JOURNAL OF AMATEUR SPORT

JAS

HTTP://WWW.JAMSPORT.ORG

Special Issue: Family Issues in Amateur Athletics
Table of Contents

JOURNAL OF AMATEUR SPORT

JAS

HTTP://WWW.JAMSPORT.ORG

Mission and Purpose

The overarching mission of the Journal of Amateur Sport (JAS) is to provide scholars an outlet in which to share scholarship relevant to the amateur sports realm. We define amateur sport as those who participate and govern at the youth, recreational, community, international, and intercollegiate level. We acknowledge the tenuous debate surrounding the amateurism of intercollegiate athletics, thus at this time we welcome examinations that are focused on the less commercialized avenues of college sport participation and governance (especially NCAA Division II, III, and other less publicized governing bodies and settings). Submissions from all disciplines are encouraged, including sociology, communication, and organizational behavior. Similarly, we welcome a wide array of methodological and structural approaches, including conceptual frameworks, narratives, surveys, interviews, and ethnographies.

As an open-access journal, submissions should be of interest to researchers and practitioners alike. In all, the content published in JAS should advance the collective understanding of the participants, coaches, administrators, and/or institutional structures that comprise amateur sports worldwide. We challenge authors to submit creative and nontraditional manuscripts that are still high-quality in nature. Authors are encouraged to email the editors before submitting if they are unsure if their manuscript is a proper fit within JAS.

Call for Papers

Thank you for considering the Journal of Amateur Sport (JAS) for your scholarly work. Please follow the guidelines laid out below when submitting your manuscript to JAS. Visit http://www.jamsport.org and click "Submit Now" to begin the submission process. To aid in the double-blind review process, please include three separate files: (1) a title page with corresponding author information, (2) an abstract of no more than 500 words with no identifying information, and (3) the full manuscript with no identifying information. The manuscript should not have been simultaneously submitted for publication or been published previously. Manuscripts should follow

the current *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* with exception to the elements noted below. The document must be double-spaced, in Garamond font, size 14, and utilize one inch margins throughout. Maximum length, including references and figures, is 50 pages. Be sure to include a running header, page numbers, and footnotes (when appropriate). Authors are responsible for receiving permission to reproduce copyrighted material before submitting their manuscript for publication.

There is no charge for submission or publication. Authors will be provided with a free digital and print copy of published articles. JAS is an open-access, online journal and thus strongly encourages the posting and sharing of published articles by authors on their personal and departmental websites, Google Scholar, and e-portfolios *once they are posted to the JAS website*. Authors should expect a maximum 60-day turnaround time from initial submission to receiving the initial review. Submissions that are determined to be outside of the scope or not appropriate for JAS are subject to desk rejection. If an article is deemed fit for publication, the author(s) must sign a publishing agreement before the article is officially accepted. Submissions will be subjected to a double-blind review from at least two members of the editorial board (or outside reviewers when appropriate).

JOURNAL OF AMATEUR SPORT

JAS

HTTP://WWW.JAMSPORT.ORG

Journal Leadership and Editorial Board

James Johnson	Ball State University
Timothy Kellison	Georgia State University
Shannon Kerwin	Brock University
Ryan King-White	Towson University
Geoffery Kohe	University of Worcester
Leeann Lower	Ball State University
Marshall Magnusen	Baylor University
Brian McCullough	Seattle University
Chad McEvoy	Northern Illinois University
Nicole Melton	University of Massachusetts Amherst
Katie Misener	University of Waterloo
Joshua Newman	Florida State University
Calvin Nite	University of North Texas
Dawn Norwood	Wingate University
Julie Partridge	Southern Illinois University
Ted Peetz	Belmont University
Ann Pegoraro	Laurentian University
Adam Pfleegor	Belmont University
Lamar Reams	Old Dominion University
Steve Ross	University of Concordia – St. Paul
Michael Sam	University of Otago
Jimmy Sanderson	Arizona State University
Chad Seifried	Louisiana State University
Clay Stoldt	Wichita State University
Sarah Stokowski	University of Arkansas
Nefertiti Walker	University of Massachusetts Amherst
Daniel Wann	Murray State University
Stacy Warner	East Carolina University
Janelle Wells	University of South Florida
Craig Williams	University of Exeter
Masa Yoshida	Biwako Seikei Sport College

Special Issue Foreword
Family Issues in Amateur Athletics

Travis E. Dorsch[1]   Jordan A. Blazo[2]
Special Issue Co-Editors

[1]*Utah State University*
[2]*Louisiana Tech University*

Travis E. Dorsch (Ph.D., Purdue University) is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Human Development and Family Studies with a joint appointment in the Department of Kinesiology and Health Science at Utah State University. Having documented the impact of children's youth sport participation on parents and families, his present research includes a complementary focus on: (a) the role of youth sport participation on family relationships and interactions (e.g., warmth and closeness, parent-child communication, and family financial decision-making); (b) the role of internal factors (e.g., motivation) and external factors (e.g., families and social contexts) on sport, physical activity, and recreational outcomes, and (c) evidence-based parent education in youth, adolescent, and early adult contexts. Dr. Dorsch's work has been published in academic outlets such as Family Relations, the Journal of Applied Sport Psychology, Sport, Exercise, & Performance Psychology, and Learning and Motivation. **Jordan A. Blazo** (Ph.D., Michigan State University) is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Kinesiology at Louisiana Tech University. His research broadly focuses on studying family and child relationships in physical activity contexts. Specifically, he studies the ways that siblings influence and shape one another's physical activity experiences. Currently, he is investigating the role of siblings in developing perceptions of ability in sport, the correlates of sibling relationship qualities in sport, and how sibling relationships inform our peer interactions in the physical domain. His work has been published in academic outlets such as The Sport Psychologist and the International Review of Sport and Exercise Psychology.

"Organized sport is not merely activity; it is situated activity. Indeed, most if not all human activity requires resources to permit it to occur properly (Fine, 1987, p. 15)."

The family has been described as a primary context for socialization and human development (Arnett, 1995; Bronfenbrenner, 1986; Darling & Steinberg, 1993). The study of family relationships, once limited to a small number of fields (e.g., psychology and human ecology), has grown to occupy the interests of researchers from a breadth of diverse specializations (Reis, 2007). As researchers from a range of fields have contributed to the study of family relationships, there has been a transition toward interdisciplinary investigations. Informed by disciplines such as psychology, human development, communication, and sociology, sport and physical activity researchers have pursued research questions that contribute to our understanding of the family in the physical domain (Weiss, 2008). This work is of direct salience to understanding health and well-being, making the study of family dynamics and sport experiences inherently important.

Examining the intersection of families and sport has further demonstrated that amateur sport can provide a useful laboratory for the study of both positive and negative developmental outcomes (Brustad, Babkes, & Smith, 2001; Fraser-Thomas, Côté, & Deakin, 2005; Weiss & Raedeke, 2004). Looking closely at the family, parents are commonly depicted as the providers and interpreters of the experience, and siblings often socialize or are socialized by a child's early sport experiences. In short, organized sport would not operate as we've become accustomed without various forms of family interaction. Family involvement is an especially integral part of youth sport participation. For instance, parents often serve as coaches, referees, scorekeepers, concession stand attendants, and ticket-takers, whereas siblings are backyard competitors, role models, and confidants. These lifelong fixtures are significant others that are instrumental in shaping and understanding sport experiences and have meaningful influence on other family members' development. Considering the potential for youth sport and families to impact development in tandem, continued investigation of family issues in amateur athletics is needed to better understand the family unit in a dynamic, comparison-laden social environment.

One pathway researchers and practitioners have pursued to optimize amateur sport experiences is to better understand youth motivation in sport. This has led to providing best practice recommendations for coaches and administrators. While these efforts have been fruitful, they largely relegate family members as "hidden" participants in youth sport (Dorsch, 2017). Given the family typically initiates and represents the earliest

setting for sport experiences, family members are vital in one's development of sporting beliefs and behaviors, making them of particular interest to researchers. Overwhelmingly, amateur athletics is a product of volunteer efforts, and it is clear that organized youth sport would not function wholly without family involvement.

In Western cultures, organized amateur sport provides a rather ubiquitous context for family interaction, whereby family involvement can shape children and adolescents' developmental experiences. According to scientific and popular reports, as families continue to invest social, temporal, and economic resources into the athletic and personal development of their children, the "proper" level of family involvement has become difficult to define. This has spurred multiple investigations of over- and under-involved parents, the quality of parental involvement, sibling relationships in sport, and sibling rivalry. Despite ambiguity in these findings, one thing is certain: families are an inextricable aspect of amateur sport.

This special issue was conceived to address the need for scholarly research and discussion on the role of families in amateur sport. In the issue, we offer our readership a position paper highlighting the importance of parent-child communication in sport, as well as a theoretical paper that enhances understanding of life skill acquisition in a sport-based youth development program. We also include original quantitative research highlighting family, team, and sibling involvement in amateur sport settings, as well as original qualitative research highlighting the experiences of parents in intercollegiate and youth sport settings. Sport is a cross-cutting phenomenon, and we take pride in the fact that contributors to this special issue come from diverse disciplines (i.e., sport and exercise psychology, sport management, sport pedagogy, human development, family studies, and interpersonal communication) and drew upon a wide range of theories, literatures, and methods in crafting their respective manuscripts.

In the first manuscript, Grimm and colleagues present the need to adopt an interdisciplinary approach to understand communication in amateur sport. The authors provide an overview of human development, family studies, and communication theories with guidance of how to integrate these areas. Their efforts take the initial steps to understand the factors (e.g., involvement, investments, and communication) that impact parent-child relationships in organized youth sport, and how this may permeate outside of sport. This paper offers a useful framework for future researchers as they investigate questions pertaining to the parent-child relationship in organized youth sport.

In the second manuscript, Jacobs and colleagues explore sport-based youth development (SBYD) programs and their congruence with school, family, and community systems. The authors propose a

conceptual model for understanding the role family and school contexts play in promoting and facilitating the transfer of life skills learned through SBYD programs. In doing so, they argue that congruence across these systems maximizes the opportunity for transfer while identifying contextual factors that will support or possibly hinder the transfer of life skills taught in SBYD programs.

In the third manuscript, Holst and colleagues investigate the degree to which short-term situational contexts may affect children's behavior in sport. Specifically, the authors identify numerous impacts of parenting behavior on child outcomes in the context of competitive motocross. Results suggest that parent hostility is associated with negative emotional responses in children (e.g., crying), whereas factors such as family cohesion are associated with positive emotional responses (e.g., celebration). Additionally, the authors demonstrate that situational factors influence these outcomes over and above the influence of family factors.

In the fourth manuscript, Elliot and Drummond draw on descriptive data to highlight the contemporary experiences of adults who coach their own children in amateur sport settings. Through a lens of social constructionism, the authors illustrate how parent/coaches intentionally demonstrate differential behavior toward their child in contrast to the rest of the team (e.g., via deliberate criticism or limited recognition). The authors conclude this is

not only problematic for the parent-child relationship, but it may also have a reinforcing influence on how other parent/coaches negotiate the dual role.

In the fifth manuscript, Osai and Whiteman explore a generally understudied sample, siblings, both within and outside of sport. Because most youth sport research has primarily focused on parent-child, peer, and parent-athlete-coach relationships, it is generally unclear how sibling relationships are related to youth sport participation and adjustment. To address this gap Osai and Whiteman examine how sibling relationship qualities influence participation in organized youth sport, both concurrently and prospectively.

In the final manuscript, Parietti and colleagues investigate parental over-involvement in intercollegiate athletics. The authors utilize a case-study approach to examine parents' involvement in the academic and athletic lives of their NCAA student-athletes. Findings highlight different types of parental involvement, parents' increasing involvement, the impact of over-involvement on student-athlete well-being, as well as the fine line between healthy involvement and over-involvement.

Individually, these papers touch on salient family issues that have the potential to guide research and practice in amateur sport settings. Collectively, they convey the importance of understanding and acknowledging the role of family involvement in amateur sport. When investigating the salience of family

relationships in the physical domain it is shortsighted to conceive family interactions as uniform and limited to those between parents and children. There is the additional developmental function of *how* and *why* family members interact with one another in the ways they do. Given that one cannot easily break ties with family members, and the strong emotional bonds that often exist in sport settings, the study of the family unit is well suited for further investigation in achievement domains such as amateur sport. As such, this special issue represents a snapshot of where the field stands, and offers a roadmap for where it might head in the future. It will be incumbent upon present and future scholars in the field to chart a course that recognizes the important role of families in the enactment of sport, in all its varied forms. Indeed, we are confident this is a path worth pursuing.

References

Arnett, J. J. (1995) Broad and narrow socialization: The family in the context of a cultural theory. *Journal of marriage and the Family, 57*, 617-628.

Brustad, R.J., Babkes, M.L., & Smith, A.L. (2001). Youth in sport: Psychological considerations. In R.N. Singer, H.A. Hausenblas, & C.M., Janelle (Eds.), *Handbook of Sport Psychology* (pp. 604-635). New York: John Wiley.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1986). Ecology of the family as a context for human development: Research perspectives. *Developmental Psychology, 22*, 723-742

Dilworth-Anderson, P., Burton, L., & Klein, P. (2005). Contemporary and emerging theories in studying families. In V. Bengston, A. Acock, K. Allen, P. Dilworth-Anderson, & D. Klein (Eds.), *Sourcebook of family theory and research* (pp. 35-58). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Dorsch, T. E. (2017). Optimising family involvement in youth sport. In C. Knight, C. Harwood, & D. Gould (Eds.), *Sport psychology for young athletes* (pp. 106-115). London, UK: Routledge.

Fraser-Thomas, J., Côté, J., & Deakin, J. (2008). Understanding dropout and prolonged engagement in adolescent competitive sport. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise, 9*(5), 645-662.

Reis, H. T. (2007). Steps toward the ripening of relationship science. *Personal Relationships, 14*, 1-23.

Weiss M. R. (2008). "Riding the wave": Transforming sport and exercise psychology within an interdisciplinary vision. *Quest, 60*, 63-83.

Weiss, M.R., & Raedeke, T.D. (2004). Developmental sport and exercise psychology: Research status on youth and directions toward a lifespan perspective. In M.R. Weiss (Ed.), *Developmental sport and exercise psychology: A lifespan perspective.* (pp. 1-26). Morgantown, WV: Fitness Information Technologies

Parent-child communication in sport: Integrating theory into research

Marshall X. Grimm[1]   Elizabeth Dorrance Hall[2]
C. Ryan Dunn[3]   Travis E. Dorsch[1]

[1]Utah State University
[2]Michigan State University
[3]Weber State University

Parent-child communication is integral to the acquisition of positive developmental outcomes from sport. This position paper offers useful interdisciplinary frameworks and theories for future researchers as they investigate questions pertaining to parent-child communication in organized youth sport. We propose such work is enhanced when grounded in family, human development, and interpersonal communication theory and literature. Specifically, theoretical frameworks from these areas assist researchers in determining salient research questions, choosing appropriate methodologies, and most importantly in the interpretation of findings. As researchers attempt to further understand parental influence in sport, the role of specific family processes like communication will shed light on the potential mechanisms that drive youth's developmental outcomes. This knowledge will likely lead to better outcomes for youth participating in sport, and better relationships among family members in and out of the sport context. By gaining greater understanding of this phenomenon, researchers will have a more complete set of tools to educate parents, administrators, and coaches in an evidence-based way.

Organized youth sport is the most prominent form of amateur athletics. Indeed, millions of children participate in youth sport across the country each year (National Council of Youth Sports, 2008). Importantly, youth sport provides a context in which children develop numerous positive physical, cognitive, and social-emotional skills (Fraser-Thomas, Côté, & Deakin, 2005).

That said, it is also a context associated with many negative outcomes, including injury, burnout, and aggressive behavior (Fraser-Thomas et al., 2005).

The outcomes that result from youth sport participation are largely dependent upon how adults manage the youth sport experience for children (Warner, Dixon, & Leierer, 2015). There is growing recognition among scholars of the vital importance of adults in youth sport. One of the most salient roles adults play within the context of youth sport is that of sport parents (e.g., Côté, 1999; Dorsch, Smith, & McDonough, 2009; Dunn, Dorsch, King, & Rothlisberger, 2016; Fredricks & Eccles, 2005; Harwood & Knight, 2009). Organized youth sport is a nearly ubiquitous extracurricular context for family interaction, and reflects the growing number of families that make sport an integral part of their collective lives. In light of this, it is important to understand the factors that impact the parent-child relationship in organized youth sport, and how this may permeate everyday life outside of sport. Communication is a salient aspect of the parent-child relationship that influences both the parent-child relationship and the child's sport experience (Holt, Tamminen, Black, Sehn, & Wall, 2008; Knight, Boden, & Holt, 2010), and it is imperative to understand and learn how to improve parent-child communication to enhance children's and parents' organized youth sport experiences. Theoretical constructs, mechanisms, and explanations provide

frameworks to understand and improve parent-child communication within the youth sport context.

Holt and colleagues (2008) highlight a significant limitation in parent sport communication research: the limited use of theoretical frameworks to ground the research. Explanatory and descriptive studies, while illuminating several important facets of parent-child interaction in sport, have failed to offer theoretical explanations for their findings (see, Bloom & Drane, 2008; Bowker, Boekhoven, Nolan, Bauhaus, Glover, Powell, & Taylor, 2009; Hennessey & Schwartz 2007; Omli & LaVoi, 2006). Very few researchers have applied a lens informed by family, human development, and interpersonal communication theory (c.f., Dorsch, Smith, Wilson, & McDonough, 2015a; Dorsch, Smith, & McDonough, 2015b; Holt et al., 2008). These frameworks, when taken in light of the significant contributions made by more "traditional" sport psychology theories, have the potential to greatly enhance scholars' understanding of communication among family members surrounding the context of sport (Holt et al., 2008).

Communication is a pervasive context in which the development of multiple individuals overlaps and interacts. What happens in one context of an individual's life will influence their family members and the individual's development as a whole (Bronfenbrenner, 2005; Rosa & Tudge, 2013). For example, parent-child communication in youth sport settings may

influence the child's development in other domains such as academics. Therefore, it is important to understand family communication and interaction in the context of youth sport, as it will likely influence other family relationships, as well as the specific developmental trajectories of each family member. Furthermore, incongruent communication in a family system may lead to familial conflict and a lack of individual well-being (Becvar & Becvar, 2006). This suggests that if a parent is communicating negatively in the sport context it may lead to dysfunction in the family outside of sport, even if they use positive communication in other contexts. It is likely that communication plays a prominent role in the parent-child relationship on and off the field and court, and that it is important to understand parent-child communication within youth sport. In understanding these interactions, positive youth development can be fostered through sport, avoiding negative youth experiences.

In this article, we argue that scholarly work in youth sport would benefit from the incorporation of family, human development, and interpersonal communication theories. These frameworks will not only provide greater explanatory power, but could inform research aimed at fostering positive youth development as well as healthy family interaction. Our review will address what is currently known about parent-child communication in sport from recently published research studies.

Next, suggestions will be made regarding specific family, human development, and interpersonal communication theories that are ideally positioned to enhance sport theory and research. One theory from each domain will then be used as an exemplar to demonstrate how integration can occur. Scholars are then tasked with utilizing these frameworks to discover ways to enhance the positive development of children and families. Applying family, human development, and interpersonal communication theories to parent-child communicative processes in sport will enrich research findings and offer directions for the improvement of parent-child communication in multiple amateur sport contexts.

Parent-child communication in sport

Research suggests that parents' sport-related communication occurs in many different contexts, including before, during, and after children's competitions. Although most research has examined parent communication on the sideline at children's sporting events, important interactions also take place while riding to and from practices and competitions, or at other times when the parent and child are together (e.g., at home or between games). A corpus of emerging research has shed light on what parents are communicating during these interactions (e.g., Dorsch et al., 2015a; Holt, et al. 2008; Jeffery-Tosoni, Fraser-Thomas, & Baker, 2015).

Parent-child interactions can range from positive and uplifting to negative and demeaning (Holt et al., 2008; Jeffery-Tosoni et al., 2015). Contrary to anecdotal evidence and suggestions that parents shouldn't be involved in youth sport (Pink, 2015), parent-child communication in youth sport settings has been described as largely positive, with only 5-10% of parent communication during games being classified as negative (Bowker et al., 2009; Dorsch et al., 2015a; Holt et al., 2008). Moreover, it is important to consider that parent comments cannot simply be dichotomized as positive or negative; rather, they may also be direct and instruct performance (Holt et al., 2008; Omli & LaVoi, 2006). The motivation behind why parents make certain comments varies, and previous literature has identified that empathy with a child, parent goals, the sex of the parent and the child, the competitive level, the emotional intensity of the situation, and a parent's knowledge of sport can all impact parent-child communication in organized youth sport (Bowker et al., 2009; Dorsch et al., 2015a; Holt et al., 2008).

Beyond parents' observable behavior, it is also important to understand how children *perceive* parental communication during competition (Jeffery-Tosoni et al., 2015; Knight et al., 2010). Gottman, Notarius, Gonso, and Markman (1976) expressed that how a message is received is more important than how it is delivered. It is plausible, then, that the way a child *receives*

a message is more salient than the way the parent intended it to be received. In a study designed to assess these perceptions, Omli and LaVoi (2006) found that children perceive parent communication differently (and often more negatively) than the parents themselves. Indeed, researchers have found that a significant proportion of communication during competition is either instructive and performance contingent (Holt et al., 2008), or corrective (Bowker et al., 2009) in nature. Findings consistently indicate that children want their parents to refrain from giving specific and repeated advice (e.g., in-game adjustments or strategies), blaming others for a loss, yelling after mistakes, arguing with others, encouraging cheating, and saying mean things or cursing (Knight et al., 2010; Omli, LaVoi, & Wiese-Bjornstal, 2008). While adults may interpret this range of comments as neutral, or even positive in some cases, children may in fact perceive them as negative or degrading. In support of this, parental instruction from the sidelines at sporting events has been found to lead to negative outcomes for children (Teques, Serpa, Rosado, Silva & Calmeiro, 2016).

Children tend to prefer certain forms of communication behaviors from their parents in sport (Jeffery-Tosoni et al., 2015; Knight et al., 2010; Knight & Holt, 2014). Specifically, while refraining from repetitive or negative direction, children prefer that parents are present and positive at the competition and cheer loudly (Jeffery-Tosoni et al., 2015; Knight et al., 2010).

Specifically, children report that they want their parents to communicate their goals, comment on effort and attitude, provide practical advice, be encouraging, and to match nonverbal behavior with verbal comments (Knight et al., 2010; Knight & Holt 2014). Knight and Holt (2014) found that when parents and children communicated their goals effectively, children reported having better experiences in sport, as indicated by higher self-reported enjoyment and success. In an earlier study, Knight, and colleagues (2010) interviewed children about the behaviors they wanted their parents to engage in during tennis competitions. Children expressed that they wanted their parents to comment on things under the athlete's control, such as hustle and attitude. In addition, athletes indicated that parents should focus communication on broad themes like effort, instead of specific instruction targeting skill and technique. Results highlight the children's desire for parents to offer positive and practical advice (e.g., how to prepare for competition), while still affording their children autonomy of sport-specific behaviors (e.g., warm-ups and cool-downs) in lieu of instruction and/or criticism.

In sum, parent-child communication can be very impactful in the context of youth sport. However, when considering the impetus for parent communication, it is important to note that many parents' stated goals do not align with their observable behaviors (see Dorsch et al., 2015a). If one assumes that open communication should enhance the parent-child relationship (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002a), incongruence in parents' expectations and communicative behaviors may undermine those same relationships. Although the corpus of research demonstrates that most parent comments are positive (Bowker, et, al., 2009; Dorsch et al., 2015a; Jeffery-Tosoni et al., 2015; Omli & LaVoi, 2006), negative comments can be powerful, having been shown to impact the child's overall experience (Jeffery-Tosoni et al., 2015; Omli, et al., 2008). As suggested by Omli and colleagues (2008), parents should be "supportive parents" instead of "demanding coaches" or "crazed fans" (p. 31). Indeed, scholars suggest that parents and children should regularly discuss the goals the child holds in sport, then act and communicate in a way that is consistent with those goals (Dorsch et al., 2015a; Knight et al., 2010).

