part of different blends of conditions that have different effects. Particular factors are, therefore, associated with effects probabilistically rather than inevitably” (p. 24). For this reason, future efforts to understand sport parenting must be attuned to the mixture of socialization categories that potentially influence the primary outcome variable(s) of interest. Conceptual attention to this mixture in the design of such work will be necessary to move the knowledge base forward.

Several potential moderators of the parent sport socialization process were also highlighted in the current study. Although child age, previous sport experience, and parent and child gender have been documented in previous literature (Fredricks & Eccles, 2004; Greendorfer, 2002; Snyder & Purdy, 1982; Weiss & Hayashi, 1995), the emergence of three additional potential moderators (i.e., temperament, community sport context, and sport setting) broadens our scope of questions on the parent sport socialization process. A particularly interesting distinction made by parents over the course of the focus group discussions was that a child's temperament or personality holds more salience than the child's gender when assessing the nature of a child's influence on them in sport. This does not mean that parent and child gender were considered unimportant, but many parents discussed their socialization as occurring on a child-by-child basis rather than based on their child being a boy or a girl. Child temperament is recognized in the developmental psychology literature as a moderator of socialization processes (Bugental & Grusec, 2006) and it would seem from the present data that future parent sport socialization work attending to child temperament would be fruitful.

Moreover, future work investigating potential moderators of parent sport socialization should target not only parent and child characteristics, but also purposively examine community sport context and both team and individual sport settings.

Although our findings nicely extend the parent sport socialization knowledge base, this research possesses limitations that must be acknowledged. First, like much of the extant sport socialization database, our data are generated primarily from Caucasian, upper-middle class, suburban, two-parent families that appear to have the time and resources to support their children's youth sport participation. Because parents' experiences in the youth sport setting might be influenced by factors such as education, income, cultural expectations, and family structure (Fredricks & Eccles, 2004), future work assessing the nature of parent sport socialization among more diverse populations will be necessary. Indeed, the parents themselves said that socialization outcomes might be less pronounced if parents were drawn from a less close-knit, sport-oriented community. Other issues might also come to light within less advantaged samples, such as sibling-parent dynamics stemming from a parent expending limited resources on a sport-involved child. Such issues were not prominent in our data. Second, though extensive data were generated from the focus groups, parents may have difficulty accurately articulating how they have changed through their sport parenting experience. Valuable future studies could involve triangulation of parent reports through data from third parties such as the child or coach, pursuit of concurrent fieldwork (Creswell, 2007; Wolcott, 1999), and/or repeated visitation of parents over an extended period of time. Related to this matter, a third limitation is the difficulty in isolating the source of parental changes given the dynamic schedules of their children and their own pursuits (e.g., career, hobbies). Parental changes likely stem from a breadth of achievement and nonachievement contexts, making it difficult to pinpoint what changes might be exclusively attributable to sport parenting. We, therefore, must acknowledge that sport may not be the exclusive source of particular changes reported by our study participants. Finally, the nature of the parent-child relationship, which has been shown to be salient from the perspective of the child in sport (e.g., Ullrich-French & Smith, 2006, 2009), was not considered in the present work. Interdependence theory forwards that individuals develop relatively stable preferences, motives, and behavioral tendencies as a consequence of adaptation to frequently encountered interdependence situations (Kelley & Thibaut, 1978). Thus, future empirical studies of parent sport socialization should aim to capture the nature of the relationship between parents and their children, taking into account the quality of the relationship between actors and the context where that relationship exists (see Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Rubin & Mills, 1992).

Because parents can be highly involved and influential in the sporting endeavors of their children, and sport parenting is an interesting matter in itself, pursuing understanding of parent sport socialization is worthwhile. Although the present work raises many more questions than it answers, it meaningfully extends the knowledge base by broadening the scope of parent sport socialization themes, deliberately showcasing interrelationships among and within categories of parental change, and illuminating potential moderators of the parent sport socialization process. In making these contributions, this work answers calls for an intensified focus on parental involvement in youth sport (e.g., Brustad, 1992; Fredricks &

Eccles, 2004) and offers a springboard for theoretically and practically meaningful future research.

## Notes

1. In three cases, both the mother and father of the same family participated in the study. In two of these cases, the mother and father participated in different focus groups. In one case they participated in the same group.

2. The focus group guide is available from the authors upon request.

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