Building from the Extant Research

Research on parent-child communication in youth sport has bolstered understanding of what parents are saying and what children are hearing during competition. However, it is our position that such work would be enhanced if it were grounded in the family, human development, and interpersonal communication literature. Specifically, theoretical frameworks from these areas could assist researchers in determining salient research questions, choosing appropriate methodologies, and most importantly, in the interpretation and

applicability of findings. We suggest that future researchers interested in parent-child communication in organized youth sport adopt a theoretical and/or analytical approach grounded in one of these three domains.

Past research examining parent-child communication in organized youth sport has largely failed to explicate a theoretical lens through which parent-child communicative interactions are viewed. Although a range of survey, interview, and observational research has greatly enhanced present understanding of parent-child communication in sport, findings are limited due to the lack of reliance on a theoretical framework. Theory provides a rubric of understanding, both for the reader, and for scholars who wish to extend the work in the future (Ravitch & Riggan, 2016). For example, Dorsch and colleagues (2015a) drew conclusions on the management of parental goals via the multiple goals perspective from the interpersonal communication literature (Caughlin, 2010). Holt and colleagues (2008) made assumptions about the youth sport context in general, and how it influenced parent communication via implementation of bioecological theory (Bronfenbrenner, 2005). These studies offer rich conclusions and multi-layered discussions – largely due to the fact that they were grounded in extant theory and understanding. Future research should follow this lead, examining parent-child communication in sport

through family, human development, and interpersonal communication theory lenses.

Family Theories

Due to the nature of the family as a system, youth sports can influence everyone in the family not just the child participant (Blazo, Czech, Carson, & Dees, 2014; Dorsch, et al, 2009, 2015b; Hellstedt, 2005). Researchers should examine the influence of communication in sport within family theory frameworks to better understand why certain communication styles emerge, and the effect of communication on the family. Although there are many family theories that could be used to examine parental communication in youth sports (e.g., social exchange theory (see Emerson, 1976) and symbolic interactionism theory (see Reynolds & Herman-Kinney, 2003)), family systems theory lends itself well to the research of youth sport communication.

Exemplar: Family systems theory. Families have been described as interconnected social systems (Broderick, 1993; Cox & Paley, 1997). White and Klein (2008) describe a system as a set of objects (e.g., family members) and the relations between those objects and their attributes. Further, they address the influence of the environment (or suprasystem; e.g. youth sport) on the interactions of the family system. Each member of the system is assumed to be interdependent, and continuously influenced by and influencing the other members, both directly and indirectly. Family systems theory intuitively

lends itself to parent-child communication because of its focus on attributes, interactions, and reciprocal influence. Indeed, family interaction in the context of organized youth sport may impact the parent-child relationship as well as specific relational and individual outcomes for the parent and child.

Family systems theory has several tenets that can appropriately applied to an analysis of parent-child communication in the sport context. A primary assumption of the theory is holism (Broderick, 1993), which stresses that systems (families) and the associated qualities of each member should be looked upon as "whole" and not collections of the individual parts. Therefore the communication and parenting styles, as well as the personality and interactive feedback of children can all be seen as part of one big whole, a system that can be assessed integrally. The ups and downs associated with family interactions tend to return to a homeostasis or equilibrium in negative feedback loops (Broderick, 1993). Like perspiration to assist the body in cooling off, family members can diffuse or ameliorate problematic interactions by way of improved communication skills, apology, and forgiveness.

A specifically communication-based assumption of systems theory is that ambiguous and/or confusing communication can lead to relationship problems (Becvar & Becvar, 2006). A specific example that is commonly observed in sport family communication, is double-bind communication (i.e., when verbal and nonverbal communication do not match; Mehrabian & Wiener, 1967). Knight and colleagues (2010) found that young athletes desire parents' nonverbal communication to match their verbal communication. This finding lends support to the appropriateness of family systems theory as an explanatory model in the sport parenting literature. Future research could adopt a family systems lens to more clearly explain the effects of parent-child communication in organized youth sport. For example, such a study may examine not only how parent-child communication in sport influence child outcomes, but parent and familial outcomes as well. Does parent-child communication influence parental and/or marital well-being? Does parent-child communication in sport effect the parent-child relationship, or does it only influence sports related outcomes? Such questions may be answered through the integration of a family systems theory lens.

Human Development Theories
Youth sport researchers are primarily interested in the development of individuals within sport (Dorsch et al., 2009; Fraser-Thomas et al., 2005; Vierimaa, Erickson, Côté, & Gilbert, 2012). This youth sport research is generally occupied with understanding developmental outcomes as they occur for individuals through their sport participation. This interest may lie in the general acquisition of life skills, or in the achievement of sport-specific skills related

to the domain of youth sport. Either way, human development theories are useful in determining how parent-child communication influences such outcomes. Although human development theories like sociohistorical theory (see Vygotsky & Luria, 1930) and social cognitive theory (see Bandura, 1989, 1999) could be used to examine parental communication in youth sports, we recommend that bioecological theory lends itself particularly well to the framing of research investigating youth sport communication. Human development theories, especially the bioecological perspective, provide personal and contextual mechanisms and constructs that explain development and communication within youth sport. It is likely that there are factors both within and outside and individual that influence communication in sport, and these theories provide explanatory tools for understanding both factors.

Exemplar: Bioecological theory. Proposed by Urie Bronfenbrenner in the late 1970s, bioecological theory has undergone consistent change over the years (Rosa & Tudge, 2013). The most mature form of the theory specifies the Process-Person-Context-Time (PPCT) model of human development (Bronfenbrenner, 2005; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). Within the PPCT model, four components are said to influence the developmental trajectory of an individual. The primary tenet of this model is that development results from the enactment of proximal

processes, which are defined as "interactions between … a human organism and the persons, objects, and symbols in its immediate environment" (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994, p. 572). Communication can be thought of as the most common of these interactions, and therefore may be of great import to scholars aiming to address proximal process between parents and children in sport. Bronfenbrenner described three environmental levels in which individuals experience the interactions known as the proximal process, these levels include the *Person, Context,* and *Time* (Rosa & Tudge, 2013). The person, context, and time all influence and are influenced by the proximal processes of a developing individual. The parent and child's personal characteristics, environment, and developmental and historical timing likely influence parent-child communication.

Framing future research through the lens of bioecological theory would help researchers understand how the intersection of the family and sport microsystems, and the proximal process of communication in that context, can influence a child's outcomes. For example, research could be done to examine how Côté and colleagues' developmental model of sport participation (DMSP) predicts parent-child communication in sport (Côté, 1999; Côté, Baker, & Abernethy, 2007; Côté & Hay, 2002). The DMSP suggests that children in the sampling stage participate in many sports, and the many reason for playing is to have fun. Children move to the specializing

stage where they focus on one or two sports, and, although having fun is important, the primary focus is on the acquisition of skills. The final stage is the investment stage where children participate in one sport and the focus is on skill development and performance. According to bioecological theory, the proximal process of parent-child communication will likely change across these stages because of the different contexts, timing, and goals of participation. For example, a parent with a child in the sampling stage may focus on encouragement and effort through their communication, whereas a parent in the specialization stage may focus on instruction. The proximal process of communication will also influence children's development within these stages, and determine whether they continue to progress through the three stages of participation. Negative and demeaning communication may lead a child in the sampling stage to never move on to the specialization and investment stage. Bioecological theory provides the specific constructs and mechanisms to determine how parent-child communication will influence the general and sport-specific development of children within these stages.

Future work could also build upon Holt and colleagues (2008) study by examining additional personal and environmental characteristics that influence parent-child communication in sport. Holt and colleagues' (2008) findings suggest that parental characteristics such as empathy and expertise influence how supportive parent-child communication is during competition. They also suggest that contextual factors like the emotional intensity of the game and league policies will influence parent-child communication during competition. Future work grounded in bioecological theory could build upon this work by examining how parental characteristics like gender, age, and personality influence parent-child communication during competition. This work could also examine how additional contextual factors like sport-type, team culture, and location influence parent-child communication before, during, and after competition.

Communication Theories

Patterns and styles of interpersonal communication (i.e., two individuals creating meaning through communication by sharing the roles of sender and receiver; Trenholm & Jensen, 2013) are becoming increasingly prevalent in the sport and exercise psychology literature (c.f., Cranmer, Brann, & Weber, 2016; Dorsch et al., 2015a), yet many theories generated in the communication literature have been underutilized in explaining communication in sport. Several theories could be used to examine parent-child communication in sport, such as confirmation theory (see Dailey, 2006; 2010; Ellis, 2002) and advice response theory (ART; see Feng & MacGeorge, 2010). We find the most promise in family communication patterns theory as it offers researchers the most

explanatory and predictive power in the youth sport context.

Exemplar: Family communication patterns theory. Family communication patterns theory (FCP) is considered one of the "grand theories" of family communication (Koerner & Schrodt, 2014). The theory explains that how individuals are socialized to communicate within their families as children will have some effect on their interpersonal interactions for the rest of their lives (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002b). FCP describes communication patterns within a family and predicts child outcomes based on these patterns (Koerner & Schrodt, 2014). FCP suggests that family communication can be categorized along two dimensions (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002a; Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002b; Ritchie & Fitzpatrick, 1990). The first dimension, *conversation orientation*, refers to the degree in which a family allows all members to participate in communication across a variety of topics (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002b; Koerner & Schrodt, 2014). Family members in high conversation orientation families feel free to share their thoughts and feelings with one another. The second dimension, *conformity orientation*, refers to the degree that a family expects compliance with familial beliefs and attitudes (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002b; Koerner & Schrodt, 2014). Children of high conformity families are expected to adhere to their parents' views. All families fall somewhere on a continuum on each dimension.

Crossing these two dimensions results in four different types of family communication environments, with varying degrees of conversation and conformity orientations (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002a). First, *consensual* families are high in both conversation and conformity orientation, meaning that these families value open and frequent conversation but decisions are ultimately made by the parents. *Pluralistic* families, high in conversation but low in conformity orientation, value open and frequent communication along with group decision making that involves parents and children alike. Third, *protective* families are marked by low conversation orientation and high conformity orientation. Children in protective families are expected to follow their parents' rules without discussion or questioning their authority. Finally, *laissez-faire* families are low in both conversation and conformity orientation. Communication in this type of family is infrequent and hierarchy in decision making is not highly valued. Based on the descriptions of these family types, predictions can be made about how youth sport is handled differently in each one. Consensual families are likely highly involved in their children's sport activities and discuss their enjoyment levels and how they can improve frequently. On the opposite end of the spectrum, laissez-faire sport parents are likely very hands-off when it comes to their children's involvement in youth sport.

The two dimensions of FCP and the four family types meaningfully predict

family processes and psychosocial outcomes for children, as well as long lasting impacts into adulthood (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2004). For example, children who come from families high in conversation orientation tend to experience positive outcomes such as higher relational satisfaction, closeness with others, and better mental health (Schrodt, Witt, & Messersmith, 2008). Children whose families were high in conformity orientation while growing up are more likely to avoid conflict as well as use more questions and be more self-oriented in conversation (Koerner & Cvancara, 2002; Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 1997). Koerner and Fitzpatrick (2005) argue that children from families high in conversation orientation are more likely to be resilient in the face of stress because children in these families are able to confide in and seek support from their parents. This is important to understand in the youth sport context as sport involvement can put pressure on children, making resilience a useful characteristic for athletes. Children from protective families (low conversation, high conformity) on the other hand are least protected from stress and are more likely to show signs of aggressiveness and suffer from "severe assaults on their self-esteem, high levels of verbal aggressiveness, little comforting, and little acceptance of their self-disclosures" (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2005, p. 25). These youth athletes may benefit from more support from their coaches or teammates since they are not getting the support they need at home.

FCP also provides insight into why different children react to the same message in different ways (Dorrance Hall, Ruth-McSwain, & Ferrara, 2016; Koerner & Schrodt, 2014). According to Dorrance Hall and colleagues, "the same memorable message may be interpreted differently…depending on a family's communication patterns" (p. 248). For example, families that emphasize conformity orientation likely have stricter rules and higher expectations that their children follow their advice than families low in conformity orientation. However, these rules coupled with high conversation orientation (i.e., consensual families) might result in a discussion about the reasons *why* the child should follow the advice. As such, the same parental message (e.g., encouragement or criticism) may be interpreted very differently depending on where the family falls on the family communication patterns dimensions. This understanding is important to administrators, coaches, and practitioners as they seek to create programs and interventions. The communication patterns of the family must be taken into account when determining how to organize and implement these programs, because the communication patterns of the family will determine the effectiveness of the program's ability to gain a response from the children involved.

Youth sport communication research would be enhanced by use of family communication patterns theory based on its descriptive and predictive capabilities. For example, Holt and colleagues (2008) describe a model of parental communication in sport that depicts a continuum from autonomy supporting to controlling. This model has enriched our understanding of parental communication in organized youth sport. However, if future work were to use this model within a family communication patterns theory framework, findings could be even richer in detail and explanatory power. Using this frame, the model could be understood within the context of the family's communication patterns. It would also allow for communication to be understood along two dimensions, instead of a single continuum. For instance, communication that supports autonomy likely relates to families who score high on conversation orientation due to the independent thinking and speaking that is allowed to take place within those families. Controlling communication is likely related to a high conformity orientation because the parents expect the child to adhere to the parents' standards and expectations. If the family communication patterns dimensions were integrated with Holt and colleagues' model additional dimensions may provide more depth of understanding about communication patterns in youth sport.

This review provides an in depth look at the ways in which family communication patterns theory can be useful in understanding parent-child communication in the youth sport context. Despite our proposal that FCP is likely the most applicable communication theory in this context, researchers should continue to assess the usefulness of a wide range of theories to determine which theories would be the most beneficial to their studies

Discussion

Sport is an important context in which family communication and individual development takes place. Many youth participate in organized youth sport over the course of development, making it an important context to understand. Because of its widespread acceptance as a primary context of family leisure, organized youth sport can positively impact child development, but sport's impact on youth is largely determined by adult participation. This article was intended to review parent-child communication in sport literature, while offering insight into the integration of communication and family theory into this field of research. Parental communication in sport can be very impactful to children, and thus greater understanding of this phenomenon is needed to provide the best developmental outcomes sport can provide. Current research has significantly added to our understanding of parent-child communication in sport, but this niche area could be greatly enhanced via the integration of family and interpersonal communication theory.

Despite anecdotal evidence from sport parents and popular media's portrayal of overly involved parenting in organized youth sport, most research studies suggest that parents are quite positive in the context of their child's sport participation (Bowker et al., 2009; Holt et al., 2008; Omli & LaVoi, 2006). Despite this, children's perceptions of parent involvement remain more equivocal. Many children still perceive negativity and are not pleased with some of their parent's communication during games (Holt et al., 2008). This negativity is commonly aimed at other adults, but is still unwarranted and unwanted. Current research is determining what children are hearing and what they want to hear during their sport competitions. Parents would do well to consider what messages they are sending to their youth in the sport contexts, and the affect it has on their children. Although current research has provided a base of knowledge about parental communication, future research would benefit from integrating family, human development, and communication theory to frame research questions and methodology, to interpret data, and make suggestions to practitioners, coaches, and parents.

Very little research has explicitly integrated theory into the study of sport parent-child sport communication. Importantly, the family, human development, and interpersonal communication literatures offer potentially useful lenses to do just that. As communication in the context of the family is the very phenomenon many contemporary researchers are seeking to understand, there are many available theories that can be used to frame research on parent-child communication in organized youth sport. These theories provide frameworks for organizing conceptual ideas, methodology, and data analysis. They provide lenses through which researchers can interpret findings, and they provide underlying mechanisms through which sport family communication can be understood. Future work in sport parent-child communication will be strengthened through the adoption of family, human development, and interpersonal communication theory frameworks. Research that integrates theory not only has the potential to explain phenomena, but specifically test theories themselves. Doing so will help future researchers make decisions concerning the best theoretical frameworks to use in subsequent research.

As Côté (1999) noted, parents are an important influence on their children's outcomes in the youth sport context. As researchers, we must further vet this influence using available and appropriate theoretical understanding. The resultant knowledge will lead to better outcomes in sport, and better family relationships in general. Through gaining greater understanding of parent-child sport communication, researchers will have a broader kit of tools to educate parents, coaches, and sport administrators. This understanding will be greatly enhanced

using communication theory in research. By implementing theory from the family, human development, and interpersonal communication literatures, researchers will foster the advancement of family science and the positive development of children in youth sport

---

References

Bandura, A. (1989). Social cognitive theory. In R. Vasta (Ed.), *Annals of child development. Vol. 6. Six theories of child development* (pp. 1-60). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Bandura, A. (1999). Social cognitive theory of personality. In L.A. Pervin & O.P. John (Eds.), *Handbook of personality: Theory and research* (154-196). New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Becvar, D. S., & Becvar, R. J. (2006). *Family therapy: A systemic integration* (6th ed). Boston, MA: Pearson Higher Ed.

Blazo, J. A., Czech, D., Carson, S., & Dees, W. (2014). A qualitative investigation of the sibling sport achievement experience. *Sport Psychologist*, *28*, 36-47. doi:10.1123/tsp.2012-0089

Blom, L. C., & Drane, D. (2008). Parents' sideline comments: exploring the reality of a growing issue. *Athletic Insight: The Online Journal of Sport Psychology*, *10*.

Bowker, A., Boekhoven, B., Nolan, A., Bauhaus, S., Glover, P., Powell, T., & Taylor, S. (2009). Naturalistic observations of spectator behavior at youth hockey games. *The Sport Psychologist*, *23*, 301-316. doi:10.1123/tsp.23.3.301

Broderick, C. B. (1993). *Understanding family process: Basics of family systems theory*. Thousand Oak, CA: Sage.

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

Bronfenbrenner, U., & Ceci, S. J. (1994). Nature-nurture reconceptualized in developmental perspective: A bioecological model. *Psychological Review, 101*, 568-586. doi:10.1037/0033-295x.101.4.568

Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (1998). The ecology of developmental processes. In W. Damon & R. M. Lerner (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology: Theoretical models of human development* (pp. 993-1028). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley.

Caughlin, J. P. (2010). A multiple goals theory of personal relationships: Conceptual integration and program overview. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, *27*, 824-848.

Côté, J. (1999). The influence of the family in the development of talent in sport. *The Sport Psychologist*, *13*, 395-417. doi:10.1123/tsp.13.4.395

Côté, J., Baker, J., & Abernethy, B. (2007). Practice and play in the development of sport expertise. In G. Tenenbaum & R.C. Eklund (Eds.), *Handbook of sport psychology* (3rd ed.) (184-202). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Côté, J. & Hay, J. (2002). Children's involvement in sport: A developmental perspective. In J.M. Silvia and D.E. Stevens (Eds.), *Psychological foundations of sport* (484-502). Boston, MA: Alyn and Bacon.

Cox, M. J., & Paley, B. (1997). Families as systems. *Annual review of psychology*, *48*(1), 243-267. doi: 10.1146/annurev.psych.48.1.243

Cranmer, G. A., Brann, M., & Weber, K. D. (2016). "Challenge Me!" Using Confirmation Theory to Understand Coach Confirmation as an Effective Coaching Behavior. *Communication & Sport*, doi:2167479516684755.

Dailey, R. M. (2006). Confirmation in parent–adolescent relationships and adolescent openness: Toward extending confirmation theory. *Communication Monographs*, *73*, 434-458. doi:10.1080/03637750601055432

Dailey, R. M. (2010). Testing components of confirmation: How acceptance and challenge from mothers, fathers, and siblings are related to adolescent self-concept. *Communication Monographs*, *77*, 592-617. doi:10.1080/03637751.2010.499366

Dorrance Hall, E., Ruth-McSwain, A., & Ferrara, M.H. (2016). Models of health: Exploring memorable messages received from parents about diet and exercise. *Journal of Communication in Healthcare, 9,* 247-255. doi:10.1080/17538068.2016.1187892

Dorsch, T. E., Smith, A. L., & McDonough, M. H. (2009). Parents' perceptions of child-to-parent socialization in organized youth sport. *Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology*, *31*, 444-468. doi:10.1123/jsep.31.4.444

Dorsch, T. E., Smith, A. L., Wilson, S. R., & McDonough, M. H. (2015a). Parent goals and verbal sideline behavior in organized youth sport. *Sport, Exercise, and Performance Psychology*, *4*, 19-35. doi:10.1037/spy0000025

Dorsch, T. E., Smith, A. L., & McDonough, M. H. (2015b). Early socialization of parents through organized youth sport. Sport, Exercise, and Performance Psychology, 4, 3–18. doi:10.1037/spy0000021

Dunn, C. R., Dorsch, T. E., King, M. Q., & Rothlisberger, K. J. (2016). The impact of family financial investment on perceived parent pressure and child enjoyment and commitment in organized youth sport. *Family Relations*, *65*, 287-299. doi:10.1111/fare.12193

Ellis, K. (2002). Perceived parental confirmation: Development and validation of an instrument. *Southern Journal of Communication*, *67*, 319-334.

Emerson, R. M. (1976). Social exchange theory. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *2*, 335-362.

Feng, B., & MacGeorge, E. L. (2010). The influences of message and source factors on advice outcomes. *Communication Research*, *37*, 553-575. doi:10.1177/0093650210368258

Fraser-Thomas, J. L., Côté, J., & Deakin, J. (2005). Youth sport programs: An

avenue to foster positive youth development. *Physical Education & Sport Pedagogy*, *10*, 19-40. doi:10.1080/1740898042000334890

Fredricks, J. A., & Eccles, J. S. (2005). Family socialization, gender, and sport motivation and involvement. *Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology*, *27*(1), 3-31. doi:10.1123/jsep.27.1.3

Gottman, J. M., Notarius, C., Gonso, J., & Markman, H. (1976). A couple's guide to communication. Champaign, IL: Research Press.

Harwood, C., & Knight, C. (2009). Understanding parental stressors: An investigation of British tennis-parents. *Journal of sports sciences*, *27*(4), 339-351. doi:10.1080/02640410802603871

Hellstedt, J. (2005). Invisible players: A family systems model. *Clinics in sports medicine*, *24*(4), 899-928. doi: 10.1016/j.csm.2005.06.001

Hennessy, D. A., & Schwartz, S. (2007). Personal predictors of spectator aggression at little league baseball games. *Violence and Victims*, *22*, 205-215. doi:10.1891/088667007780477384

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

Jeffery-Tosoni, S., Fraser-Thomas, J., & Baker, J. (2015). Parent involvement in Canadian youth hockey: Experiences and perspectives of peewee players. *Journal of Sport Behavior*, *38*, 3-25.

Knight, C. J., Boden, C. M., & Holt, N. L. (2010). Junior tennis players' preferences for parental behaviors. *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology*, *22*, 377-391. doi:10.1080/10413200.2010.495324

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

Koerner, A. F., & Fitzpatrick, M. (1997). Family type and conflict: The impact of conversation orientation and conformity orientation on conflict in the family. *Communication Studies*, *48*, 59-75. doi:10.1080/10510979709368491

Koerner, A. F., & Cvancara, K. E. (2002). The influence of conformity orientation on communication patterns in family conversations. *Journal of Family Communication*, *2*, 133-152. doi:10.1207/s15327698jfc0203_2

Koerner, A. F., & Fitzpatrick, M. A. (2002a). Toward a theory of family communication. *Communication theory*, *12*, 70-91. doi:10.1093/ct/12.1.70

Koerner, A. F., & Fitzpatrick, M. A. (2002b). Understanding family communication patterns and family functioning: The role of conversation orientation and conformity orientation. *Communication Yearbook*, *26*, 37-69. doi:10.1207/s15567419cy2601_2

Koerner, A. F., & Fitzpatrick, M. (2004). Communication in intact families. In A. L. Vangelisti (Ed.), *Handbook of family communication* (pp. 177-195). Mahwah, NJ US: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Koerner, A. F., & Fitzpatrick, M. (2005). Family communication schemata: Effects on children's resiliency. In S. Dunwoody, L. B. Becker, D. McLeod, & G. Kosicki (Eds). *The evolution of key mass communication concepts: Honoring Jack M. McLeod.* Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Koerner, A. F., & Schrodt, P. (2014). An introduction to the special issue on family communication patterns theory. *Journal of Family Communication*, *14*, 1-15. doi:10.1080/15267431.2013.857328

Mehrabian, A., & Wiener, M. (1967). Decoding of inconsistent communications. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *6*, 109-114. doi:10.1037/h0024532

National Council of Youth Sports. (2008). Report on trends and participation in organized youth sport. Stuart, FL: Author. Retrieved from http://www .ncys.org/pdfs/2008/2008-ncys-market-research- report.pdf Nicholls,

Omli, J., & LaVoi, N. M. (2006). Background anger in youth sport: A perfect storm. *Journal of Sport Behavior*, *32*, 242-260.

Omli, J., LaVoi, N. M., & Wiese-Bjornstal, D. M. (2008). Towards an understanding of parent spectator behavior at youth sport events. *The Journal of Youth Sports*, *3*, 30-33.

Pink, D. (Author). (2015, June 30). Why you should always skip your kids' baseball games. *PBS Newshour.* Retrieved from http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/always-skip-kids-baseball-games/

Ravitch, S. M., & Riggan, M. (2016). *Reason & rigor: How conceptual frameworks guide research.* Washington, DC: Sage Publications.

Reynolds, L. T., & Herman-Kinney, N. J. (2003). *Handbook of symbolic interactionism.* Lanham, MD: Rowman Altamira.

Ritchie, L. D., & Fitzpatrick, M. A. (1990). Family communication patterns: Measuring intrapersonal perceptions of interpersonal relationships. *Communication Research*, *17*(4), 523-544. doi: 10.1177/009365090017004007

Rosa, E. M., & Tudge, J. (2013). Urie Bronfenbrenner's theory of human development: its evolution from ecology to bioecology. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, *5*, 243-258. doi: 10.1111/jftr.12022

Schrodt, P., Witt, P. L., & Messersmith, A. S. (2008). A meta-analytical review of family communication patterns and their associations with information processing, behavioral, and psychosocial outcomes. *Communication monographs*, *75*(3), 248-269. doi: 10.1080/03637750802256318

Trenholm, S. & Jensen, A. (2013). *Interpersonal communication* (7th ed.). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Teques, P., Serpa, S., Rosado, A., Silva, C., & Calmeiro, L. (2016). Parental involvement in sport: Psychometric development and empirical test of a theoretical model. Current Psychology. doi:10.1007/s12144-016-9507-2

Vierimaa, M., Erickson, K., Côté, J., & Gilbert,W. (2012). Positive youth development: A measure- ment framework for sport. International Journal of Sport Science and Coaching, 7, 601–614.

Vygotsky, L., & Luria, A. (1930). Tool and symbol in child development. Reprinted in R. van der Veer & J. Valsiner (Eds.), *The Vygotsky reader* (pp. 99–174). Oxford: Blackwell.

Warner, S., Dixon, M., & Leierer, S. (2015). Using youth sport to enhance parents' sense of community. *Journal of Applied Sport Management*, *7*, 45-63.

White, J. M., & Klein, D. M. (2008). *Family theories* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications

Enhancing the Transfer of Life Skills from Sport-based Youth Development Programs to School, Family, and Community Settings

Jennifer M. Jacobs[1]   Michael Lawson[2]
Victoria Nicole Ivy[2]   Kevin R. Richards[2]
[1]Northern Illinois University
[2]The University of Alabama

Sport-based youth development programs represent a promising approach for engaging youth in activities that can support their socioemotional, physical, and life skill development. This article focuses on the strengths, opportunities, and challenges related to the design and implementation of an established sport-based activity model called Teaching Personal and Social Responsibility (TPSR). This TPSR approach revolves around activities that are designed to help youth develop life skills that can extend to multiple areas of their lives, including the family, community, and school. Notwithstanding this important strength, our review of the literature suggests that this transfer process may be far from automatic, especially for low-income youth challenged by poverty and its correlates. To address this difficulty, we offer an expanded social-ecological framework. This framework highlights opportunities for program leaders, researchers, and evaluators to better ground TPSR programs in surrounding community systems and in youth's emergent cultural strengths and world views.

Sport-based youth development programs (SBYD) have received increased educational practice and policy attention in recent years, and for good reason. When designed appropriately, these physical activity programs provide youth with multiple social, educational, and life benefits (Holt, Neely, Slater, Camiré, Côté, Fraser-Thomas, MacDonald, Strachan, & Tamminen, 2017). These benefits derive from opportunities for enhanced social connections to peers,

teachers, coaches, and other caring adults at school and in the community (Hemphill & Richards, 2016; Martinek & Lee, 2012). They then extend to include other important indicators of school and life success such as grit, self-regulation, and self-determination (Gould & Carson, 2008; Petitpas, Cornelius, Van Raalte, & Jones, 2005).

One of the more popular SBYD programs to emerge in recent years is the Teaching Personal and Social Responsibility (TPSR) model (Hellison, 2011). This TPSR model is gaining popularity because of its unique focus on helping youth develop a set of life skills and related competencies that they can apply to multiple areas of their lives, including school.

Although the TPSR literature asserts the model's potential for helping youth develop and transfer these skills and competencies, our review of the broader educational and SBYD research literature suggests that this transfer process may be far from automatic, especially for youth from underserved communities (Lee & Martinek, 2013). For instance, while the process of life skills and competency transfer may initially depend on students' skill development, youth may not complete the transfer process if their teachers, peers, and family members do not support the direct use and application of content learned in the program (Lave, 1997). For this reason, the overall success of SBYD programs and their transfer related goals may ultimately depend on the extent to which the norms, practices, and priorities

of schools, families, and SBYD programs are properly synchronized and harmonized (i.e. their social ecology). (Martinek & Lee, 2012).

The purpose of this paper is to provide an expanded social-ecological lens and framework for understanding how the transfer-related goals of TPSR and related SBYD programs might be better aligned, integrated, and synchronized with their surrounding school, family, and community systems. In pursuit of this purpose, we begin with a brief overview of the TPSR model, and a TPSR program that is currently being implemented and studied in a low-income community in the southeastern region of the United States. This program offers several "real world" case examples that help illustrate the importance of attending to the social ecology of sport-based youth development. Next, we highlight opportunities to better connect family, school, and neighborhood practices and norms in support of positive youth development. One particular model for school-community practice is offered as an exemplar for this work; an emergent approach to parent involvement and family support called Collective Parent Engagement (Alameda-Lawson & Lawson, 2016). We conclude the article with select implications for future research and development on TPSR and related SBYD programs.

Teaching Personal and Social Responsibility

As indicated in its name, the TPSR model aims to support the development of two fundamental competencies in youth: (a) personal responsibility; and (b) social responsibility. Personal responsibility refers to youth efforts to exercise individual skills such as respect, effort, and self-control. Social responsibility is defined as being aware of other's rights and needs and responding to them in pro-social, and culturally desirable ways. The model was developed with a set of goals that help to focus lesson content and work toward the achievement of each of these goals (Hellison, 2011). The first four TPSR goals include (a) respect and self-control, (b) participation and showing effort, (c) self-direction, and (d) caring about others and leadership. The fifth goal involves the application or transfer of the first four goals outside of the gym in other areas of youths' lives (Martinek & Lee, 2012).

Each TPSR session begins with *relationship time,* where program leaders interact with youth to develop personal relationships and trust. Following relationship time, program leaders give an *awareness talk* where the TPSR focus of the day is introduced, based on a selected goal (e.g., respect). During this discussion, program leaders provide youth the opportunity to describe what they believe the focus means, typically by inviting them to give examples of what it looks or sounds

like (e.g., what does it look like when someone shows respect?) (Hellison, 2011).

The next and most time-intensive segment of each TPSR session is the *lesson focus*. During this time, sport or physical activity lessons are delivered in a way that integrates opportunities for youth to observe, practice, and apply life skills. While some of these opportunities may be structured into the plan for the lesson (e.g., having students practice the goal of helping others by asking more skilled students to help less skilled students with a task), program leaders can also identify "teachable moments" related to the goal to prompt youth to consider and discuss ways the goal of the day could be better achieved. Teachable moments occur when an educator responds to inquiry on the spot, when the learner is ready to learn new information (Rich, 2009). For example, if children are expected to practice dribbling a ball with their feet, but they kick it across the gym instead, there is an opportunity to teach them about self-control.

Following the lesson focus, TPSR instruction involves youth in discussions that are designed to enhance their overall understanding of the session goal. Here, the instructor might ask youth to identify examples of their peers effectively demonstrating the goal for the day, or asking them to discuss how interpersonal conflicts were addressed throughout the lesson.

The final lesson segment is *reflection time*. Here, youth are asked first to evaluate their

performance related to the day's goal. Then, they are asked to consider how the activities and goal of the day might be used to enhance the behavior at home, school, and other social settings (Hellison, 2011).

The Out-of-School Time Program

Our appreciation of the strengths, opportunities, and challenges facing TPSR and related SBYD programs is derived, in large part, from our own work as designers, facilitators, and evaluators of similar programmatic efforts. In this section of the article, we describe the emergent challenges associated with the development and implementation of TPSR as they have presented themselves in a particular, out-of-school-time program (OST).

The school-community targeted by this OST effort is a low-income, predominately African-American community that is challenged by high rates of unemployment as well as on-going social exclusion dynamics, following a long history of racial segregation that remains largely unresolved today. In 2011, the community was essentially decimated by a tornado, which destroyed most of the housing and foliage in the area, as well as the elementary school targeted by the effort. The school re-opened two years ago and now serves nearly 450 students, 87% of which qualify for government-sponsored, free or reduced lunch, indicating the family comes from a low socioeconomic status. Academically, the school ranks below the 30th percentile in

student test scores in the state (Lawson, Alameda-Lawson, & Richards, 2016).

Below we provide an overview of the program, and then refer back to it in examples provided throughout the remainder of the discussion. The examples have been collected as part of an ongoing qualitative research initiative that currently spans one year and includes ethnographic observations and interview data from youth participants and pre-service physical education teachers.

The OST program is led principally by a university faculty member, doctoral student, and preservice physical education teachers, and meets afterschool three days a week in the gym of the collaborating elementary school. The program serves approximately seventy youth in grades 1-5 who are referred for participation by the school personnel (i.e., teachers, principals, counselors, and social workers) based on being at risk for social, behavior, and academic issues. The faculty member and doctoral student ran the sessions for 6-8 weeks at the beginning of each semester. During that time, the pre-service teachers were led through lectures and peer-teaching sessions for six hours a week as training for participation in the program. These training sessions were created around the guidelines of the *Children Moving* (Graham, Holt, Hale, & Parker, 2013) and the *Teaching Personal and Social Responsibility Through Physical Activity Model* (Hellison, 2011) textbooks to develop the pre-service teachers' pedagogical and model-based knowledge and skills. From

here, pairs of pre-service teachers began to develop their own lesson plans and mini-units with consistent feedback from their professor and taught them to small groups during the OST program twice a week, with the third day still led by the faculty member and graduate student.

Utilizing TPSR guidelines, youth in the OST program are taught fundamental movement skills (e.g., hopping, skipping, throwing and catching, kicking) and movement concepts through the skill themes approach to elementary physical education (Graham, Holt, Hale, & Parker, 2013), in addition to a daily focus on developing personal and social responsibility. Each session is run in a similar fashion, in line with the TPSR lesson format (Hellison, 2011). First, youth informally interact with each other and the leaders for several minutes during relationship time at the start of the session. Program leaders then introduce the TPSR goal of the day (e.g., participation/effort, respect) during an awareness talk, and prompt youth to describe what they believe the goal means, looks like, sounds like, etc.

Next program leaders conduct a physical activity lesson introducing participants to movement concepts and skills that vary from popular sports to nontraditional activities, such as folk dancing. Several strategies are used by the leaders to enhance the TPSR experience including giving choices and voices, assigning leadership roles, and promoting transfer (Escartí, Wright, Pascual, &

Gutiérrez, 2015). For example, several times throughout the lesson, program leaders select instances to recognize children who are demonstrating the TPSR goal or provide feedback on how it can be demonstrated more effectively in sport, and likewise applied to life. Youth are frequently encouraged to make their own responsible choices without prompts from the leaders, while also meeting preset behavioral expectations (Hellison, 2011).

At the conclusion of the session, program leaders facilitate a group discussion related to the daily goal and youth are encouraged to rate how well they achieved the daily goal and share examples from the lesson that support their rating. Time is also reserved for individual reflection on life skill and physical activity learning prior to dismissal. A key component of both group discussion and individual reflection includes program leaders prompting youth to consider on how the TPSR goal can be applied outside of the program setting. Central to this program and all TPSR programs is the idea of transfer, or encouraging youth to seek opportunities to demonstrate positive behaviors in alternate settings such as their schools, homes, and community (Hellison, 2011).

Transfer and Context (In)congruence

As noted earlier, TPSR programs such as the OST program introduced above have the potential to teach children life skills that can influence multiple aspects of their lives (Hellison, 2011). This prospect of life skills

and competency transfer is most likely when youths' surrounding school, family, and community contexts share similar norms and values (Lee & Martinek 2013; Martinek, Schilling, & Johnson, 2001). This process is typically referred to as "near transfer," with the adjective "near" indicating the context-level correspondence that makes skills and competency transfer easier or more manageable to youth (Gordon & Doyle, 2015).

In contrast, when the cultural values and/or norms for acceptable behavior are inconsistent across social contexts, "far transfer" occurs (Gordon & Doyle, 2015). "Far transfer" refers to instances in which children receive contradictory and confusing messages from the adults or peers in their lives about norms for acceptable behavior. Research indicates that these contradictory messages can undermine children's social and emotional learning (Melendéz & Martinek, 2015). They can also put youth in the undesirable position of having to choose between conflicting allegiances of school, family, friends etc. (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986).

We mention these challenges and tensions here because they have been consistently present in the OST program. For instance, the OST program sought to improve behavior by empowering youth to make choices and teach them how to exercise their voices appropriately, whereas authority figures from the school took a more direct approach to behavior management that emphasized obedience

and submission to authority. Likewise, in the case of verbal or physical conflicts among students in school, teachers would frequently separate or isolate the involved parties rather than facilitating positive communication and eventual conflict resolution as the OST program promoted.

Along with school and program inconsistencies, individuals from children's families and kinship networks sometimes possess priorities and values that don't align with the philosophy of SBYD programs. These networks have critical implications for life skills transfer because family members are the primary socializing agents for their children (Clausen, 1966). For this reason, parents' involvement in SBYD programs often represents a determining factor in program success (Holt et al., 2017).

Meléndez and Martinek (2015) witnessed a lack of congruence between family and program norms and orientations toward the notion of respect. Specifically, they found that some of their program youth residing in underserved urban communities have been instructed by their families/kinship networks to gain "respect" from others by exerting power and influence over them. In contrast, in the TPSR setting, "respect" is typically defined as valuing the rights and feelings of others (Hellison, 2011). These kinds of disconnects position youth between the two forces of socialization, both of which they need to be healthy and successful. When youth lack the power, knowledge, or skills to reconcile these disconnects and contradictory

messages, they are confronted with an affective dilemma (Phelan, Davidson, & Cao, 1991).

The youth in the OST program have, at times, displayed patterns of violence when working through problems that manifest in the program. Following the TPSR model, leaders attempt to walk youth through problem solving strategies in the face of conflict such as taking a break from the situation, talking it out in a safe and structured way, and finding a common ground to compromise (Hellison, 2011). These efforts do not always translate into sustained positive behavior change because many youth in the OST program strongly believe that physical altercations solve problems. This is likely due to a lack of congruence between different contexts in their lives. For example, a fifth grade participant felt threatened by another boy during a game of basketball and hit him in the face. When leaders discussed the incident and attempted to lead the young man to consider other choices he may have made, he insisted that his mom told him to hit anyone whom he feels has acted in a threatening manner. He said we could call his mother to talk with her about the incident, but that would not matter because she would think that he did the right thing.

Another common theme with children in the OST program is the way they comprehend and respond to authoritative figures. For example, when the children are prompted to talk about respect, they define it as, listening to the adult who is talking.

When asked why they specify adults instead of just listening to others, youth explained that they are told their job is to be respectful by being quiet and listening to adults at home and in school. Though this rationalization, youth demonstrate a behaviorist response rather than an autonomous, empowerment-based internalization of the value, as TPSR aims to foster. In the OST program setting, leaders promote the importance of mutual and earned respect for all, which conflicts with the ideology many youth have been taught about respect being conditional. Taken altogether, these kinds of dilemmas highlight needs for strategies that can enhance correspondence, or congruence, between school, family, and program contexts.

Theoretical Perspective toward Congruence

The preceding discussion has established that TPSR afterschool programs do not operate in isolation, but are instead embedded within larger school, family, and community contexts. All of these contexts interact, and incongruences (i.e., inconsistencies) and contradictions between them can negatively impact youth development (Banks & Banks, 2004; Martinek & Lee, 2012). To address this potential for harm, we turn to the collective parent model (Alameda-Lawson & Lawson, 2016), which provides theoretical insight into how and why programs that integrate the TPSR framework might forge stronger

connections with school and family contexts.

Collective Parental Engagement

Collective parent engagement (CPE) is a moniker used to describe programmatic efforts that engage parent groups in activities designed to improve school and community contexts (Alameda-Lawson, Lawson, & Lawson, 2010). This collectivist approach differs from the conventional "Parent Involvement" (PI) approach highlighted in much extant educational research (e.g. Epstein, Sanders, Simon, Salinas, Jansorn, & Voorhis, 2002). For instance, conventional PI programs are typically developed with the assumption that poor educational and social outcomes stem from low levels of parent involvement in home and school activities. Following these assumptions, PI efforts are typically designed to help "educate" or "inform" low-income parents about how they might engage in activities that can support the educational and social welfare of their children and school.

In contrast to this conventional view, CPE programs are designed with the assumption that the primary barriers to school success lie not in parents, but in larger structural issues and problems like poverty, social isolation and exclusion dynamics, crime, and community safety; and that low-income parents, families, and communities may already be doing as much as they can—*as individuals*—to support their children's health, welfare, and overall school success. As such, CPE efforts are typically

designed to develop and mobilize social networks that can help parents address institutional-level problems that cannot be easily understood or changed by individuals working in isolation from one another (Ishimaru, Barajas-López, & Bang, 2015; Lawson & Alameda-Lawson, 2012).

Alameda-Lawson & Lawson (2016) offer specific strategies through one CPE approach that includes three on-going, interactive, and iterative strands of programmatic activity (see also Alameda-Lawson, Lawson, & Lawson, 2013). The first phase, the individual parent engagement phase, includes the following activities: (a) door-to-door outreach to the homes of community parents; (b) a collaborative decision-making and needs assessment process that allows parents to individually and collectively identify barriers to their children's healthy development and overall social welfare; and (c) a 40-hour Outreach Training course that trains parents in community outreach, communication, family assessment and family interviewing, and agency referral.

Drawing from the strengths-based and engagement-focused skills emphasized in the outreach training course, the second design phase of their approach is developed to connect parents to others in the CPE program and neighborhood community (Alameda-Lawson et al, 2013). In this "collective development" phase, participating parents are provided with a small weekly stipend that supports their efforts to design and implement

programmatic solutions to the barriers and challenges they identified during the assessment/individual engagement phase. For example, the stipend could be used for a *Home Visitation* program that enables parents to take lead roles in solving public health issues like a school-wide Lice outbreak or chronic truancy problems at school (Alameda-Lawson et al., 2013).

The third phase of CPE centers on the development of a school-community collaborative. This collaborative is developed to enhance family access to, and use of, school-community services and resources. When effectively implemented, past versions of these collaboratives have facilitated significant shifts/improvements in the design and delivery of school-community services (Alameda-Lawson & Lawson, 2016; Lawson & Alameda-Lawson, 2012). One example of this shift is the transfer of professional roles from solo service providers to a more flexible, bottom-up approach that builds on family and community strengths. Research indicates that when professionals learn to work with parents and leverage their strengths, more sustainable "anchoring" support contexts are created in the community (e.g. Netter Center for Community Partnerships, 2008; Warren, Nelson, & Burlingame, 2009). These anchoring supports facilitate the development of social capital and collective efficacy in the community while enhancing "horizontal" linkages between schools, health and human services, and youth

development agencies (Alameda-Lawson & Lawson, 2016; Lawson & Alameda-Lawson, 2012).

Enhancing cultural adaptivity.

Because CPE targets change in school, neighborhood, and community-contexts, it represents a logical partner for TPSR and other SBYD programs. One way that CPE can support the transfer-related goals of TPSR and SBYD programs is by helping school parents and children learn how to adapt to institutional cultures, practices, and norms that are different from their own. For example, the school-community consortium of families, educators, and community services developed by CPE provides families and school-community professionals with a joint opportunity to develop shared norms for family, school, and community interaction. Sport programs should look for opportunities to be involved in this process to foster greater alignment with different contexts and in turn provide youth with targeted strategies for navigating across contexts and developing cultural adaptivity. The development of these shared norms provides an opportunity to address the kinds of context incongruences that might otherwise limit the skills and competency transfer goals of TPSR and SBYD programs.

The CPE model can help foster this cultural adaptivity in several ways. For instance, during the effort's outreach training course, parents learn about the behavioral norms of school and

governmental service systems and are taught communication skills that enable them to negotiate the barriers often experienced by low-income parents and families in these settings. Second, CPE provides opportunities for routine interactions between parents and school/neighborhood service contexts. Among other potential benefits, these interactions provide families with the necessary opportunity to learn how to negotiate different cultural norms and contexts, often with the support of a trained family advocate/social worker (Lawson & Alameda-Lawson, 2012).

Finally, CPE provides consistent opportunities for children to see their parents engaged at the school and in other community/institutional settings, often in tandem with the adults (e.g., teachers, coaches, social workers) who are charged with their day-to-day care and well-being. Theoretically, these kinds of interactions help to reduce the feelings of affective dissonance/ambivalence that low-income children and youth may experience when their families and schools work in isolation, or even worse, in competition with one another (e.g., Lawson, 2003). All in all, the theoretical and empirical benefits associated with CPE provide an important rationale for wedding TPSR programs with efforts that can help reduce cultural disconnects and divides between families, schools, and neighborhood contexts.

Enhancing the Transferability of Lessons Learned in TPSR Programs

Parents and families play a critical developmental role in their children's lives, including the realm of physical activity and sport (Dorsch, Smith, & McDonough, 2009; Dorsch, Smith, Wilson, & McDonough, 2015). Through this paper we attempt to illustrate that a collective understanding of the youth participants, coaches, teachers, and institutional structures (e.g., schools, community organizations) is necessary to facilitate the positive outcomes youth experience from sport, exercise, and physical activity, and to help them transfer lessons learned to other areas in their lives. Based on an understanding that youths' environments are complex and comprised of multiple contexts that at different times conflict, align, interact, and coexist, there is a need to explore how TPSR programs can be better aligned with surrounding social-institutional systems.

In Figure 1 we present a conceptual framework that begins with the assumption that students are best able to transfer lessons learned through TPSR programs to other contexts in their lives when the goals and values across those contexts are more similar than dissimilar. Within this paper, we specifically discuss the program, family and school contexts as these are all experienced by youth in the program, but as indicated in the model, "other social contexts" (e.g., peers, religion, non-profit organizations, etc.) also interact and provide a considerable influence over youth development as well.

This model illustrates that TPSR program providers should work toward empowering youth to help them recognize, navigate, and adapt to differences across these contexts, while also working to bring those contexts toward congruence.

The circle around the outside of the figure represents the community context in which all contexts operate. The family, school, TPSR program contexts are then depicted on points of a triangle representing the need to build connection and congruence, with the mediating factor of other social contexts. The arrows on the outside of the triangle reflect the influence that each context exerts on the others. Specifically, there is interplay between the family, school, program, and other contexts, and each context socializes youth to behave in specific ways (Lee & Martinek, 2013). One goal of TPSR program providers is to work with school leaders and parents to bring the three contexts closer together to better facilitate transfer inter-context transfer. Another goal is to develop adaptivity in youth, which feeds back into how they approach the family and school contexts. Opportunities for transfer outside of the program are enhanced when students perceive congruence across contexts and when they develop adaptivity in navigating these contexts.

Strategies for Developing Congruence across Contexts

The unifying message of our approach to better facilitating transfer from TPSR-focused afterschool programs relates to building congruence across social contexts. We provide recommendations related to recognizing barriers to congruence; and coalition-building between TPSR programs and other social contexts.

Recognizing barriers to congruence. The first strategy we propose for developing congruence across contexts involves programs *recognizing youth as products of multiple worlds*, and that goals espoused in these contexts sometimes conflict. It is imperative that programs identify the potential for incongruent values at home and school before proposing strategies for students to mediate these differences. Because incongruences are context and site specific, program leaders need to develop relationships and get to know youth participants, their schools, and their community/family situations. This aligns with the SBYD best practice of relationship building (Holt et al., 2017), and positions program leaders to think about students' lives in a holistic way so they can be better equipped to teach youth the skills they need to navigate across contexts.

In addition to adopting a more holistic viewpoint of youths' lives, another strategic approach is for programs to *promote certain values that give youth the opportunity to think about how their different life contexts relate and overlap*. Inherent to the TPSR model is the value of youth empowerment, or recognizing and affirming students' strengths (Hellison, 2011). One way this can be leveraged to foster congruence is by

encouraging youth to recognize their families' strengths as a part of their own, and having program leaders respond in ways that show respect for student and family situations (Bryan & Henry, 2008). Youth, particularly those from marginalized backgrounds, bring an awareness of their families' struggles into the program setting. This is an opportunity for program leaders to support their dialogue and help youth see how their families have demonstrated qualities of resilience and perseverance.

Social responsibility, one of the pillars of TPSR, is another value that provides the opportunity for youth to make connections across family, school, community, and program life. Research has suggested that teaching social responsibility is considered a primary function of schools, almost ranked with an equal emphasis to academic skills (Liem, 2016). Because teachers value order and responsible behavior in the classroom, TPSR programs are in a unique position to advocate for the value of the program as aligning with and promoting school behavioral initiatives. When students receive social responsibility lessons in their sport programs that encourage respecting the rights and feelings of others and cooperation, and these values are further fostered in the classroom, students receive congruent messages that further support adopting this behavior. Program leaders, then, have the potential to impact classroom culture and even school culture to where school personnel could see the program as a highly supportive entity to their values and

goals (Blair & Raver, 2015; Cadima, Verschueren, & Buyse, 2015).

Coalition-building between the program and other social contexts.

With established values in the program setting that encourage program leaders to view youth in a more holistic manner, programs can turn their attention to coalition building, or fostering relationships between the program, families, and schools (Benson, 2003 Martinek & Lee, 2012). Consistent with CPE (Lawson & Alameda-Lawson, 2012), it is necessary to establish an authentic dialogue between program providers, school personnel, and families where all voices play a unique developmental role in youths' lives (Debnam, Johnson, Waasdorp, & Bradshaw, 2014).

First, building alignment and a shared sense of initiatives *between programs and parents* is a critical part of fostering congruence. Because TPSR programs are typically situated within school contexts, programs often inherit the challenges that derive from parent-school partnerships as well (Hellison, 2011). Among the many barriers parents experience related to school engagement, research has explored isolation as one significant factor (Delgado-Gaitan, 1991; Greenwood & Hickman, 1991). Namely, to parents, programs associated with the school can be perceived as foreign or exclusionary since parents of marginalized students were often not afforded the same opportunities in their educational experiences (Turney & Kao,

2009). Thus, one factor that leads to parental disengagement from school-related events is the powerlessness they feel in influencing school culture. Several tactics can serve to overcome this challenge. For example, outreach events situated in the sport setting where parents and peers are invited and can experience the program norms are encouraged. This could include hosting a parent sport night where youth present the values and goals of the program and then participate in a culminating sporting contest or open gym session open to members of their families. Other options include creating an awards ceremony where all youth receive an honorary participation award for completing the program with their parents in attendance.

As an added benefit, building relationships in the sport setting between parents and youth at a time when they are more engaged in their child's lives (e.g., elementary school) increases the likelihood that they will remain engaged in their sport experiences in the long term (Wuerth, Lee, & Alfermann, 2004). Furthermore, when parents are given access to the program setting, they not only observe the core values of the program in action, they witness their child interacting with peers, which forges a connection between youths' home and social lives (Phelan et al., 1991). Providing parents the regular opportunity to watch the program and attend regular events further contributes to building and sustaining alignment between youths' contexts.

Getting parents to attend school events can be challenging, particularly when youth come from families where both parents work or when other life demands take precedence over school events (Goodall & Montgomery, 2014). Thus, programs can encourage youth to share the program values with parents and exemplify them at home. In many ways, quality programming that promotes enjoyment makes youth naturally want to share their experiences with parents, teachers, and peers. However, programs can further foster a connection between the program and family setting through assigning "transfer" homework, such as asking youth to "perform one leadership act at home," or "show respect to a classmate who is having a difficult day." This can be further supported through sending information home to parents about what youth are learning in the program setting (Hellison, 2011), as supporting research has demonstrated that parents want schools and teachers to advise them about how to best help their children at home by keeping them apprised of what their children are doing at school (Epstein & Dauber, 1991).

Finally, TPSR programs should consider the role program leaders have outside of formal program hours. Research has examined the positive impacts that can result from schoolteachers interacting with parents at the end of the day (Rimm-Kaufman, & Pianta, 1999). This same basis can apply to TPSR program leaders interacting with parents after the program

ends. Making program leaders available and approachable to parents creates a more positive and open environment. Additionally, forging relationships between program staff and parents contributes to the TPSR mission as program leaders increase their impact and solidify themselves as caring adult figures that have compassion for youth outside of the program.

Programs also have the potential to foster *congruence between the school setting and the program* by creating an opportunity for youth to exhibit what they learn through the program at school. Schools struggle with a lack of capacity and available resources to holistically focus on students and barriers to learning and development, particularly in underfunded, urban environments (Bryan & Henry, 2008). However, since students' ability to move between their different "worlds" greatly affects their school success, TPSR programs are in a position to provide institutional structures that help support students' investment and engagement in school (Phelan et al., 1991). Programs could, for instance, encourage school personnel to provide opportunities for meaningful student participation based on the lessons they learn in the program (Bryan & Henry, 2008). This could include forming a peer mediation team or conflict resolution plan, based off the sport program content (e.g., learning about self-control and problem solving), as a way to remedy school behavioral issues.

Some TPSR research has recognized the school counselor or school social worker as a good point of access for this type of intervention (Gordon, Jacobs, & Wright, 2016). Program leaders should look for opportunities to build mutually beneficial and sustainable partnerships with school personnel who are invested in students' developmental success and privy to the non-academic struggles that students face (Jacobs, Condon, & Wright, 2014; Cook, Hayden, Bryan, & Belford, 2016). For example, program staff could invite the school counselor/social worker's involvement by referring students to join the program, or even attending sessions and participating in the physical activity/sport lessons to gain an understanding on the goals of the program. Further discussions with these key school stakeholders could center on adopting a shared language or values system related to TPSR, or keeping an open dialogue about managing student behaviors in a way that moves from militaristic approaches into more empowerment-centered frameworks.

One approach that has been developed primarily within sport-based community programs is the concept of *growing the programs' reach in the greater community context* (Jacobs, Castaneda, & Castaneda, 2016). The majority of SBYD and TPSR work has been situated within controlled physical spaces where the nature of the program setting provides limited access for outsiders (e.g., gyms, classrooms, church buildings, community centers). While these are opportune launching pads for initially establishing positive relationships, teaching

values, and encouraging healthy behaviors, we recommend that that program leaders should increase the visibility of the program reach so that youth have the opportunity to exercise their life skill development outside of the controlled program setting. Notably, outside environments such as unsafe neighborhoods, unstable home situations, and failing schools pose a great risk to youth being able to sustain developmental gains (Buckle & Walsh, 2013; Lerner, Agans, Arbeit, Chase, Weiner, Schmid, & Warren, 2013). Thus, community-based sport programs have focused their efforts on empowering youth to act in positive ways in these same public spaces through initiatives such as organizing public sporting events and service/outreach activities (Anderson-Butcher, Iachini, Ball, Barke, & Martin, 2016; Jacobs et al., 2016). It is through these engaged community experiences, under the program direction, that youth can build the confidence to apply their life skills to new, unfamiliar, and oftentimes quite different school, community, and cultural contexts.

While the research in this area with respect to sport programs fulfilling this role is still emerging, one model community-based sport program situated in the inner city of Chicago has seen success through enacting a variety of different public events aimed at creating acceptable public spaces and changing the culture of norms present in a historically gang-controlled area (Jacobs et al., 2016). For instance, this organization promotes the use of "drop-in" programs as a solution for appealing to those youth who

are not committed to regularly attending a program, but may establish a pattern of attendance if they are less pressured to fully commit. These are often youth who are labeled as "on the fringes," or vulnerable for risk factors such as drug use, gang involvement, or risky sexual behaviors (Sandford, Armour, & Warmington, 2006). A drop-in option enables youth to participate in sports while also providing them with important access to a safe, inclusive environment that is sponsored by caring and supportive staff. This format also allows regular program attendees to bridge the gap between their social lives and the program with the option to invite friends to participate.

Other community-based program components include hosting sports tournaments in outdoor spaces that community residents can attend as spectators or volunteers. These events subscribe to a "strength in numbers" approach in an attempt to change youths' perceptions of living in a community that is dominated by gangs, and instead demonstrate how neighborhoods can be "taken back" by the presence of groupings of positive allies (Jarrett, 1997). Creating programs where parents and community members can become connected with the program and volunteer as coaches or referees creates further opportunities for involvement in youth sport experiences (Cuskelly, 2004).

Other Opportunities for Development and Research. Finally, there

are several measures that TPSR program leaders can take to help youth develop the kinds of individual and collective competencies fostered by CPE. For example, TPSR program leaders can help youth learn about the concepts and then help them reflect about how norms differ depending on setting and context. These kinds of learning and reflection activities can be conducted during the "relationship time," "activity," and "reflection" periods of each TPSR lesson.

To provide a more concrete illustration, a TPSR teacher could start a relationship talk by asking kids about how they define "respect" and then encourage/support a certain definitional view of respect during the skills-development portion of the lesson. Next, during the reflection period, the teacher could encourage youth to explore and share how the notion of "respect" varies according to different contexts, settings, and social environments. Subsequent lessons could then be devoted to helping youth learn how to effectively adapt to, and reconcile, competing norms and definitions of the same concept. By helping youth learn how to reconcile the contradictory norms and identity conflicts posed by competing settings, program leaders (with proper training focused on developing cultural competencies) can help TPSR programs become key mediating settings for positive youth development (see also Lawson & Alameda-Lawson, 2012). Such is the potential of youth development programs that are anchored in a strong, social-ecological framework.

Conclusions and Final Thoughts

Programs that implement the principles of SBYD represent a promising strategy for helping low-income children and youth develop the kinds of life skills, competencies, behaviors, and social identities they need for educational and life success. Among these SBYD approaches, the TPSR model has emerged as a special exemplar and leading best practice model (Holt et al., 2017). The TPSR model has earned this "best practice" status not only because of its multi-pronged focus on youth empowerment, relationship building, and life skills development, but also because of its unique and explicit strategy of helping children and youth learn to transfer competencies to other school, family, and community contexts.

Although we assert the promise and potential of TPSR and SBYD to improve child and youth outcomes, our analysis indicated that in some cases their current program design may not be sufficient for helping youth transfer the skills they learn in program settings to other contexts and community contexts. To this point, the research literature is clear that skills and competency transfer is best facilitated when children's school, family, and community environments are governed by similar values and expectations for desired behavior (Gordon & Doyle, 2015). Unfortunately, the literature indicates that, in many low-income

communities, this "correspondence" or "congruence" in desired norms and social practices does not exist across school, family, and community contexts. Consequently, these disconnects loom as significant structural barriers to the successful design and implementation of programs using the TPSR framework.

Several important conclusions can be derived from this important finding and claim. The first is that, in order to help get the conditions right for skills and competency transfer, program leaders should strive to marry TPSR/SBYD programs with broader efforts, like CPE, that can help them and other community leaders better synchronize and harmonize school, family, and community resources in support of the youth's optimal development. But to make this important leap, TPSR/SBYD will need to expand its orientation from a stand-alone program (often in afterschool settings) to a social-ecological intervention that targets organizational and context development (e.g., Unger, 2011). Although the conceptual underpinnings of this expanded, collective work was sketched in this article (i.e., Figure 1), this context integration oriented work stands as the next frontier.

The second conclusion that can be derived from this paper pertains to those communities where harmonizing and synchronizing norms between family, school, and community is either not desired or logistically feasible. In such instances, we encourage TPSR program leaders to adopt a more explicit focus on helping program children and youth learn how to transfer the skills, talents, and identities they develop in the program to settings that have different, and at times, competing norms and values. But to pursue this important work, TPSR program leaders will need to make youth adaptability across contexts an explicit, targeted learning competency, and pursuing this important goal may require the development of expanded program curricula as well as additional staff training.

The third and related conclusion relates to the professional preparation that is needed to enhance SBYD programs that serve low-income, youth, families, schools, and communities. Currently, youth service providers are trained in a variety of academic disciplines and helping fields. Notwithstanding the potential strengths of this diversity, the sheer range and scope of the current education and training pipeline threatens to create a field that is not multi-disciplinary as intended, but atheoretical and adisciplinary. To this point, our analysis indicates that future TPSR teachers and programs leaders will need explicit education and training in several academic fields and disciplines, and this may require the development of new interdisciplinary degrees and professional preparation programs. In our view, these new academic and professional preparation programs will include a robust focus on physical education and coaching, educational leadership, educational psychology (particularly theories on motivation, engagement, and transfer),

social-ecological theory, critical and cultural theory, and organizational development. Moreover, given the inherent interdisciplinary nature of the work that lies ahead, inter-professional training and practice-embedded professional learning opportunities should be prioritized by the academic units/departments that are charged with developing the next-generation workforce for positive youth development programs.

Of course, all of these recommendations and the research from which they are derived stand as possibilities for the important work that lies ahead. To the extent this paper helps to shine the light on the future directions and potential for SBYD programs that serve youth, families, and communities, it will have achieved its primary purpose.

<center>---</center>

References

Alameda-Lawson, T., & Lawson, M. A. (2016). Ecologies of collective parent engagement in urban education. *Urban Education*, 1-36. doi.org/10.1177/0042085916636654

Alameda-Lawson, T., Lawson, M. A., & Lawson, H. A. (2013). An innovative collective parent engagement model for families and neighborhoods in arrival cities. *Journal of Family Strengths*, *13*(1), 1-25.

Alameda-Lawson, T., Lawson, M. A., & Lawson, H. A. (2010). Social workers' roles in facilitating the collective involvement of low-income, culturally diverse parents in an elementary school. *Children & Schools*, *32*(3), 172-182.

Anderson-Butcher, D., Iachini, A. L., Ball, A., Barke, S., & Martin, L. D. (2016). A University–School Partnership to Examine the Adoption and Implementation of the Ohio Community Collaboration Model in One Urban School District: A Mixed-Method Case Study. *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk (JESPAR)*, *21*(3), 190-204. doi.org/10.1080/10824669.2016.1183429

Benson, P. L. (2003). Developmental assets and asset-building community: Conceptual and empirical foundations. In R. M. Lerner & P. L. Benson (Eds.), *Developmental assets and asset-building communities: Implications for research, policy, and practice* (pp. 19-43). Norwell, MA: Kluwer Academic.

Blair, C., & Raver, C. C. (2015). School readiness and self-regulation: A developmental psychobiological approach. *Annual Review of Psychology, 66*(1), 711-731.

Bryan, J., & Henry, L. (2008). Strengths-based partnerships: A school-family-community partnership approach to empowering students. *Professional School Counseling, 12*(2), 149-156. doi.org/10.5330/PSC.n.2010-12.149

Buckle, M. E., & Walsh, D. S. (2013). Teaching Responsibility to Gang-Affiliated Youths. *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation & Dance, 84*(2), 53-58.

Cadima, J., Doumen, S., Verschueren, K., & Buyse, E. (2015). Child engagement in the transition to school: Contributions of self-regulation, teacher–child relationships and classroom climate. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, *32*(1), 1-12.

Clausen, J. A. (1966). Family structure, socialization, and personality. In L. W. Hoffman & M. L. Hoffman (Eds.), *Review of Child Development Research* (Vol. 2, pp. 1-53). New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Cook, A. L., Hayden, L. A., Bryan, J., & Belford, P. (2016). Implementation of a School-Family-Community Partnership Model to Promote Latina Youth Development: Reflections on the Process and Lessons Learned. *The*

International Journal of Research on Service-Learning and Community Engagement, 4(1).

Cuskelly, G. (2004). Volunteer retention in community sport organisations. *European Sport Management Quarterly, 4*(2), 59-76. doi.org/10.1080/16184740408737469

Debnam, K. J., Johnson, S. L., Waasdorp, T. E., & Bradshaw, C. P. (2014). Equity, connection, and engagement in the school context to promote positive youth development. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 24*(3), 447-459.

Delgado-Gaitan, C. (1991). Involving parents in the schools: A process of empowerment. *American Journal of Education, 100*(1), 20-46.

Dorsch, T. E., Smith, A., & McDonough, M. H. (2009). Parents' perceptions of child-to-parent socialization in organized youth sport. *Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology, 31*, 444-468. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1123/jsep.31.4.444

Dorsch, T. E., Smith, A., Wilson, S. R., & McDonough, M. H. (2015). Parent goals and verbal sideline behavior in organized youth sport. *Sport, Exercise and Performance Psychology, 4*, 19-35. doi.org/10.1037/spy0000025

Epstein, J. L., & Dauber, S. L. (1991). School programs and teacher practices of parent involvement in inner-city elementary and middle schools. *The Elementary School Journal, 91*(3), 289-305.

Epstein, J. L., Sanders, M. G., Simon, B. S., Salinas, K. C., Jansorn, N. R., & Van Voorhis, F. L. (2002). *School, family, and community partnerships: Your handbook for action.* Corwin Press.

Escartí, A., Wright, P. M., Pascual, C., & Gutiérrez, M. (2015). Tool for Assessing Responsibility-based Education (TARE) 2.0: Instrument revisions, inter-rater reliability, and correlations between observed teaching strategies and student behaviors. *Universal Journal of Psychology, 3*(1), 55-63.

Fordham, S., & Ogbu, J. U. (1986). Black students' school success: Coping with the "burden of 'acting white'. *The Urban Review, 18*(3), 176-206.

Goodall, J., & Montgomery, C. (2014). Parental involvement to parental engagement: a continuum. *Educational Review, 66*(4), 399-410.

Gordon, B., & Doyle, S. (2015). Teaching personal and social responsibility and transfer of learning: Opportunities and challenges for teachers and coaches. *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education, 34*(1), 152-161. doi.org/10.1123/jtpe.2013-0184

Gordon, B., Jacobs, J. M., & Wright, P. M. (2016). Social and emotional learning through a teaching personal and social responsibility-based after school program for disengaged middle school boys. J*ournal of Teaching*

in Physical Education. 35(4), 358-369. doi.org/10.1123/jtpe.2016-0106

Gould, D., & Carson, S. (2008). Life skills development through sport: Current status and future directions. *International Review of Sport and Exercise Psychology, 1*(1), 58-78. doi.org/10.1080/17509840701834573

Graham, G. Holt, N., Hale, S.A., & Parker, M. (2013). Children moving: A reflective approach to teaching physical education (9th ed.). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Greenwood, G. E., & Hickman, C. W. (1991). Research and practice in parent involvement: Implications for teacher education. *The Elementary School Journal, 91*(3), 279-288.

Hellison, D. (2011). *Teaching personal and social responsibility through physical activity* (3rd ed.). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.

Hemphill, M. A., & Richards, K. A. R. (2016). Without the academic part, it wouldn't be squash: Youth development in an urban squash program. *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education, 35*(1), 263-276. doi.org/10.1123/jtpe.2015-0109

Holt, N. L., Neely, K. C., Slater, L. G., Camiré, M., Côté, J., Fraser-Thomas, J., & Tamminen, K. A. (2017). A grounded theory of positive youth development through sport based on results from a qualitative meta-study. *International Review of Sport and Exercise*

Psychology, 10, 1-49. doi.org/10.1080/1750984X.2016.1180704

Ishimaru, A. M., Barajas-López, F., & Bang, M. (2015). Centering family knowledge to develop children's empowered mathematics identities. *Journal of Family Diversity in Education, 1*(4), 1-21.

Jacobs, J. M., Castañeda, A., & Castañeda, R. (2016). Sport-based youth and community development: Beyond the Ball in Chicago. *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation & Dance, 87*(5), 18-22. doi.org/10.1080/07303084.2016.1157386

Jacobs, J.M., Condon, B., & Wright, P.M. (2014). Project Leadership: Creating a partnership for serving marginalized youth through an afterschool sport program. *Professional Development Schools Partners* 10(1), *15-11.*

Jarrett, R. L. (1997). Bringing families back in: Neighborhood effects on child development. *Neighborhood Poverty, 2*(1), 48-64.

Lawson, M. A., & Alameda-Lawson, T. (2012). A case study of school-linked, collective parent engagement. *American Educational Research Journal, 49*(4), 651-684.

Lave, J. (1997). The culture of acquisition and the practice of understanding. *Situated cognition: Social, semiotic, and psychological perspectives*, In Kirshner, D., & Whitson, J. A. (Eds.). *Situated*

cognition: Social, semiotic, and psychological perspectives. (pp. 63-82). Psychology Press.

Lawson, M. A. (2003). School-family relations in context parent and teacher perceptions of parent involvement. *Urban Education, 38*(1), 77-133.

Lawson, M. A., Alameda-Lawson, T., & Richards, K. A. R. (2016). A university-assisted, place-based model for enhancing students' peer, family, and community ecologies. *Education Sciences, 6*(2), 16-30.

Lee, O., & Martinek, T. (2013). Understanding the transfer of values-based youth sport program goals from a bioecological perspective. *Quest, 65*(1), 300-312. doi.org/10.1080/00336297.2013.791871

Lerner, R. M., Agans, J. P., Arbeit, M. R., Chase, P. A., Weiner, M. B., Schmid, K. L., & Warren, A. E. A. (2013). Resilience and positive youth development: A relational developmental systems model. In Handbook of resilience in children (pp. 293-308). Springer: US.

Liem, G. A. D. (2016). Academic and social achievement goals: Their additive, interactive, and specialized effects on school functioning. *British Journal of Educational Psychology, 86*(1), 37-56. DOI: 10.1111/bjep.12085

Martinek, T., Schilling, T., & Johnson, D. (2001). Transferring personal and social responsibility of underserved youth to the classroom. *The Urban Review, 33*(1), 29-45. DOI: 10.1023/A:1010332812171

Martinek, T., & Lee, O. (2012). From community gyms to classrooms: A framework for values-transfer in schools. *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation and Dance, 83*(1), 33-38; 51. doi.org/10.1080/07303084.2012.10598709

Meléndez, A., & Martinek, T. (2015). Life after Project Effort: Applying values acquired in a responsibility-based physical activity program. R*evista Internacional de Ciencias del Deporte, 10*(41), 258-280. doi.org/10.5232/ricyde2015.04105

Netter Center for Community Partnerships. (2008). Annual Report 2007-08. Engage, Empower, Educate: A Focus on University- Assisted Community Schools and Education Reform. Retrieved January 10, 2017, from http://www.upenn.edu/ccp/Netter.pdfl.

Petitpas, A. J., Cornelius, A. E., Van Raalte, J. L., & Jones, T. (2005). A framework for planning youth sport programs that foster psychosocial development. *Quest, 19*(1), 63-80. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1123/tsp.19.1.63

Phelan, P., Davidson, A. L., & Cao, H. T. (1991). Students' multiple worlds: Negotiating the boundaries of family, peer, and school cultures. *Anthropology*

& *Education Quarterly*, *22*(3), 224-250. DOI: 10.1525/aeq.1991.22.3.05x1051k

Rich, V. J. (2009). Clinical instructors' and athletic training students' perceptions of teachable moments in an athletic training clinical education setting. *Journal of Athletic Training, 44*(3), 294-303.

Rimm-Kaufman, S. E., & Pianta, R. C. (1999). Patterns of family-school contact in preschool and kindergarten. *School Psychology Review*, *28*(3), 426-438.

Sandford, R. A., Armour, K. M., & Warmington, P. C. (2006). Re-engaging disaffected youth through physical activity programmes. *British Educational Research Journal*, *32*(2), 251-271. doi.org/10.1080/0141192060056916 4

Turney, K., & Kao, G. (2009). Barriers to school involvement: Are immigrant parents disadvantaged? *The Journal of Educational Research, 102*(4), 257-271.

Ungar, M. (2011). Community resilience for youth and families: Facilitative physical and social capital in contexts of adversity. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *33*(9), 1742-1748.

Warren, J. S., Nelson, P. L., & Burlingame, G. M. (2009). Identifying youth at risk for treatment failure in outpatient community mental health services. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*,

18(6), 690-701. DOI: 10.1007/s10826-009-9275-9

Wuerth, S., Lee, M. J., & Alfermann, D. (2004). Parental involvement and athletes' career in youth sport. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise, 5*(1), 21-33. doi.org/10.1016/S1469-0292(02)00047-X

Figures

Figure 1

Conceptual Model for Enhancing Skills and Competency Transfer Across Life Contexts. Solid arrow represent communication and congruence among the school, family, and TPSR program systems. Broken arrows reflect youth's ability to apply skills learned in SBYD program to different (and potentially competing) school, family, and community contexts.

Conceptual Model for Enhancing Skills and Competency Transfer Across Life Contexts

Community Surrounding the Family, School, and Program Contexts

Other Social Contexts

School Context

Family Context

Cultural Adaptivity in Youth Participants

TPSR Program Context
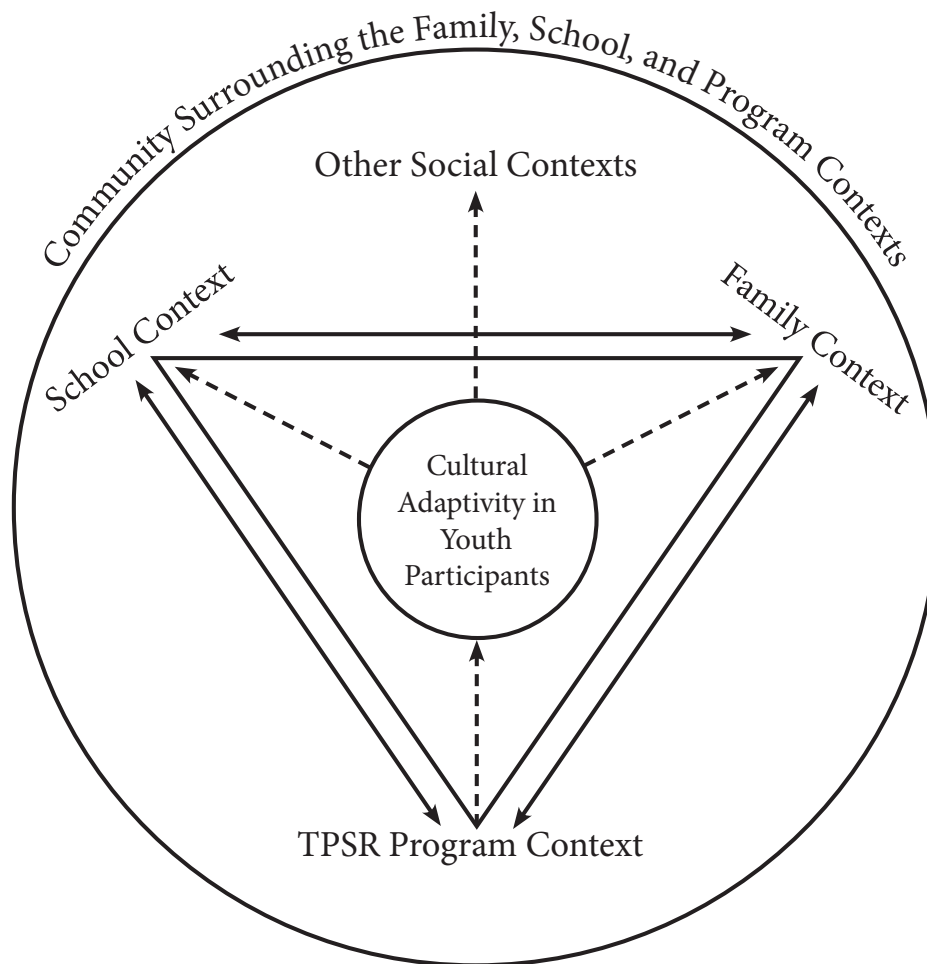
Parenting and Motocross: The Whoops and Downs

Marissa E. Holst[1]   Greta L. Stuhlsatz[2]

[1]*University of Minnesota-Morris*
[2]*Iowa State University*

Many studies address the influences of parenting and contextual factors on child development (Belsky, 1984). Although long-term contextual factors such as poverty and abuse have been shown to be associated with both parent and child behaviors (La Placa & Corlyon, 2016; Salzinger et al, 2002), little research exists on the degree to which short-term situational contexts may affect child behavior. The goal of this study is to identify the influence of parenting behavior on child response after a competitive motocross race. Survey data was collected from 33 parents at several child/adolescent competitions held at a motocross track. First, results indicated that hostility exhibited by the trackside parent, or the parent that spends the most time with their child trackside, at a motocross race was positively related to their child crying after a competition. Additionally, achievement orientation and family cohesion were both positively related to having a child celebrate after the race. Results also show that some situational factors have an influence on child behavior over and above the influence of the family environment factors. Specifically, trackside parent hostility significantly predicts crying after a race. This work informs the literature on the degree to which short-term situational contexts may affect child behavior, as well as provides insight into parent-child relationships within the context of motocross.

A large body of literature exists that examines the influences of parenting and contextual factors on child development (Belsky, 1984; Holt, 2016). Commonly, stable, long-term contextual factors have been shown to be associated with parenting behaviors. This is evident in work by La Placa & Corlyon (2016) which examined the impact poverty has on parenting behaviors. Comparatively, very little research exists examining the impact short-term situational contexts may

have on the behavior of children. There has also been very little attention paid to the degree to which pre-existing family environment is related to parenting within short-term situational contexts. Therefore, the current study investigates the effect of parental warmth and hostility on child behavior during a short-term situational context. Family environment is also evaluated to investigate the magnitude of influence each factor has on child's behavior.

Competitive Youth Sports: Parent Behavior

According to data released by the United States Department of Health and Human Services (2010), 90% of American youth choose to participate in organized sports throughout their childhood and into adolescence. Parents are often responsible for involving their children in physical activities. Frequently, they act as their first coach, and invest their time, money, and emotional support into their children's success (Downward, Hallmann, & Pawlowski, 2014; Fredricks & Eccles, 2005; Snyder & Spretizer, 1973). Parents invest these resources in part because competitive events allow children to experience success and failure in a controlled context, and offer parents opportunities to help their children learn how to manage success and failure (Partridge, Brustad, Babkes, & Stellino, 2008). As a result, this creates an interesting context to study how both parent and child behaviors are affected by short-term

situational contexts. Short-term situational contexts are events or processes that occur briefly such as moving to a new home, transitioning to a new classroom, or competing in a sports event.

When an athlete performs, they are in a public area, constantly receiving feedback, either verbal or nonverbal from other people (e.g., coaches, spectators, fans) (Fredricks & Eccles, 2004). The way an athlete copes with the stress brought on by performance can be heavily impacted by their parents (Keegan, Harwood, Spray, & Lavallee, 2009; Keegan, Spray, Harwood, & Lavallee, 2010). Pivotal work by Fredricks and Eccles (2004) discusses several ways parents impact their children's beliefs related to their sport's experiences. One of the key roles parents partake in is being the purveyor of emotional support and guidance regarding positive sports participation. This is especially important as the approach parents take regarding this role strongly influences both positively and negatively a child's beliefs and their motivation and performance within the sport (O'Rourke, Smith, Smoll, & Cumming, 2014).

Often, parents convey support or guidance through their behavior. Children tend to prefer parents who engage in attentive silence during sporting events, which involves sitting down quietly, controlling one's emotions, and maintaining a positive attitude (Knight, Boden, & Holt, 2010; Omli & Wiese-Bjornstal, 2011). Further preference is given to parents who

cheer but do so in an appropriate manner such as smiling and clapping (Omli & Wiese-Bjornstal, 2011). Research has demonstrated that when parents provide appropriate emotional support and praise during competition they are more likely to have children who indicate higher levels of intrinsic motivation, enjoyment, competence, and coping skills (Knight, Neely, & Holt, 2011; Power & Woolger, 1994). As a result, these children are more likely to engage in sport for a longer period of time (Woolger & Power, 2000). By participating in sports for an extended period, children experience a number of physical and emotional benefits. This can include lower levels of body fat and more finely tuned leadership skills (Kniffin, Wansink, & Shimizu, 2015; Telford et al., 2016).

Gould, Lauer, Rolo, Jannes, & Pennisi (2006) note that a large population of parents positively influence their children's athletic development through their behavior. However, their results also highlight the impact that negative parental behavior can have on child development. The authors indicate that these parents have the tendency to overemphasize winning, hold unrealistic expectations of their child's abilities, and are highly critical of their child's performance. Children are more likely to describe negative impacts when a parent engages in arguing (i.e.: Referees, spectators, or other parents), blaming, derogation, or disruption (Omli & Wiese-Bjornstal, 2011). All of these examples

represent harsh behaviors. More recent work highlights that parents who overemphasize winning and are overly critical can cause children to experience higher levels of anxiety, fear of failure, and lower levels of perceived competence (Bois, Lalanne, & Delforge, 2009; Knight & Holt, 2014). These negative outcomes have implications for children's mental health and can ultimately cause the child to lose interest in sports performance altogether.

The situational pressure of a competitive event is associated with parent and child behavior; therefore, the current study contributes to this existing research by testing for the association of child behavior with both short-term and long-term family components.

Family Environment: Cohesion, Conflict, and Achievement Orientation

Family environment has been widely acknowledged as a predictor of child adjustment (Fomby & Cherlin, 2007; Laurent et al., 2013). A growing body of the literature suggests that families with low cohesion often indicate higher levels of stress and less warm parent-child relationships (Barber and Buehler, 1996, Orthner, Jones-Sanpei, & Williamson, 2004). Behnke et al (2008) demonstrate that family cohesion strongly affects the relationship between stress and parenting behaviors. The degree to which family environment (including family cohesion) can show similar effects on short-term contextual pressures is relatively unknown.

However, it may play a pertinent role in a competitive youth sports context.

It has also been established that family level conflict influences parenting behaviors during long-term contextual pressures (Barajas-Gonzalez & Brooks-Gunn, 2014; Neppl, Senia, & Donnellan, 2016). For instance, families who have children that suffer from chronic pain indicate higher levels of conflict, and lower levels of cohesion (Palermo, Valrie, Karlson, 2014). Conflict among family members is also commonly associated with parents' behavior towards their children (Strassberg, Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 1994; Schwartz et al., 2013), especially hostile parenting (Erel, Margolin, & John, 1998; Weaver, Shaw, Crossan, Dishion & Wilson, 2015). Interestingly, very little research has examined the impact that short-term situational factors and conflict have on parental behavior.

The third element of family environment that has been found to be associated with parenting behavior is achievement orientation. Achievement orientation is defined as the extent to which families strive to achieve academic and occupational success (Dweck & Leggett, 1988; Dietl, Meurs, & Blickle, 2017). Power & Woolger (1994) investigated a form of achievement orientation (performance goals) and parenting behaviors during swimming competitions. They found that parental performance goals and directiveness showed curvilinear effects. That is, children reported having the most enthusiasm for swimming when their parents reported moderate levels of performance goals. More recent work within the youth sports literature has continued to examine the relationship between parental performance goals, pressure, and behavior, and its influences on child outcomes (Dorsch, Smith, & Dotterer, 2015; Holt & Knight, 2014). Such work has shown that athletes who identify as having perfectionistic parents were more likely to perceive higher levels of parental pressure and suffered from poor adjustment (Randall, Bohnert, & Travers, 2015). Similar work by O'Rourke et al (2014), noted that high parental pressure during youth sports events was associated with the highest levels of extreme responses for children (e.g., celebration or crying).

Motocross - What is it?

This research draws from Bronfenbrenner's bioecological framework (Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). This framework posits that to understand child development researchers must first evaluate the systems that are found within a child's environment. Specifically, this theory suggests that children are affected by different systems in unique ways. Bronfenbrenner's initial work identified four systems: microsystem (e.g., family and peers), mesosystem (e.g., the relationship between parents and child's school), exosystem (e.g., parental job loss), and macrosystem (e.g., law, religion, culture).

Within the current paper, the authors focus specifically on the microsystem and the mesosystem and child behavior. Specifically, they are interested stable family environment factors within the microsystem (e.g., achievement orientation) and short-term situational context within the mesosystem (e.g., parental hostility). Parent hostility and warmth is measured at the motocross track to represent the relationship between the parent and the sport of motocross (how the parent behaves specifically at the track) and how this behavior affects the child.

The sport of motocross was especially appropriate to address the hypotheses of this study because of its growing popularity. The term motocross comes from the combination of two words: "Moto" for motorcycles and "cross" for cross-country. Motocross is a sport that can be engaged in as early as four and individuals may choose to continue riding into older age (60+) (AMA, 2017). Motocross involves riding an off-road motorcycle on courses that incorporate hills, dirt roads, muddy tracks, turns, and jumps. Today, motocross is one of the fastest growing sports in the world. This is due in part to corporate sponsorships, and events including the X Games, Supercross, and the Lucas Oil Pro Motocross Championship. In 2016, more than 7 million people watched professional motocross, with 498,304 living streaming events and 277,280 people physically attending races (*NBC Sport Group*, 2016). The sport also has a substantial social media

following with 370,000 total Instagram followers, 502,000 total Facebook followers and 95,000 total Twitter followers (*NBC Sport Group*, 2016).

Summary

Within the current study, the authors hypothesize that parents who display positive behavior in the form of warmth will have children who are more likely to celebrate after a race. Conversely, the authors hypothesize that parents who display negative behavior in the form of hostility will have children who cry or display anger before a race. The authors also hypothesize that families with higher levels of cohesion will demonstrate more warmth at a competitive motocross event. Additionally, families with higher levels of conflict will demonstrate more hostility towards their children before the race. Finally, the authors hypothesize that the short-term situational context (parent behavior prior to a race) will influence child behavior following a race after controlling for the influence of family environment.

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 33 parents of children who were active participants in motocross. Parents were asked to report how many years, on average, they had been involved in the sport of motocross ($M = 14.03$ years, $SD = 7.72$). However, there was a large amount of variation in years of experience ranging from 1-44 years. Parents

also indicated how far they traveled for their child to compete. Three percent of parents reported traveling less than an hour, 12% reported traveling one to two hours, 12% reported traveling two to three hours, and 72% indicated having traveled three to four hours. Questions regarding motocross expenses were also asked. Sixty percent of parents indicated having spent more than $3,000 over the course of the last three months on motocross related expense.

Procedure

Recruitment occurred during several Super Series races held at a professional motocross track. The races were designed for non-professional or amateur athletes from Limited Peewee Jr. Class (4-6 years) to Senior Class (60+). Participants were recruited through convenience sampling. Throughout each race day, a booth was available for parents to approach and complete a survey on their family dynamics and motocross experiences. A majority of youth riders at these races had a parent participate in the study. Parents were asked to provide informed consent and were then invited to provide basic demographic information regarding their involvement in motocross (i.e. expenses, time, and years of experience). Additional questions included measures of child behavior after races, trackside parent behavior before and after races, and overall family environment. In exchange for their participation, respondents received racing decals.

Measures

Descriptives. Parents were asked to complete investigator created demographic questions related to their family's motocross experiences. These quantitative and qualitative questions included how much money they spent, reasons for participating in the sport, how they treat their children after a race, how old their child is, etc. To provide characteristics of the sample, participants were asked about monetary investment, age of the child, how often they discuss the sport at home, how long the family has been involved in motocross and how far they travelled to get to the event. Monetary investment was measured by participant response to a five-point scale of ranges of income (i.e.: 1 = $0 - $500, 2 = $500 - $1000, 5 = $3,000+). Each participant reported the age of their child participating in the races. If a parent reported on more than one child who was participating in the race ($N = 3$) the average of their ages was calculated and included in descriptive analyses ($M = 14.03$, $SD = 7.72$). Parents also reported how often they discuss motocross outside of the track on a scale ranging from never (0) to always (3). Finally, the parent reported the number years and months they had been involved in motocross. From these results, the number of months was calculated and reported. Descriptive statistics are shown in Table 1.

Stable family environment factors. Parents completed three subscales of the

Family Environment Scale (FES: Moos & Moos, 1994). This scale assesses the perceived social climate of an individual's family and can be taken by any member of the family (Moos, 1974). This scale is comprised of three systemic constructs relating to the family. These constructs include Relationship, Personal Growth, and Systems Maintenance. The first subscale came from the Personal Growth dimension of the FES: Achievement Orientation (the degree to which activities are competitive). The second and third subscales used in this analysis were taken from the Relationships dimension of the FES: Conflict (the degree to which anger and conflict are openly expressed among family members) and Cohesion (the amount family members provide commitment and support to one another).

Internal consistency of the scale has been reported as ranging from .61 to .78, and test-retest reliability ranging from .61 to .78 (Moos, 1994). The full instrument consists of three forms: Real, Ideal, and Expectations. Because the current study sought to investigate perceptions of the home environment, the Real form was used. Answers were given on a four-point scale ranging from not true (0) to true (3). The three scales were cohesion (9 items, α = 0.78), conflict (7 items, α = 0.68), and achievement orientation (7 items, α = 0.63). Two items were dropped from both the conflict and achievement-orientation scales because their item-total correlations were less than .20.

Situational stressor reaction. Parents completing the survey reported on the trackside parent's behaviors toward the child both before and after the race using the Behavioral Affect Rating Scale (BARS: Conger, 1989). This scale has been used extensively to explore parenting behaviors (Schofield, Conger, Gonzales, & Merrick, 2016; Wetzel & Robins, 2016) and is a 22-item scale that assesses warmth and hostility within a close relationship. In the current study, the parent reports on the trackside parent's behavior toward the racing child. The wording of the scale was slightly adapted to be specific to the short-term situational context of the motocross event. Additionally, the current study utilizes an abbreviated 11-item scale to include only questions that were pertinent to the context. Items were answered on a seven-point scale from never (0) to always (6). The parental hostility (five items, α = .68) aspect reflects how frequently a parent behaves in a hostile nature towards their child. Sample items include "before a race, how often does the trackside parent get angry at your child?" and "before a race, how often does the trackside parent shout or yell at your child?". One item, "parent hits, pushes, grabs, or shoves your child" was dropped from the hostility scale because the item-total correlation fell below .20 and because the purpose of this study was to focus on hostility rather than physical abuse. The parental warmth aspect (five items, α = .80) assesses how often a parent displays warmth towards their child. Sample items included

"before a race, how often does the trackside parent act loving and affectionate toward your child?" and "before a race, how often does the trackside parent help your child do something that is important to your child?"

Child behavior. As there is little research involving the sport of motocross, the questions related to child's behavior after the race were created by the principal investigator. Parents reported on each of three specific behaviors after a race (i.e., celebrates, cries, gets angry). Each item was answered on a four-point scale from never (0) to always (3). Items read "how often does your child celebrate after the race?", "how often does your child get angry after the race?", and "how often does your child cry after the race?"

Statistical Analysis

SPSS Statistics 21 software was used to analyze these data. Descriptive statistics were analyzed to determine parental investment in the sport of motocross (e.g. distance traveled, financial investment), experience, and family environment. Correlations analyses were conducted to identify the relationship between parent behavior, family environment, and child response after the race. Further, regression analyses were conducted to test the unique contribution of the family environment and motocross contexts to each of the dependent variables (crying, celebrating, and anger) by the family

Results

Correlation analysis and multiple regression analyses were performed to address the study purposes. Table 2 contains the bivariate correlations among all variables used in the preliminary analyses. In testing hypothesis one, the first part regarding warmth and celebrating after the race was not supported. However, the second part of hypothesis one was partially supported in that, while there was no significant finding regarding anger after a race, parents who display hostility before the race will have children that cry after the race ($r = 0.42$, $p \leq 0.05$). The second hypothesis was not supported at the bivariate level. Indeed, families with higher levels of cohesion and conflict, were not shown to exhibit more warmth or hostility before a competitive event. Additional family environment variables, however, were correlated with child behaviors after the race. Specifically, both achievement orientation ($r = 0.52$) and family cohesion ($r = 0.34$) were significantly correlated with their child celebrating after the race. The remaining family environment variable, family conflict, was only correlated with family cohesion ($r = 0.54$). Of the two parent behaviors at the race, trackside parent hostility was associated with child behavior after the race. Specifically, hostility before the race was associated with their child crying after the race ($r = 0.42$). Overall, the pattern of associations was consistent with expectations, justifying formal tests of study hypotheses. However, because there were no significant

correlations between the independent variables and the child getting angry after the race, this variable was dropped future analyses.

The remaining hypotheses were that the dimensions of the situational context would predict child behavior after a race over and above the stable family environment factors. Separate models were run for each dependent variable due to the modest sample size. For each outcome (crying and celebrating after the race), family environment factors were entered into the analysis to assess the influence of these variables on each of the outcome variables. Next, the situational context behaviors (hostility and warmth) were added to see the effect of these two behaviors beyond the effect of the stable family environment factors. For example, the first model (Table 3) shows the effects of family achievement orientation, family conflict, and family cohesion on crying after a race. Then (also in Table 1) trackside parent hostility and warmth were added to the model. In Model 1 predicting crying after the race (Table 4) family achievement orientation remained a significant factor in influencing celebratory behavior after a race (β=1.10, $p \leq 0.01$) after taking the other three family factors into account, however, the association between family cohesion and crying after the race receded. Regarding the final hypothesis, hostility and warmth (Model 2 in Table 4) from the trackside parent did not have an influence on the child's behavior after the race. However, after including parent situational behavior in the model, family conflict was negatively associated with celebration after the race (β= -0.37, $p \leq$ 0.05).

Further testing the final hypothesis, table one shows the regression model results for a child crying after a race. In the first model, the stable family environment factors did not predict the behavior of the child after the race. However, hostility from the trackside parent did significantly predict this behavior over and above any influence from the stable family environments (β= 0.50, $p \leq 0.05$).

Discussion

The first hypothesis examines how levels of warmth and hostility exhibited by the trackside parent during an acute situational stressor - a motocross event - influence child behavior after a race. Our hypothesis was partially supported in that high observed hostility from the trackside parent at a race influenced high occurrence of crying after a race from the child. This is consistent with literature showing that high levels of negative interactions (such as a child experiencing hostility from their parent) has been shown to influence depression and anxiety (Randall, Bohnert, & Travers, 2015). This can lead to poor emotional regulation (Keenan, 2000) after a race and result in a child crying. Displayed warmth from the trackside parent, on the other hand, did not significantly relate to any of the outcome variables.

The second hypothesis was not supported. Higher levels of cohesion and conflict were not associated with warmth or hostility at an event. This could be due to the majority of the current literature focusing on long-term contextual pressures rather than acute, short-term stressors. Long-term family behaviors may not be associated to short-term family behaviors in a high stress environment.

Finally, consistent with our final hypothesis, hostility exhibited by the trackside parent influenced the child crying after a race over and above any influence of stable family environment factors. However, with regard to celebrating after the race, the stable family environment factors had more of an influence on the child's behavior after the race than the behavior of the parent during the acute stressor of the motocross event. Specifically, family conflict and achievement orientation influenced the child celebrating after the race. This finding is contrary to the idea that parents who highly prioritize achievement orientation may respond poorly when their child does not achieve however, in the dangerous sport of motocross, a child simply finishing a race may be considered an achievement especially considering the average age of participants. On the other hand, when the trackside parent expressed hostile behaviors it predicted how often the child cried after the race. These findings are consistent with the association between social support and higher functioning during times of stress (Cohen, 2004). This is contrary to previous

literature supporting the protective effect of family cohesion on chronic stressors (Farrell, Barnes, & Banerjee, 1995; Harris & Molock, 2000; Mossakowski & Zhang, 2014). However, the current study builds on previous work by showing the strong effect of parent hostility during acute situational stressors. Although the expected association between family conflict and hostility was not found, this may have been due to the public setting. When in public spaces, an angry or frustrated parent can react without drawing attention to themselves more easily by reducing their warmth than by increasing their hostility. Consistent with this possibility was the finding that the item on the BARS scale measuring physical aggression by the parent did not load highly onto the scale in this sample. Certainly, in private settings higher levels of conflict are associated with harsh and abusive behavior (McCullough et al., 1998).

The findings of this study have implications for parents/caregivers. These results can be used to create a webinar designed to help educate parents in regard to how to how their behaviors affect their children during a competitive motocross event, and the best ways to manage these behaviors. As many parents are also coaches within this sport, an intervention using these results could help build communication skills between parents and children that could influence the levels of stress and frustration experienced by both parties. Further research is necessary to identify what parts of motocross

competition (preparation, starting line, finish line, etc.) cause the most stress and frustration between parents and their children. Webinar tools can then be designed to help facilitate the conversations that parents and children struggle with the most.

These findings also have implications for the governing body of this sport, its officials, referees, and promoters. These results highlight the important role that parents play in their child's experience of the sport. By also having an understanding of this, these individuals can help parents and children navigate the world of motocross while at the track. This ensures that all parties are engaging in the sport in both a safe and enjoyable manner.

A limitation of this study is its modest sample size, as it affects the statistical power. However, we were encouraged to see the hypothesized effects were large enough to be detected notwithstanding this limitation. Although we had a high rate of participation from parents attending the races, this was a sample of convenience, which limits generalizability. The analyses were based on information from a single reporter, which may have inflated associations between variables. Despite these limitations, this study provides support for the role of family environment and parental behavior during a short-term situation stressor in predicting child behavior. Indeed, this study provides unique insight into a previously understudied sport. In most cases, the parent who completed

the survey was not the parent who was with their child trackside, likely indicating they were not the parent who spent the most time with their child trackside. Future research is needed to replicate and extend these findings to other situational stressors. Further, testing mediation in these contexts would be a beneficial additional to existing research.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the results of this study are valuable in expanding upon previous research examining the impact of parenting behaviors and family environment within two contexts, both at home and at a motocross event. This work provides a snapshot of how parenting behaviors can influence child outcomes in amateur motocross racing. This is especially relevant as the sport continues to rise in popularity. It informs the literature on the degree to which short-term situational contexts may affect parenting by illustrating the relationship between parent and child behaviors at a race. It also elucidates how deeply affected children can be by their parent's behaviors.

References

American Motocross Association. (2017). *AMA Racing 2017 Rule Book*. [E-reader Version] Retrieved from https://www.americanmotorcyclist.com/Racing/Story/motocross-rules-1

Barajas-Gonzalez, R. G., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2014). Income, neighborhood stressors, and harsh parenting: Test of moderation by ethnicity, age, and gender. *Journal of family psychology*, *28*(6), 855.

Barber, B. K., & Buehler, C. (1996). Family cohesion and enmeshment: Different constructs, different effects. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, *58*(2), 433-441.

Behnke, A. O., MacDermid, S. M., Coltrane, S. L., Parke, R. D., Duffy, S., & Widaman, K. F. (2008). Family cohesion in the lives of Mexican American and European American parents. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *70*(4), 1045-1059.

Belsky, J. (1984). The determinants of parenting: A process model. *Child development*, *55*(1), 83-96.

Bois, J. E., Lalanne, J., & Delforge, C. (2009). The influence of parenting practices and parental presence on children's and adolescents' pre-competitive anxiety. *Journal of Sports Sciences*, *27*(10), 995-1005.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1977). Toward an experimental ecology of human development. *American Psychologist, 32*, 513-531.

Bronfenbrenner, U. & Morris, P. A. (1998). The ecology of developmental processes. In W. Damon & R. M. Lerner (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology, Vol. 1: Theoretical models of human development* (5th ed., pp. 993–1023). New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

Cohen, S. (2004). Social relationships and health. *American Psychologist, 59*, 676-684.

Conger, R. D. (1989). *Behavioral Affect Rating Scale (BARS): Spousal rating of hostility and warmth: Iowa Youth and Families Project.* Ames, IA: Iowa State University.

Dietl, E., Meurs, J. A., & Blickle, G. (2017). Do they know how hard I work? Investigating how implicit/explicit achievement orientation, reputation, and political skill affect occupational status. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, *26*(1), 120-132.

Dorsch, T. E., Smith, A. L., Wilson, S. R., & McDonough, M. H. (2015). Parent goals and verbal sideline behavior in organized youth sport. *Sport, Exercise, and Performance Psychology*, *4*(1), 19.

Downward, P., Hallmann, K., & Pawlowski, T. (2014). Assessing parental impact on the sports participation of children: A socio-economic analysis of the UK. *European journal of sport science*, *14*(1), 84-90.

Dweck, Carol S.; Leggett, Ellen L. (1988). A social-cognitive approach to

motivation and personality. *Psychological Review, 95*(2), 256–273.

Erel, O., Margolin, G., & John, R.S., (1998). Observed sibling interaction: Links with the martial and mother-child relationship. *Developmental Psychology, 34*, 288-298.

Farrell, M. P., Barnes, G. M., & Banerjee, S. (1995). Family cohesion as a buffer against the effects of problem-drinking fathers on psychological distress, deviant behavior, and heavy drinking in adolescents. *Journal of health and social behavior, 36*(4), 377-385.

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

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

Fomby, P., & Cherlin, A. J. (2007). Family instability and child well-being. *American sociological review, 72*(2), 181-204.

Gould, D., Lauer, L., Rolo, C., Jannes, C., & Pennisi, N. (2006). Understanding the role parents play in tennis success: a national survey of junior tennis coaches. *British journal of sports medicine, 40*(7), 632-636.

Harris, T. L., & Molock, S. D. (2000). Cultural orientation, family cohesion, and family support in suicide ideation and depression among African American college students. *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior, 30*(4), 341-353.

Holt, N. L. (2016). *Positive youth development through sport*. New York, New York. Routledge.

Holt, N. L., & Knight, C. J. (2014). *Parenting in youth sport: From research to practice.* New York, New York. Routledge

Keegan, R. J., Harwood, C. G., Spray, C. M., & Lavallee, D. E. (2009). A qualitative investigation exploring the motivational climate in early career sports participants: Coach, parent and peer influences on sport motivation. *Psychology of sport and exercise, 10*(3), 361-372.

Keegan, R., Spray, C., Harwood, C., & Lavallee, D. (2010). The motivational atmosphere in youth sport: Coach, parent, and peer influences on motivation in specializing sport participants. *Journal of applied sport psychology, 22*(1), 87-105.

Keenan, K. (2000). Emotion dysregulation as a risk factor for child psychopathology. Clinical Psychology: Science and Practice, 7, 418–434.

Kniffin, K. M., Wansink, B., & Shimizu, M. (2015). Sports at work: anticipated and persistent correlates of participation in high school athletics.

Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies, 22(2), 217-230.

Knight, C. J., Neely, K. C., & Holt, N. L. (2011). Parental behaviors in team sports: How do female athletes want parents to behave? *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology*, 23, 76-92. doi:10.1080/10413200.2010.525589

Knight, C. J., & Holt, N. L. (2014). Parenting in youth tennis: Understanding and enhancing children's experiences. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise, 15*(2), 155-164.

Knight, C. J., Boden, C. M., & Holt, N. L. (2010). Junior tennis players' preferences for parental behaviors. *Journal of applied sport psychology, 22*(4), 377-391.

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. (2010). Morbidity and mortality report (Vol. 59, No. SS-5). Atlanta, GA: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, National Center for Chronic Disease Prevention and Health Promotion. Retrieved from: www.cdc.gov/mmwr/pdf/ss/ss5905.pdf

La Placa, V., & Corlyon, J. (2016). Unpacking the relationship between parenting and poverty: Theory, evidence and policy. *Social Policy and Society, 15*(01), 11-28.

Laurent, H. K., Leve, L. D., Neiderhiser, J. M., Natsuaki, M. N., Shaw, D. S., Fisher, P. A., ... & Reiss, D. (2013). Effects of Parental Depressive Symptoms on Child Adjustment Moderated by Hypothalamic Pituitary Adrenal Activity: Within-and Between-Family Risk. *Child development, 84*(2), 528-542.

McCullough, M., & Scherman, A. (1998). Family-of-origin interaction and adolescent mothers' potential for child abuse. *Adolescence*, 31 (3), 145-154.

Moos, R. H. (1974). Family Environment Scale preliminary manual. Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologist Press.

Moos, R. H., & Moos, B. S. (1994). *Family environment scale manual.* Mind Garden, CA. Consulting Psychologists Press.

Mossakowski, K. N., & Zhang, W. (2014). Does social support buffer the stress of discrimination and reduce psychological distress among Asian Americans? *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 0190272514534271.

Neppl, T. K., Senia, J. M., & Donnellan, M. B. (2016). Effects of economic hardship: Testing the family stress model over time. *Journal of Family Psychology, 30*(1), 12.

Omli, J., & Wiese-Bjornstal, D. M. (2011). Kids speak: Preferred parental behavior at youth sport events. *Research quarterly for exercise and sport, 82*(4), 702-711.

Orthner, D. K., Jones-Sanpei, H., & Williamson, S. (2004). The resilience and strengths of low-income families. *Family relations, 53*(2), 159-167.

O'Rourke, D. J., Smith, R. E., Smoll, F. L., & Cumming, S. P. (2014). Relations of parent-and coach-initiated motivational climates to young athletes' self-esteem, performance anxiety, and autonomous motivation: who is more influential? *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology*, *26*(4), 395-408.

Partridge, J. A., Brustad, R. J., & Babkes Stellino, M. (2008). Social influence in sport. *Advances in Sport Psychology*, 3, 269-291.

Randall, E. T., Bohnert, A. M., & Travers, L. V. (2015). Understanding affluent adolescent adjustment: The interplay of parental perfectionism, perceived parental pressure, and organized activity involvement. *Journal of adolescence*, *41*, 56-66.

Palermo, T. M., Valrie, C. R., & Karlson, C. W. (2014). Family and parent influences on pediatric chronic pain: a developmental perspective. *American Psychologist*, *69*(2), 142.

Power, T. G., & Woolger, C. (1994). Parenting practices and age-group swimming: A correlational study. *Research quarterly for exercise and sport*, 65(1), 59-66.

Salzinger, S., Feldman, R. S., Ng-Mak, D. S., Mojica, E., Stockhammer, T., & Rosario, M. (2002). Effects of partner violence and physical child abuse on child behavior: A study of abused and comparison children. *Journal of Family Violence*, *17*(1), 23-52.

Schofield, T. J., Conger, R. D., Gonzales, J. E., & Merrick, M. T. (2016). Harsh parenting, physical health, and the protective role of positive parent-adolescent relationships. *Social Science & Medicine*, *157*, 18-26.

Schwartz, D., Lansford, J. E., Dodge, K. A., Pettit, G. S., & Bates, J. E. (2013). The link between harsh home environments and negative academic trajectories is exacerbated by victimization in the elementary school peer group. *Developmental Psychology*, *49*(2), 305.

Snyder, E. E., & Spreitzer, E. A. (1973). Family influence and involvement in sports. *Research Quarterly. American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation*, 44(3), 249-255.

NBC Sport Group. (2016). *Lucas Oil Pro-Motocross Championship 2016 Season Recap*. Retrieved from: 2016 Lucas Oil Pro Motocross Championship End of Compressed.pdf

Strassberg, Z., Dodge, K.A., Pettit, G.S., & Bates, J.E., (1994). Spanking in the home and children's subsequent aggression toward kindergarten peers. *Development and Psychopathology*, 6, 445-461.

Telford, R. M., Telford, R. D., Cochrane, T., Cunningham, R. B., Olive, L. S., & Davey, R. (2016). The influence of sport club participation on physical activity, fitness and body fat during childhood and adolescence: the

LOOK Longitudinal Study. *Journal of science and medicine in sport*, *19*(5), 400-406.

Weaver, C. M., Shaw, D. S., Crossan, J. L., Dishion, T. J., & Wilson, M. N. (2015). Parent–child conflict and early childhood adjustment in two-parent low-income families: Parallel developmental processes. *Child Psychiatry & Human Development*, *46*(1), 94-107.

Wetzel, E., & Robins, R. W. (2016). Are parenting practices associated with the development of narcissism? Findings from a longitudinal study of Mexican origin youth. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *63*, 84-94.

Woolger, C., & Power, T. G. (2000). Parenting and children's intrinsic motivation in age group swimming. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, *21*(6), 595-607.

Tables

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics of Sample

	Range	M	SD
Months participating in motocross	13-531	217.03	168.35
Cost	0-4	2.84	1.25
Traveled	0-4	2.53	0.84
Talk about at home	2-3	2.52	0.51
Child Age	4-33	14.03	7.72
Family Factors			
Achieve	0.89-2.44	1.64	0.33
Conflict	0-2	0.83	0.41
Cohesion	1.56-3	2.39	0.41
Situational Stressor Reaction			
Parent Warmth	1.6-6.8	5.08	1.01
Parent Hostility	0-3.17	1.05	0.84
Child Behaviors			
Child celebrates after the race	0-3	1.7	0.85
Child gets angry after the race	0-2	0.82	0.53
Child cries after the race	0-2	0.48	0.62

Table 2
Correlations Among Variables Used in Analyses

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Family achievement orientation	-							
2. Family conflict	-.10	-						
3. Family cohesion	.31	-.54**	-					
4. Parent hostility	.00	.26	-.20	-				
5. Parent warmth	.18	-.10	.01	-.40*	-			
6. Child celebrates after racing	.52**	-.30	.34**	.25	.08	-		
7. Child gets angry after racing	.18	.14	.02	.17	.17	.22	-	
8. Child cries after racing	.00	.01	.00	.42*	-.10	.05	.28	-

Note. *$p \le .05$, **$p \le .01$

Table 3
Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Crying after a Race

	Model 1			Model 2		
	B	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Stable Family Environment Factors						
Achievement Orientation	-0.12	0.37	-0.07	-0.19	0.35	-0.10
Conflict	-0.11	0.37	-0.07	0.023	0.34	-0.15
Cohesion	-0.02	0.36	-0.01	0.07	0.33	0.05
Situation Stressor Reaction						
Parent Hostility				0.38	0.15	0.50*
Parent Warmth				0.11	0.12	0.17

Note: *$p \leq .05$

Table 4

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Celebration after a Race

	Model 1			Model 2		
	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β
Stable Family Environment Factors						
Achievement Orientation	1.10	0.41	0.43*	1.01	0.39	0.39*
Conflict	-0.68	0.40	-0.31	-0.81	0.37	-0.37*
Cohesion	0.15	0.39	0.74	0.24	0.36	0.12
Situational Stressor Reaction						
Parent Hostility				0.42	0.16	0.41
Parent Warmth				0.15	0.13	0.17

Note: $^*p \leq .05$

The Experience of Parent/Coaches in Youth Sport: A Qualitative Exploration of Junior Australian Football

Samuel K. Elliott   Murray Drummond

Flinders University

There has been increasing academic interest in understanding the nature of parental involvement in youth sport. Much scholarly focus has illuminated both positive and negative forms of sport parenting from the perspectives of coaches, parents and youth participants. One less understood aspect, however, surrounds the potentially conflicting role of parents who coach their own children in youth sport. This is surprising given that many parents demonstrate support by fulfilling essential roles such as team manager and team coach (Jeffery-Tosoni, Fraser-Thomas, & Baker, 2015). This paper draws on rich, descriptive qualitative data from 16 parent/coaches to highlight the contemporary experiences of parent/coaches who coach their own child. Three themes were identified including deliberate criticism, limited recognition, and behaviour justification, illustrating how parent/coaches intentionally demonstrate differential behaviour toward their child in contrast to the rest of the team. Examples of this include demonstrating deliberate criticism at training and matches and overlooking their child in awarding weekly encouragement awards after each match. Significantly, parent/coaches justify these behaviours in attempting to fulfil the dual role of parent and team coach to the best of their ability. Through the lens of social constructionism, we argue that this is not only problematic for parent and child relationships, but it may also have a reinforcing influence on how other parent/coaches negotiate the dual role. We argue that the reproduction of these behaviours can potentially preserve problematic aspects of parental involvement in youth sport, offering a unique perspective to the sport-parenting literature.

I like to think of myself as a good coach. I am armed with knowledge, qualifications, an outgoing personality and a theoretical basis underpinned by an athlete centred approach.

However, throughout the three days of events I found myself in an invidious position. This is not unusual given that I have coached my son for the past eight years within the sport of surf life-saving. Over the

time I have coached my son we have been in situations and circumstances that have not been pleasant experiences for us both given the feedback required by a coach to progress an athlete forward. However, the perception of favouritism towards my son by the 'outside world' is a key concern that has been foremost in my thoughts in my role as a coach. While aspects of the sport of surf life saving are individually oriented, there are many team events. Similarly, given my role as a state coach I was entrusted to select the state representative team, in which my son was ultimately a member. Therefore, selection transparency was paramount. While it can be argued that providing, and adhering to, a strong set of criteria was important for the young athletes it can also be argued that transparency was required just as much for the parents as the athletes, such is the nature of contemporary youth sport. Problematically, I do feel that in certain circumstances my son has been 'dealt a more difficult hand' than other young athletes due to my role as coach. I am often the one to 'make an example' of him in front of other athletes because I think I know – occasionally incorrectly - his capacity for potential embarrassment. On occasions, I single out my son to demonstrate a skill in the water due to my acute awareness of his abilities. However, I also leave him out of certain relay teams despite his greater level of fitness and skills in order to give 'other kids a go.' Part of my rationale is no doubt sub-consciously based on how I might be seen by other parents. The positive aspect of all this is that I know this to be the case. I often reflect on my behaviours and I understand my own limitations as a coach and a father. The problem may be for other parent/coaches who do not have a level of introspection and self-reflection. This may be a starting point to begin a discussion surrounding parents as coaches of their children.

Over the past decade, there has been burgeoning interest in understanding the nature of parental involvement in youth sport. Much attention has arisen from concerns portrayed in the mainstream media surrounding negative parental behaviour (Lindstrom Bremer, 2012). To an extent, many studies qualify this perspective. For instance, several studies have revealed that parents often articulate negative and critical comments toward children during competition (Bowker et al., 2009; Holt, Tamminen, Black, Sehn, & Wall, 2008; Shields, LaVoi, Bredemeier, & Power, 2007). Research has also found that parents continue to overemphasise winning, criticise and maintain unrealistic expectations for their child (Gould, Lauer, Rolo, Jannes, & Pennisi, 2006; Lauer, Gould, Roman, & Pierce, 2010). It is also purported that many parents demonstrate anger at youth sport events by walking away from events in annoyance, making offensive gestures and intimidating other spectators (Elliott & Drummond, 2015b; Goldstein & Iso-Ahola, 2008).

While such behaviours are clearly concerning, parents can also imbue a potentially negative impact through modes of well-intentioned involvement. In other words, parents can comprise a potential source of stress and anxiety for children through forms of involvement believed to be supportive and appropriate. For example, in some sport settings, parents regularly

provide advice to their child during the breaks of play and debrief after competition as a means of displaying support (Elliott & Drummond, 2016). Yet these interactions can unwittingly upset children and exacerbate feelings of stress and anxiety associated with participation (Elliott & Drummond, 2015a, 2016). Parents also have the capacity to embarrass children by displaying fanatical cheering and disruptive behaviours such as waving and calling out players' names (Omli & Wiese-Bjornstal, 2011). Furthermore, parents can confuse children if their verbal support during competition is not matched by their non-verbal behaviour (Knight, Neely, & Holt, 2011). These issues highlight the importance of further investigating taken-for-granted notions of parental involvement hidden under the guise of well-intentioned involvement. Failing to do so may inadvertently contribute to heightening stress and anxiety among youth participants, which has been associated with decreasing levels of enjoyment and motivation, and potentially drop out from sport (Bois, Lalanne, & Delforge, 2009). In contrast, generating an understanding in this regard could assist parents, coaches and administrators improve the broader youth sport experience and optimise the way that parents support children's sport.

One less understood aspect of well-intentioned parental involvement surrounds that of parents who coach their own children. The coaching role represents a conduit through which parents may believe

they can make a positive and substantial contribution to their child's sport. As suggested in the opening vignette, however, the dual role of parent/coach can be challenging for the parent and child. This line of inquiry is worth exploring further given that coaches are a key determinant in the enjoyment and motivation of youth participants (Atkins, Johnson, Force, & Petrie, 2014; Keegan, Harwood, Spray, & Lavallee, 2009; Keegan, Spray, Harwood, & Lavallee, 2010). To date however, limited attention has been afforded to this aspect of parental involvement in youth sport.

From the literature that is available, studies have indicated that relationships between parent/coaches and child/athletes are not always positively experienced by parents and children, resulting from highly complex and challenging relationships (Jowett, 2008; Jowett, Timson-Katchis, & Adams, 2007; Schmid, Bernstein, Shannon, Rishell, & Griffith, 2015; Weiss & Fretwell, 2005). Weiss and Fretwell (2005) suggest that while benefits include spending time together and sharing positive social interactions, parent/coach-child/athlete relationships can also be contentious and conflict-laden, and lead to rebellious behaviours among children. Jowett et al. (2007) claim the dual role parent/coach-child/athlete relationship has the potential to 'spill over', whereby coach-athlete conflict extends beyond sport and into the parent-child relationship, and vice-versa (i.e. coach-athlete). More recently, Schmid et al. (2015) interviewed seven female tennis

players and found that conflicts between parent/coaches and child/athletes can have negative impacts on the family unit, and in some cases, be characterised by abusive parental behaviours and practices. They also the 'blurred boundaries' child-athletes experience including receiving criticism from their father/coach without feeling put down and having an incapacity to complain to their parents about coaching issues.

Although these studies present some insight, one limitation is that they largely emerge from individual pursuits such as tennis, track and field athletics and swimming. With exception to Weiss and Fretwell's work, there remains a need to examine wider sport settings including parent/coaches involved in team sports. Furthermore, these studies give inadequate voice to parents in understanding their experience of fulfilling dual roles. This oversight is noteworthy given the importance of understanding more about parents *own experiences* in youth sport (Holt & Knight, 2014). Noteworthy, knowledge surrounding the nature and influence of parent/coaches in youth sport reflects only the US and UK context. An examination of this role from underrepresented settings can offer the literature a unique and much needed contribution in pursuit of advancing the knowledge base about parent/coaches. For these reasons, there remain fundamental methodological and conceptual gaps within the extant literature that the current paper will seek to address. This is significant given that a vast majority of

parents are involved in youth sport as team coach at some point in their child's sport development as it comprises a meaningful and culturally significant role in the lives of their own children (Coakley, 2006).

A sociocultural perspective

Although studies on sport-parenting largely emerge from a sport psychology perspective (for instance, Dorsch, Smith, & McDonough, 2009; Keegan et al., 2010; Knight, Little, Harwood, & Goodger, 2016; Lauer et al., 2010), more diverse sociological approaches have been adopted recently and made important contributions to the literature (Burgess, Knight, & Mellalieu, 2016; Elliott & Drummond, 2015b; Stefansen, Smette, & Strandbu, 2016). Elliott & Drummond (2015a) argue that sociological approaches toward understanding sport parenting issues is particularly valuable because it progresses research beyond a focus on *what parents do*. Rather, it encourages one to consider wider factors, which serve to explain why sport parenting manifests in particular ways. For instance, social constructionism is useful for interpreting sport parenting research given that meaning is influenced by shared interactions between family, peers, history and culture (Elliott & Drummond, 2015b). This can include political, historical, social and cultural imperatives, which reinforce and maintain forms of parental involvement in youth sport. An example surrounds the socially constructed measures of 'good parenting' which, at present, include

children's participation and achievement in sport (Coakley, 2006; Trussell & Shaw, 2012). Under these conditions, parents may be influenced to involve themselves in youth sport in ways that respond to broader societal constructions, which for many parents can include fulfilling the role of team coach (Coakley, 2006).

Social constructionism therefore draws attention to the way in which meaning is constructed historically, culturally and linguistically (Burr, 2003). This includes a critical stance towards taken-for-granted ways of understanding the world; cultural and historical specificity; meaning and knowledge sustained by social processes, and; daily interactions and knowledge and social action which invites a different kind of action from human beings (Burr, 2003). Understanding parental involvement may therefore benefit from interrogating taken-for-granted aspects of youth sport such as parents in the coaching role. By considering this phenomenon in the context of cultural and historical specificity, and in association with social processes, which reinforce a particular kind of parental involvement, new understanding is possible. Such an approach, therefore, offers the literature a nuanced focus on exploring how and why parental involvement emerges as it does within the context of organised youth sport.

This paper emerges from a larger qualitative exploration of parental involvement in a junior Australian football setting (Australian football is colloquially known as Australian Rules football, and refers to Australia's national football sporting code. Australian football is a contact sport possessing similar play patterns to Gaelic Football and Rugby; see *Method* for more details). In addressing the aforementioned gap in the sport parenting literature, the aim of this paper is to explore the perceptions and experiences of parents who coach their own child in junior Australian football. Thus, in framing the paper, two research questions are posed: (1) What is the nature of the sport parenting through the role of team coach? and (2) How do parent/coaches negotiate the relationship with their child as the team coach?

Method

The data presented within this paper are drawn from a larger doctoral study, which investigated the nature of parental influence in junior Australian football. The original study design was based on a multiple case study methodology in which the bounded systems were defined by three demographic locations to explore the social phenomenon of sport parenting in junior Australian football in South Australia. As Sparkes and Smith (2014) contend, case studies can be jointly extended to several cases in order to investigate a phenomenon, population or general condition. In the original study, the phenomenon, which sought to be understood, surrounded parental influence in the understudied sport setting of junior Australian football. From the extensive data collected, two unintended findings were

revealed including parental influence on dietary patterns relating to children's sport (see Elliott, Velardo, Drummond, & Drummond, 2016) and the experiences of the contemporary parent/coach. The latter represents an opportunistic, yet pertinent by-product of the qualitative inquiry on an understudied aspect of sport parenting, leading to the conceptualization of this paper.

Within the current paper, then, the basis of the research is underpinned by a broader sociocultural exploration and analysis of the unintended findings surrounding the experiences of the contemporary parent/coach in junior Australian football. This paper draws on data derived from interviews with 16 parent/coaches from the larger study. The participants reflect a homogenous cohort based on (a) gender (male only), (b) age group coached (under 12s or under 14s), (c) competition level (local community), and (d) the age of their children involved in sport (12-13 years; Under 12s or Under 14s refers to the age range of the players in the competition. These grades are commonly referred to as 'juniors'). However, they represented a range of experiences and backgrounds in Australian football as former players and coaches at various levels of adult and youth competitions. For instance, while all parent/coaches had played Australian football previously, four coaches had less than one season (year) of coaching experience in junior Australian football. In contrast, the most experienced

parent/coach in the sample had coached juniors for five seasons. Institutional ethics approval was attained from a social and behavioural ethics committee at an Australian university.

Procedure

With support from the South Australian National Football League (SANFL), various Australian football clubs from across South Australia were identified to recruit participants. This included clubs that fielded junior teams at the time of the study. The football clubs were contacted to assist the recruitment process by making available letters of interest and information sheets relating to the study. Individuals interested in becoming involved in the study emailed the first author to register their contact details and preferred availability. Once sufficient interest was obtained, a schedule for individual interviews was developed and communicated to potential participants via phone or email for consideration. Parent/coaches who were available to be involved in the study were asked to read and sign a consent form to take part in the study.

Individual interviews were used for data collection. One advantage of using individual interviews is that they allow the participant to lead the direction and pace of the discussion (Smith & Caddick, 2012), leading to the development of many significant, and potentially unexpected themes. Individual interviews are also an inexpensive method for gathering rich,

descriptive, cumulative and elaborate data (Lambert & Loiselle, 2008). Importantly, and consistent with the epistemological roots of social constructionism, interviews enable participants greater opportunity to reveal much more about the meanings they attach to their experiences (Sparkes & Smith, 2014). The individual interviews took place in a variety of settings including the sporting teams' clubrooms or administration offices. The individual interviews were audio-recorded and lasted up to 90 minutes (*mean* = 70 minutes; *range* = 45-90 minutes).

The interview questions (see Appendix A) were based on common themes from the literature and from semi-structured questioning guides used in previous sport parenting research (see Knight et al., 2011; Weiss & Fretwell, 2005). This assisted in conceptualising a preliminary interview guide which was subsequently used to assist the researcher adopt a particular line of inquiry (Patton, 2002). The strength of using an interview guide is that the researcher is not constrained to ask questions in exactly the same way to each participant (Sparkes & Smith, 2014). Questions were adjusted or reorganised to compliment the nature of the interview (i.e. simplifying words as necessary), allowing both the researcher to collect important information around the topic of interest and the participant the opportunity to report on their own thoughts and feelings. This approach elicited open discussions about the topic of parental influence in the junior Australian football experience, but did not

necessarily limit participants from discussing other topics. If a topic emerged and was deemed relevant to the overall research, it was discussed until participants felt that they had adequately addressed the issue, in conjunction with the researcher's belief that probing and follow-up techniques were no longer necessary (Patton, 2002).

The audio-recorded data were transcribed verbatim by the lead author and thematically analysed following the steps described by Smith and Caddick (2012) as immersion, code generation, theme identification, theme review, theme labelling and definition and reporting of themes. The lead researcher completed repeat readings of each transcript for familiarisation purposes before undertaking a process of indexing as part of an open coding process. A second stage of code interpretation was then undertaken to produce analytically stronger categories and potential sub-themes. Finally, the codes from all transcripts were examined collectively to enhance the analytical strength of the emergent themes from within the case study (Yin, 2003). This process involved comparing and contrasting codes leading to the consolidation of highly elaborate and rich themes relating to parental involvement in youth sport. Pseudonyms were used to conceal participants' identity, and the identity of their affiliated football team and league, respectively.

In judging the quality and excellence of this qualitative study, the authors adopted a number of means, practices and methods as

suggested by Tracy (2010) including the appropriate and complex use of theoretical constructs as well as data and time in the field, reflexivity and resonance. The lead researcher spent three months in the field collecting data across various junior Australian football contexts and with purposefully selected samples, avoiding what Tracy (2010) describes as convenience, opportunism, and 'the easy way out'. Excellence was also practiced by employing care in collecting and analysing data. More traditional techniques were adopted in this regard including member checking, but utilised in a way to assist the lead researcher in the process of co-constructing meaning. All participants received the original transcript and final findings in textual form and invited to clarify or walk back data by contacting the lead author. Throughout this process, no changes were required according to the 16 parent/coaches. However, the member checking process promoted an additional opportunity for the lead author to re-engage the data and in doing so, enhance the interpretive process in keeping with a constructionist epistemology. Reflexivity was practiced as 'intersubjective reflection' (Sparkes & Smith, 2014) throughout the research process including question design, data coding and data analysis. The second author (who was depicted in the opening vignette) fulfilled a vital role a critical friend throughout the research process to promote intersubjective reflection by acting as a sounding board and provoking the lead researcher to question

their own position and presence in the research. They also played an important role in critical debriefing with the lead author during data collection. Finally, resonance in the research findings is self-evident in its (at times) evocative representation to influence and move the reader/s. Combined, these criteria characterised the hallmarks of methodological rigour or 'excellence' for the current study.

Results

From the outset, and similar to the work of Schmid et al. (2015), the authors seek to remind readers that it was not their intention to negatively portray the ensuing results about the experiences of being a parent in the coaching role. Although previous studies have illuminated both positive and negative aspects of the dual parent/coach experience (i.e. Weiss & Fretwell, 2005), and despite the researcher's best efforts during data collection, there were clearly substantive views among all parent/coaches in the current study which gravitated toward the negative and often difficult nature of being the coach of a team sport that involved their children.

Within each interview, all parent/coaches described enjoyment with being involved in junior Australian football and a desire to continue coaching into the future. While it reaffirmed a favourite pastime for parent/coaches, it also provided a meaningful opportunity to pursue a hobby that benefits so many children. As one participant noted, 'it's just magic seeing the

kids, willing to learn'. However, and similar to the opening vignette, the main discussion point for parents in the coaching role revolved around the troubling experiences of coaching a team that included their own child. Figure 1 portrays the difficult and often confronting aspects perceived by parents in their role as team coach, leading to the conceptualization of three main themes including (1) deliberate criticism, (2) limited recognition, and (3) justifications for behaviour. These themes elucidate the 'fine line' parent/coaches navigate in youth sport.

Deliberate criticism

A prominent challenge for all parent/coaches was negotiating external perceptions of favouritism. In cultivating the image of a 'fair' coach, most (14) participants discussed the need to intentionally provide their child with 'harsher' feedback during the season in contrast to other children. They claimed that in doing so during training and in games, external perceptions of favouritism could be visibly and, audibly, addressed. While recognising that this was not necessarily a supportive parenting practice in junior Australian football, it was regarded as important in order to allay others' perceptions of nepotism between the child and coach. As one parent/coach explains:

Brian: I've had the conversation with my son before I started coaching and it was like 'look I am going to be harder on you this year than any other kid because I'd prefer another kid's parents come up to me

and say that I am being a bit hard on you than say that I am favouring you' sort of thing. I had the comment made by my grandmother after he'd been around for a visit and it was like 'I had a chat with Brandon about his footy and he said about you being harder on him that the rest of the team'. She said 'I couldn't believe he went down that path' but I am glad I did because it wasn't something that I could really change! I had that idea right off the bat, how I'd have to do it [coach] to at least, sort of look like I was being fair sort of thing.

During the season, most parent/coaches demonstrated deliberate criticism in the context of training. They noted that some children do not cope well with being 'singled out' at training. However, their responsibility to develop players' skill and game understanding meant that on occasions, there was a need to make an example out of players. Under these conditions, parent/coaches often resorted to highlighting mistakes and errors made by their own child for the benefit of others. This drew a clear contrast in the way that parent/coaches treated other children.

Billy: We've got one kid who cannot kick for nuts but he will get one right every so often so you praise him up on the ones he gets right. You don't bag him for the ones he messes up, but I do with my own son. I am tough on him, I don't know why; I am just tough on Paul.

These comments are noteworthy because they seemingly contradict coaches' endeavour to treat all children fairly.

However, as one parent/coach noted, being 'harder' on their own child was often balanced by opportunities at home to clarify and explain deliberate criticisms communicated at training. Subsequently, parent/coaches regularly synthesised critical comments made during training into more encouraging feedback after training.

Chris: Yeah, I can be negative. I'll pull him aside and tell him why I did it, you know. I'll give him a hard time in front of everyone but the reason I gave him a hard time, I'll tell him after, sort of thing, and often he'll agree and then like tonight, he's jumping all over me again.

Most parent/coaches stated that their children understood the complexity of being a parent in the coaching role because they had experienced this relationship in past junior Australian football seasons. For one parent/coach however, a recent conversation with his son suggests that children perceive deliberate forms of criticism in different ways than parent/coaches.

Frank: I did get picked up by my young fella when I was driving him home the other week. He said 'why do you always pick out me every time something goes wrong? I'll drop the mark and you will have a go at me,' and I said 'I've just got high expectations for you, but you know I've said that to others.' And he said 'No, you've said that more to me!'

Limited recognition

To further address concerns around favouritism, parent/coaches limited formal displays of encouragement and recognition by overlooking their child when determining weekly best player awards. Selecting a recipient for the weekly best player award represented a conduit through which parent/coaches argued their credibility as a 'fair' coach was being tested in the eyes of other parents and children. Consequently, choosing an award winner for best player typically involved overlooking their own child's performance regardless of how they played.

Ray: I have to be very careful that I don't favour him you know, giving out best players and stuff. You have got to be aware of that. You tend to be harder on them than the rest of the boys sometimes. It's a hard boundary there where you can be too tough on your own kids because you're the coach and parent as well, it's sort of hard to draw the line. You are probably harder on your own kids than the other kids, especially with giving out best players and stuff like that!

The decision to deliberately limit the amount of formal recognition their child received was predicated by a need to encourage all players throughout the regular season as part of a broader developmental responsibility. The weekly awards were described as 'a really important part' of encouraging players to persist with sport, especially novice and under-age players. However, this was especially difficult for parent/coaches who perceived their child to

be a consistently high performing player across the season. For them, the decision to deliberately overlook their child often resulted in temporary feelings of guilt.

Daniel: We (parent/coaches) are harder on our own kids as a coach than you are on other kids… but you sort of feel a bit guilty that the best player is not getting an award.

Two parent/coaches who described their children as 'gun' players particularly struggled with the awards process. They discussed times when they wanted to recognise their child with an award because they deserved it, but did not want to fuel external perceptions of father-son favouritism. Consequently, a surreptitious rotational system was adopted whereby all players received the best player award across the course of the season as a way of managing perceptions. Other encouragement awards such as 'most courageous' and 'most improved' were subsequently used to reward the players who were adjudged as the better performers, independent from the rotation system. Dale, a parent/coach describes:

Dale: A lot of the time, generally when I pick the best players, I try and rotate best players first then the last few spots, try and fill with some fellas who had good games you know. Like I said before, we're probably harder on our own kids as a coaching aspect than you are on other kids, you're trying to encourage them to keep going, you sort of probably lean away a bit from the better kids, even your own kid, which makes it hard giving out best player. I

don't know, I've never had any feedback from anybody to say they're disgruntled or anything, but yeah.

One exception to this perspective came from a parent/coach who regularly gave their child the weekly best player award based on the perception that they were 'by far and away' the best player in the team.

Toby: I have seen other coaches that are extremely hard on their own kids but I don't think I am too bad when it comes to giving out the best player awards because he (my son) is just about the best player in the side so it is quite often you handing him best player. You do get a bit of jealousy though - it can be an issue.

Encouragement awards therefore comprised an important conduit for parent/coaches to demonstrate differential treatment toward their child in youth sport. Although the scope of this paper does not illuminate children's perceptions and experiences of this form of parental influence through the coaching role, it does highlight a potentially conflicting proposition for parents.

Justifying behaviour

The other pertinent theme that emerged in the analysis surrounded parent/coach justifications for deliberate criticism and limited encouragement toward their child. Although they acknowledged that, 'it's not over the top or nothing', a key reason for maintaining this behaviour related to concerns about how they might be perceived by other parents and children.

Most parent/coaches had previously encountered instances of conflict with other parents about playing time, which for parent/coaches, was interpreted as an accusation of favouritism.

Barry: I have had a few pop into me about why isn't their boy on the ground. It's very difficult to give them all a go but during this one game, she sort of came up to me and confronted me and said 'Why isn't he on the field? I am going to take him to another club!' Yelling at me sort of – you do get a bit of that sort of thing.

In more serious cases, some parent/coaches had even discovered being criticised on social media.

Paulo: Well I had a mother last month getting on Facebook and bagging me. She was getting on Facebook and saying that I was a bad influence by not teaching the kids how to lose and that was bit hard to take on board for me. A friend of my wife's actually rang up and said 'do you know this is going on?' and I said 'No, I have got no idea.' It went on for a few days. Her and her partner had a child in my team, a young lad. What did I do? I finished up, I stewed over it, I was pretty gutted, and like I said earlier, I was angry. I was more disappointed you know, I felt like I had done the wrong thing and you start to second-guess yourself. It sort of gutted me a bit.

Subsequently, displaying differential treatment toward their own child played an important role in alleviating concerns around favouritism for parent/coaches. Parent/coaches claimed that this had the potential to communicate to other parents their intentions to avoid favouritism and in doing so, reduce potential confrontations with parents in the future. As one father stated, 'that's the way it has to be! [You] would rather be a bit harder on your own kid than having a parent have a go at ya'. Another expressed 'I treat him the same as any other kid, maybe a little harder. There's no favouritism there whatsoever. It doesn't matter that he's my son'. However, it also had the potential to send a message to players about discipline. Most parent/coaches claimed that children at this age (12 years) were prone to 'messing around', rendering many parent/coaches feeling reduced to a 'glorified babysitter' role instead of team coach. As a result, it was sometimes considered necessary to discipline the team and individuals to control children's behaviour and maximise the benefits of a structured training session. Yet, disciplining young footballers was also perceived as a difficult proposition because it had the potential to provoke further conflict with parents. Therefore, to address this, many (nine) coaches 'made an example' of their own child at the start of the season to 'set the tone' for others.

Rick: As much as you want kids to enjoy it, there's not a lot of point playing chasey for an hour if they just want enjoyment. There has got to be some footy aspect to it and there has got to be some discipline involved and it has got to start with my kid, like when the coach talks, you have got to listen. For example, if they are

not doing the right thing and I give it to him, send him to do a lap, yell at him or whatever... make an example!

In summary, parent/coaches frequently limit recognition of their own child and make attempts to criticise their own child as the team coach. Parent/coaches also justify their behaviour in pursuit of avoiding negative perceptions that revolve around favouritism. This notion was aptly summarised by an experienced parent/coach: 'It doesn't matter that he's my son, that's behind us'.

Discussion

The aim of this paper was to explore the perceptions and experiences of parents who coach their own child in junior Australian football. Specifically, the paper sought to (a) understand the nature of the sport parenting role through the role of team coach and (b) explore how parent/coaches negotiate the relationship with coaching their child in a team sport.

The findings of the current study offer an important insight into the experience of being a parent/coach in contemporary youth sport. Specifically, they reveal a tendency for parent/coaches to overlook their own child when determining best player awards and display deliberate and targeted criticism toward them during training and games. Weiss and Fretwell (2005) also reported that parent/coaches can demonstrate differential attention to their own children, however, the current findings also reveal reasons why differential

treatment is a sustained practice for parents who coach their own child. In particular, the notion of favouritism appears to be an influential factor confronting parent/coaches involved in youth sport. Their desire to avoid being perceived as a parent/coach who demonstrates favour offered the strongest justification for sustaining critical and discouraging parental behaviours in the coaching role. Subsequently, the findings extend previous studies which have highlighted the complex and challenging aspects of the dual parent/coach role for parents and children (Jowett, 2008; Jowett et al., 2007) by illuminating how parent/coaches rationalize their behaviour under the guise of team coach.

From a sport parenting perspective, the findings add weight to the literature suggesting that well-intentioned parental involvement in youth sport can be problematic (Elliott & Drummond, 2016; Knight et al., 2011). Although pressuring, abusive and violent behaviour are widely regarded as negative aspects of involvement, parents can also exert a negative influence in less obtrusive ways (Elliott & Drummond, 2015a). For instance, fulfilling the coaching role is a prominent way for parents to become positively involved in their child's sport (Jeffery-Tosoni et al., 2015). However, the findings indicate that involvement as parent/coach can often result in deliberate criticism and limited forms of support for their children. Given that children struggle to accept criticism from parents in coaching

roles without feeling put down (Schmid et al., 2015), being a parent/coach clearly has the potential to cause conflict, which appears counterintuitive in seeking to enhance and optimize parental involvement in youth sport (Holt & Knight, 2014; Knight & Holt, 2014).

From a social constructionist standpoint, it is possible to explore what might be leading to parents' involvement in this way. For instance, it is arguable that deliberate criticism and limited encouragement manifest from previous observations and interactions with parent/coaches. After all, social constructionists acknowledge that social meaning is influenced by interactions with the surrounding world (Burr, 2003). Parents may therefore rearticulate behaviours and experiences observed from their own childhood and/or perpetuate practices observed from other parents fulfilling the coaching role in contemporary youth sport. One consequence is that parent/coaches not only learn to espouse behaviours, which adhere to socially constructed ideals of being a parent/coach, they also learn to defend such behaviour. This is a dangerous notion because it can normalize parenting practices that have the potential to disadvantage their own child in youth sport via limiting recognition and increasing criticism. This may explain why instances of undesirable parenting practices continue to pervade the youth sport setting, evident through the dual role of parent/coach.

While the findings offer an important contribution to the literature, they should be interpreted with some caution. Indeed, the findings reflect the voices of an entire cohort of male participants within a specific, yet understudied, sport setting in junior Australian football. This is perhaps reflective of Australian football as a hyper-masculinized sport setting whereby fathers feel more comfortable engaging in child rearing practices. Nonetheless, mothers who identify as parent/coaches remain virtually unrepresented in the literature, and yet may offer a critically important dimension to discussions about the dual parent/coach role in youth sport. The other noteworthy limitation is that the findings may not offer applicability to other team sport settings. Parent/coaches involved in pre-elite and talent development settings may experience heightened pressure and scrutiny from other parents and intensify the nature of their interactions with their child as a result. Similarly, the experiences of being a parent/coach may differ according to the age group they coach. Therefore, while the findings illustrate the experience of being a parent/coach, more academic attention is certainly warranted.

Based on the conceptual ideas and findings presented within this paper, a number of important implications are offered. One consideration is for sport organisations to consider that while parent/coaches may be influenced by a range of social, cultural and linguistic interactions, they too comprise a reinforcing

influence for others seeking to negotiate the dual role in the future. Therefore, and even if children are undeterred by parent/coaches' behaviour (a concept beyond the scope of this study worthy of pursuing), there remains a need to continue to support parents to optimise their involvement in youth sport (Knight & Holt, 2014). This is especially important given that there are very few coaching options available in many junior Australian football settings, and we suspect across other sporting domains too. Additional support and strategies might include the development of programs and training designed to improve parent/coaches communicative and pedagogical skills with their own child in team sport. Sporting organisations could also support parent/coaches develop skills to manage how they cope with their fears about external perceptions of favouritism by encouraging more frequent 'meet and greet' training sessions for parents and children. Such an approach has been recommended previously (see Omli & LaVoi, 2012) as a strategy to reduce parental anger at youth sport events, but it may also provide parent/coaches a valuable opportunity to work with more experienced coaches in leading a brief seminar with other parents to enhance the relationship between parents and coaches (Smoll, Cumming, & Smith, 2011). Furthermore, sporting organisations could develop their own strategies to positively influence the way that all coaches (including parent/coaches) are perceived via

social media, weekly newsletters and email. By supporting parent/coaches in this regard, they may feel more adequate in their capacity to coach and worry less about disadvantaging their child to enhance their image as a fair coach. Finally, and from a research perspective, scholars are encouraged to continue investigating not only aspects of youth sport parenting which are ostensibly problematic, but also the taken-for-granted aspects, which are 'hidden' under the guise of 'encouraging' and 'supportive' involvement. Following the lead of the current study, there may be great value in exploring other roles that parents fulfil such as official, team manager and even elite sport settings where the parent/coach and child-athlete relationship may conceivably intensify.

This study highlights the experience of parents who coach their own children in junior Australian football. The findings reveal the ways through which parent/coaches exert differential treatment toward their child as a mechanism for negotiating how others perceive them. From a sport parenting perspective, this is significant because it underlines another aspect of well-intentioned parental involvement whereby parents have a high capacity to demonstrate potentially undesirable behaviours toward children. However, improving these interactions are somewhat contingent upon challenging notions of favouritism and the way in which parent/coaches are socially constructed. Importantly, this paper highlights a growing

need for sport parenting research to
investigate all aspects of parental
involvement in youth sport – those that are
clearly problematic as well as those, which
are deemed supportive and constructed as
well-intentioned forms of sport parenting.
In pursuit of enhancing the youth sport
experience and the vital roles parents fulfil,
this cannot be understated.

<div align="center">---</div>

References

Atkins, M. R., Johnson, D. M., Force, E. C., & Petrie, T. A. (2014). Peers, Parents, and Coaches, Oh My! The Relation of the Motivational Climate to Boys' Intention to Continue in Sport. *Psychology of sport and exercise.* doi:DOI: 10.1016/j.psychsport.2014.10.008

Bois, J. E., Lalanne, J., & Delforge, C. (2009). The influence of parenting practices and parental presence on children's and adolescents' pre-competitive anxiety. *Journal of Sports Sciences, 27*(10), 995-1005. doi:10.1080/02640410903062001

Bowker, A., Boekhoven, B., Nolan, A., Bauhaus, S., Glover, P., Powell, T., & Taylor, S. (2009). Naturalistic observations of spectator behaviour at youth hockey games. *The Sport Psychologist, 23*(3), 301-316. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1123/tsp.23.3.301

Burgess, N. S., Knight, C. J., & Mellalieu, S. D. (2016). Parental stress and coping in elite youth gymnastics: an interpretative phenomenological analysis. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 1-20. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/21596 76X.2015.1134633

Burr, V. (2003). *Social Constructionism* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.

Coakley, J. (2006). The good father: Parental expectations and youth sports. *Leisure Studies, 25*(2), 153-163. doi:10.1080/02614360500467735

Dorsch, T., Smith, A. L., & McDonough, M. H. (2009). Parents' perceptions of child-to-parent socialisation in organised youth sport. *Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology 31*(4), 444-468. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1123/jsep.31.4.444

Elliott, S., & Drummond, M. (2015a). Parents in youth sport: what happens after the game? *Sport, Education and Society, 22*(**3**), 1-16. doi:10.1080/13573322.2015.1036233

Elliott, S., & Drummond, M. (2015b). The (limited) impact of sport policy on parental behaviour in youth sport: a qualitative inquiry in junior Australian football. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics, 7*(4), 519-530. . doi:10.1080/19406940.2014.971850

Elliott, S., & Drummond, M. (2016). During play, the break, and the drive home: the meaning of parental verbal behaviour in youth sport. *Leisure Studies*, 1-12. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02614 367.2016.1250804

Elliott, S., Velardo, S., Drummond, M., & Drummond, C. (2016). Sport and children's nutrition: what can we learn from the junior Australian football setting? *Asia-Pacific Journal of Health, Sport and Physical Education, 7*(1), 91-104. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/18377 122.2016.1145427

Goldstein, J. D., & Iso-Ahola, S. E. (2008). Determinants of parents' sideline-

rage emotions and behaviours at youth soccer games. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 38*(6), 1442-1462. doi:10.1111/j.1559-1816.2008.00355.x

Gould, D., Lauer, L., Rolo, C., Jannes, C., & Pennisi, N. (2006). Understanding the role parents play in tennis success: a national survey of junior tennis coaches. *British Journal of Sports Medicine, 40*(7), 632-636. doi:10.1136/bjsm.2005.024927

Holt, N. L., & Knight, C. J. (2014). *Parenting in youth sport: From research to practice*: Routledge.

Holt, N. L., Tamminen, K. A., Black, D. E., Sehn, Z. L., & Wall, M. P. (2008). Parental involvement in competitive youth sport settings. *Psychology of sport and exercise, 9*(5), 663-685. doi:10.1016/j.psychsport.2007.08.001

Jeffery-Tosoni, S., Fraser-Thomas, J., & Baker, J. (2015). Parent Involvement in Canadian Youth Hockey: Experiences and Perspectives of Peewee Players. *Journal of Sport Behavior, 38*(1), 3-25.

Jowett, S. (2008). Outgrowing the familial coach-athlete relationship. *International Journal of Sport Psychology, 39*(1), 20-40.

Jowett, S., Timson-Katchis, M., & Adams, R. (2007). Too close for comfort? *International Journal of Coaching Science, 1*(1), 59-78.

Keegan, R. J., Harwood, C. G., Spray, C. M., & Lavallee, D. E. (2009). A qaulitative investigation exploring the motivational climate in early career sport participants: coach, parent and peer influences on sport motivation. *Psychology of sport and exercise, 10*(3), 361-372. doi:10.1016/j.psychsport.2008.12.003

Keegan, R. J., Spray, C., Harwood, C., & Lavallee, D. (2010). The motivational atmosphere in youth sport: coach, parent and peer influences on motivation in specialising sport participants. *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology, 22*(1), 87-105. doi:10.1080/10413200903421267

Knight, C. J., & Holt, N. (2014). Parenting in youth tennis: Understanding and enhancing children's experiences. *Psychology of sport and exercise, 15*(2), 155-164. doi:http://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychsport.2013.10.010

Knight, C. J., Little, G. C., Harwood, C. G., & Goodger, K. (2016). Parental Involvement in Elite Junior Slalom Canoeing. *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology, 28*(2), 234-256. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10413200.2015.1111273

Knight, C. J., Neely, K. C., & Holt, N. L. (2011). Parental behaviours in team sports: how do female athletes want parents to behave? *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology, 23*(1), 76-92. doi:10.1080/10413200.2010.525589

Lambert, S. D., & Loiselle, C. G. (2008). Combining individual interviews and

focus groups to enhance data richness. *Journal of advanced nursing, 62*(2), 228-237. doi:10.1111/j.1365-2648.2007.04559.x

Lauer, L., Gould, D., Roman, N., & Pierce, M. (2010). Parental behaviors that affect junior tennis player development. *Psychology of sport and exercise, 11*(6), 487-496. doi:http://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychsport.2010.06.008

Lindstrom Bremer, K. (2012). Parental Involvement, Pressure, and Support in Youth Sport: A Narrative Literature Review. *Journal of Family Theory & Review, 4*(3), 235-248. doi:10.1111/j.1756-2589.2012.00129.x

Omli, J., & LaVoi, N. M. (2012). Emotional experiences of youth sport parents I: Anger. *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology, 24*(1), 10-25. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10413200.2011.578102

Omli, J., & Wiese-Bjornstal, D. M. (2011). Kids Speak: Preferred Parental Behavior at Youth Sport Events. *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport, 82*(4), 702-711. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02701367.2011.10599807

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Schmid, O. N., Bernstein, M., Shannon, V. R., Rishell, C., & Griffith, C. (2015). "It's Not Just Your Dad, It's Not Just Your Coach…" The Dual-Relationship in Female Tennis Players. *The Sport Psychologist, 29*(3), 224-236. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1123/tsp.2014-0049

Shields, D. L., LaVoi, N. M., Bredemeier, B. L., & Power, F. C. (2007). Predictors of poor sportpersonship in youth sports: Personal attitudes and social influences. *Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology, 29*(6), 747-762. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1123/jsep.29.6.747

Smith, B., & Caddick, N. (2012). Qualitative methods in sport: a concise overview for guiding social scientific sport research. *Asia Pacific journal of sport and social science, 1*(1), 60-73. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/21640599.2012.701373

Smoll, F. L., Cumming, S. P., & Smith, R. E. (2011). Enhancing coach-parent relationships in youth sports: Increasing harmony and minimizing hassle. *International Journal of Sports Science and Coaching, 6*(1), 13-26. doi:https://doi.org/10.1260/1747-9541.6.1.13

Sparkes, A., & Smith, B. (2014). *Qualitative research methods in sport, exercise and health: From process to product*: Routledge.

Stefansen, K., Smette, I., & Strandbu, Å. (2016). Understanding the increase in parents' involvement in organized youth sports. *Sport, Education and*

Society, 1-11.
doi:10.1080/13573322.2016.1150834

Tracy, S. J. (2010). Qualitative quality: Eight "big-tent" criteria for excellent qualitative research. *Qualitative inquiry, 16*(10), 837-851. doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800410 383121

Trussell, D., & Shaw, S. (2012). Organized Youth Sport and Parenting in Public and Private Spaces. *Leisure Sciences, 34*(5), 377-394.
doi:10.1080/01490400.2012.714699

Weiss, M. R., & Fretwell, S. D. (2005). The parent-coach/child-athlete relationship in youth sport: cordial, contentious or conundrum? *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport, 76*(3), 286-305.
doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02701 367.2005.10599300

Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study research. Design and methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Tables

Table 1

Participant Information

Name	Gender	Grade coached	Experience	Age of child
Arthur	Male	Under 12	One	12
Barry	Male	Under 12	One	12
Brian	Male	Under 12/Under 14	Four	13
Billy	Male	Under 12	Two	12
Chris	Male	Under 12	One	12
Dale	Male	Under 14	Two	13
Daniel	Male	Under 12/Under 14	Three	13
Danny	Male	Under 12	Two	12
Frank	Male	Under 14	Three	13
Paulo	Male	Under 12	One	12
Rick	Male	Under 12	Two	12
Ray	Male	Under 14	Five	12
Toby	Male	Under 14	Two	13
Tom	Male	Under 12	Two	12
Wes	Male	Under 12	Three	12
Zoran	Male	Under 12	One	12

Figures

Figure 1

A coding tree leading to the construction of three main themes surrounding the experience of parents in the coaching role.

Limited recognition
- Award rotation policy
- Sources of recognition and encouragement
- 'Best or nothing' attitude
- The need to recognise others
- External perceptions of fairness

Deliberate criticism
- Harsher feedback
- Predetermined approach
- Make an example in front of others
- Explaining criticism at home
- Public humiliation
- Training specific criticism
- Game specific criticism

Justifying behaviour
- Fears about external perceptions
- Desire to portray fairness
- Avoiding face-to-face parental conflict
- Avoiding indirect parental conflict
- Avoiding perceptions of favouritism
- Sends message to playing group

Family Relationships and Youth Sport:
Influence of Siblings and Parents on Youth's
Participation, Interests, and Skills

Keith V. Osai   Shawn D. Whiteman

Utah State University

Taking a family systems perspective, the present study investigated how older siblings' and parents' (mothers' and fathers') self-reported interests, skills, and participation in sports predicted younger siblings' attitudes and behaviors in those same domains. Testing social learning principles, we further examined whether family members' influence was stronger when they shared warmer relationships and siblings shared the same gender. Participants included mothers, fathers, and adolescent-aged first and second-born siblings from 197 maritally intact families. Families participated in home interviews as well as a series of 7 nightly phone calls during which participants reported on their daily activities. Across dependent variables, results revealed that parents' and (with one exception) older siblings' qualities were predictive of younger siblings' interests, skills, and participation in sports. Inconsistent with hypotheses, however, family members' influence was not moderated by relational warmth. Discussion highlights the need to examine the socialization processes by which siblings shape each other's sport-related attitudes and activities.

To date, most research on youth sport has focused on parent involvement, socialization, and influence (e.g., Coakley, 2006; Fraser-Thomas, Côté, & Deakin, 2005; Knight, Dorsch, Osai, Haderlie, & Sellars, 2016; Ullrich-French & Smith, 2006). Yet, consistent with a family systems perspective (e.g., Cox & Paley, 1997), in that multiple family relationships should be examined in order to gain a better understanding of the phenomena being studied, scholars have called for further investigation into the role that siblings play in shaping youth's interests and

participation in sports (Blazo, Czech, Carson, & Dees, 2014; Côté & Hay, 2002; Davis & Meyer, 2008; Trussell, 2014). In fact, a recent systematic review of the literature highlighted the need to further explore this close familial relationship within the context of youth sport (Blazo & Smith, 2017). The present study addressed this gap, specifically exploring how mothers', fathers', and older siblings' interests, skills, and participation in sport-related activities were related to younger siblings' attitudes and behaviors in those same domains.

Sibling Influence during Adolescence

Sibling relationships are generally the most enduring family relationship that individuals will experience (Cicirelli, 1995; Conger & Kramer, 2010; Whiteman, McHale & Soli, 2011). Further, siblings are omnipresent during childhood and adolescence. For example, about 82% of youth, 18 years and younger, lived with a sibling (as compared to 78% who lived with a father; McHale, Updegraff, & Whiteman, 2012). Research also notes that during middle childhood and early adolescence, outside of school, siblings spend more time with each other as opposed to other relational partners (Larson & Richards, 1994; McHale & Crouter, 1996; Updegraff, McHale, Whiteman, Thayer, & Delgado, 2005).

Given their ubiquity during childhood and adolescence, it is not surprising that siblings' attributes, attitudes, and behaviors

shape their brothers' and sisters' well-being and health-related adjustment. For example, research both outside and inside of the sport context reveals that siblings have the potential to influence each other by serving as role models or rivals (Blazo et al., 2014; Davis & Meyer, 2008; Ebihara, Ikeda, & Myiashita, 1983; Whiteman, McHale, & Crouter, 2007). To date, most literature on sibling similarities has explored social learning explanations, holding that younger siblings learn from observing and imitating their older brothers' and sisters' behaviors. In fact, older siblings are especially powerful models from which younger siblings can learn from because they often possess characteristics that Bandura (1977) noted of effective models, namely higher status, nurturance, and similarity. Testing these notions, research on adolescents' risky and health-related behaviors has explored how sibling relationship factors like similarity (i.e., age difference, gender composition) and nurturance (i.e., warmth and social connectedness) moderate similarities between siblings' attributes and behaviors. For example, studies of substance use and delinquency find greater similarities between closer-aged and same-gendered siblings than wider-spaced or mixed-gendered siblings, respectively (Kendler, Ohlsson, Sundquist, & Sundquist, 2013; Slomkowski, Rende, Conger, Simons, & Conger, 2001). Similarly, siblings who share warmer relationships and more social connectedness displayed more similar patterns of delinquency, substance use, and sexual risk behaviors than siblings

who had more distant relationships (McHale, Bissell, & Kim, 2009; Rowe & Gulley, 1992; Slomkowski, Rende, Novak, Lloyd-Richardson, & Niaura, 2005).

While research regarding sibling modeling continues to be empirically tested outside of youth sport, research within youth sport has focused on sibling similarities and differences without explicitly testing mechanisms that may shape these patterns (Blazo & Smith, 2017). This omission is striking, given youth reports that siblings provide emotional support and serve as role models within the context of sport (Blazo et al., 2014; Davis & Meyer, 2008; Fraser-Thomas, Côté & Deakin, 2008; Nelson & Strachan, 2017; Trussell, 2014).

In addition to serving as potential models, research on youth sport has identified other ways in which older siblings may shape their younger brothers' and sisters' behaviors. For example, siblings have also been identified as sources of competition, resentment, and jealousy (Blazo et al., 2014; Côté, 1999; Nelson & Strachan, 2017). Further, recent work on performance outcomes between siblings highlights findings that younger siblings achieve higher athletic status compared to older siblings (Hopwood, Farrow, MacMahon, & Baker, 2015). While not explicitly tested or found, these results point to a next step to test whether or not older siblings serve as role models in sport-related activities. Whether the athlete uses their sibling as a role model or rival, both roads

have the potential to lead to continued sport participation or dropout.

The Present Study

When using a family systems framework to examine sibling relationships, researchers must not only focus on each family relationship and how they act as interdependent parts of the family system, but also how permeable the boundaries are between those relationships (Cox & Paley, 1997; Smith & Hamon, 2012). Additionally, unique to sibling and other family relationships, is the concept of hierarchy, in that those who rank higher in power generally have more influence (Smith & Hamon). In the present study, consistent with this idea and past research on parent socialization and sibling influence, we maintained a vertical or top-down view of socialization, such that parents and older siblings will socialize/influence younger siblings' self-reported interests, skills, and participation in sport.

Given that approximately 90% of all youth participate in organized youth sport (Jellinek & Durrant, 2004) and the large majority of youth grow up in homes with siblings (McHale et al., 2012), it is critical that research explore how siblings, in addition to parents, shape each other's sports-related interests and activities. The present study addressed this gap in the youth sport literature by examining how older siblings' self-reported interests, skills, and participation in sports-related activities were related to their younger siblings' self-

reported interests, skills, and participation in those same activities. Taking a family systems perspective, we also included mothers' and fathers' self-reported interests, skills, and participation in sports-related activities in our models to test for potential unique effects of each relational partner. Furthermore, we tested two social learning principles. First, testing the notion that relational partners (or models) who share warm and intimate relationships are more likely to be imitated, we examined whether relational intimacy moderated the association between family members' (i.e., siblings', mothers', and fathers') interests/skills/participation in sports-related activities and younger siblings' interests/skills/participation in those same domains. Second, investigating the idea that models that are more similar (e.g., same gender) to the target are more likely to be imitated, we tested whether gender composition moderated the association between older and younger siblings' interests/skills/participation in sports-related activities.

Methods

Participants

Data were drawn from a study of family relationships that focused on intact (i.e., two residential parents) families with at least two-adolescent aged offspring. Specifically, the participants included mothers (M = 39.84, SD = 3.92, $range$ = 31.83 – 50.17, years of age), fathers (M = 41.80, SD = 4.23, $range$ = 32.92 – 57.92, years of age),

first- (M = 14.96, SD = .71, $range$ = 13.08 – 16.50, years of age), and second-born (M = 12.49, SD = 1.02, $range$ = 10.00 – 14.83, years of age) offspring from 197 families. The sibling dyads were divided almost equally among the four possible gender constellations (23% older sisters/younger sisters; 22% older sisters/younger brothers; 27% older brothers/younger sisters, 27% older brothers/younger brothers). Approximately, 44% of families had children younger than the second-born.

Families were recruited through letters sent home with 8th, 9th, and 10th graders in 18 school districts throughout the central part of a northeastern state. The school districts were generally small in size (on average, about 200 students per grade) and served the rural communities and small cities of the region. Families were informed that the researchers were interested in studying the challenges of rearing children in contemporary US society. Interested families returned a postcard to the project and were contacted by phone to confirm whether they fit the criteria for participation: that parents were not divorced and that the family included two siblings in the targeted age range. This recruitment strategy meant that we did not have a count of how many families meeting our criteria failed to volunteer. Of those families who returned postcards to us and who met our criteria, however, more than 90 percent agreed to participate.

Reflecting the demographics of the small towns, cities, and rural areas where

they resided, families were almost exclusively White (98%) and working and middle class (annual family income, $M =$ $62,951, $SD =$ $39,3313, $Mdn =$ $56,600, $range =$ $13,400 – $400,000). In these families, less than 2% of mothers and fathers had not completed high school, 37% of fathers and 32% of mothers stopped their education after high school, 26% of fathers and mothers completed some college, 36% of fathers and 41% of mothers were college graduates or had graduate or professional degrees.

Procedures

Two data collection procedures were employed. First, home interviews that averaged between two and three hours in duration were conducted with mothers, fathers, and both first- and second-born offspring on the same day. Informed consent/assent was obtained from each family member prior to the interview. Then, family members participated separately in semi-structured interviews and completed individually administered questionnaires. For their participation, families received an honorarium of $100.

Second, during the two to four-week period following the home interviews, a series of seven evening telephone interviews was also conducted (five call on weekdays, two calls on weekends). The telephone interviews focused on family members' involvement in daily activities (e.g., chores and leisure), including how long each activity lasted and who else participated in that activity (e.g., siblings, parents, and friends).

Measures

Demographic Information. Family background information, including parents' age, education, income, family size, and offspring characteristics such as age, birth order, and gender were obtained from parents. Siblings' gender (0 = female, 1 = male) and gender composition of the sibling dyad (0 = same-gender dyad, 1 = mixed-gender dyad) were dummy coded.

Sibling Intimacy. Intimacy in the sibling relationship was rated by both first- and second-born siblings using an eight-item questionnaire developed by Blyth and Foster-Clark (1987). On a scale ranging from 1 ("*not at all*") to 5 ("*very much*"), youth rated their experiences with their siblings. Example items included: "How much do you go to your brother/sister for advice/support?" "How much do you share your inner feelings or secrets with your brother/sister?" And, "How much does your sister/brother understand what you are really like?" Scores were summed across the eight items (i.e., potential *range* of scores = 8 – 40), with higher scores denoting greater intimacy. For the present study, we utilized younger siblings' reports of intimacy ($M =$ 23.89, $SD =$ 5.99, Cronbach's $\alpha =$ .85).

Parent-Adolescent Intimacy. Intimacy with both mothers and fathers was rated by both siblings separately, using the same eight-item relational intimacy questionnaire developed by Blyth and

Foster-Clark (1987). Targets for the items were changed to reflect interest in parent-adolescent intimacy (e.g., "How much do you go to your mother/father for advice/support?"). Scores were summed across the items (i.e., potential range of scores = 8 – 40), with higher scores denoting greater relational intimacy. For the present study, we focused on younger siblings' reports of intimacy with their mothers ($M = 30.32$, $SD = 4.80$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .82$) and fathers ($M = 28.57$, $SD = 4.53$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .79$).

Sport-Related Interests and Skills. Parents' and youth's interests and skills in sport-related activities were assessed using a measure developed by Huston, McHale, and Crouter (1985). Specifically, on a scale from 1 ("*not at all*") to 4 ("*very*"), parents' and youth rated how interested they were in and skillful in performing 31 different activities (e.g., sports, computer games, arts, writing, cooking, religious activities). Sports-related interests and skills were assessed from a single "sports" item that included baseball, football, basketball, soccer, skiing, softball, volleyball, and tennis as examples. Interests and skills in sports were rated separately. Higher scores denote greater interest/skill in performing sport-related activities. In general, participants reported moderate to strong interests in sports ($M = 3.02$, $SD = 1.09$ for mothers; $M = 3.53$, $SD = .78$ for fathers; $M = 3.54$, $SD = .75$ for firstborns; $M = 3.52$, $SD = .84$ for second-borns) and moderate skillfulness ($M = 2.13$, $SD = .89$ for mothers; $M = 2.98$, $SD = .80$ for

fathers; $M = 3.21$, $SD = .82$ for firstborns; $M = 3.30$, $SD = .85$ for second-borns).

Participation in Sports-Related Activities. Parents' and youth's time spent in sports related activities were assessed using data collected in the telephone interviews. Specifically, in each call, participants reported how much time (in minutes) they spent on sports (i.e., baseball, football, basketball, soccer, skiing, softball, volleyball, or tennis). Time spent was then aggregated across the seven telephone interviews to index how much time they spent in a typical week. Higher scores denote greater time spent on sport-related activities ($M = 8.48$, $SD = 32.16$ minutes/7 days for mothers; $M = 26.62$, $SD = 69.55$ minutes/7 days for fathers; $M = 162.41$, $SD = 223.43$ minutes/7 days for firstborns; $M = 151.10$, $SD = 201.21$ minutes/7 days for second-borns).

Analytic Strategy

To address our study goals, we performed a series of hierarchical multiple regressions. Models were run separately for each dependent variable (i.e., interests, skills, and participation in sports-related activities separately). To test whether older siblings were a unique source of influence, above and beyond parents, our initial (main effects) models included effects for youth gender (0 = female, 1 = male), gender composition of the sibling dyad (0 = same-gender dyads, 1 = mixed-gender dyads), mothers', fathers', and older siblings' interests/skills/participation in sports-

related activities as well as main effects for mother-adolescent intimacy, father-adolescent intimacy, and sibling intimacy. Each of the aforementioned continuous variables were centered at the sample mean. To test whether maternal, paternal, or sibling influences were stronger when they shared a warmer (or more intimate) relationship, our second model included interaction terms between each family members' interests/skills/participation in sports-related activities and younger siblings' reports of intimacy with each partner. For each dependent variable, an additional interaction term between older siblings' interests/skills/participation in sports-related activities and gender composition was included to test whether sibling influence was stronger for same-gender as opposed to mixed-gender dyads. Significant interactions were probed following the procedures outlined by Aiken and West (1991).

Results
Interests in Sports

The initial model for youth's interests in sports revealed several significant main effects (see Table 1). First, a main effect for gender revealed that boys had significantly higher interests in sports-related activities than girls. Second, a positive main effect for sibling intimacy revealed that second-born siblings with warmer sibling relationships reported greater interests in sports-related activities. Finally, mothers' interests in sports were positively related to second-

born siblings' interests. Neither fathers' or older siblings' interests were significantly associated with second-born siblings' interests. In model 2, there were no significant interactions between family members' interests in sports and relational intimacy with each partner, or between older siblings' interests and gender composition of the sibling dyad.

Skills in Sports

Similarly to interests, the initial model for youth's sports-related skills revealed several significant main effects (see Table 2). First, a main effect for gender revealed that boys reported significantly higher skills in sports-related activities than girls. Second, a positive main effect for sibling intimacy revealed that second-born siblings with warmer sibling relationships reported greater sports-related skills. Finally, both fathers' and older siblings' skills were positively associated with second-born siblings' self-reported skills. In model 2, there were no significant interactions between family members' sports-related skills and relational intimacy with each partner, or between older siblings' skills and gender composition of the sibling dyad.

Participation in Sports

The initial model for youth's participation in sports-related activities revealed two main effects (see left side of Table 3). First, a main effect for gender revealed that boys spent more time in sport-related activities over the course of seven

days than did girls. Second, a main effect of older siblings' participation in sports-related activities revealed that older siblings' participation was positively associated with younger siblings' participation. In model 2, there were no significant interactions between family members' sports-related participation and relational intimacy with each partner. However, there was a significant interaction between older siblings' participation and gender composition (see right side of Table 3). As can be seen in Figure 1, analysis of the simple slopes revealed that older siblings' time spent in sports-related activities was strongly related to younger siblings' time spent in sports-related activities for same-gendered sibling ($b = .44$, $SE = .09$, $p < .001$, $\beta = .49$), but unrelated for mixed gendered siblings ($b = .06$, $SE = .09$, ns, $\beta = .06$).

Discussion

Following recent calls to examine the ways in which siblings shape each other's interest and participation in sport (e.g., Blazo & Smith, 2017), the present study investigated whether older siblings' interests/skills/participation in sports uniquely predicted their younger brothers' and sisters' interests/skills/participation above and beyond the influence of parents. Advancing the literature of youth sport, we further explored an important, and understudied, component of sibling socialization. Testing social learning principles, we specifically investigated

whether older siblings' (and parents') influence would be stronger when they shared warmer/more intimate relationships and if siblings shared the same gender.

Interests in Sports

Results indicated that boys expressed greater interests in sports than girls. While this is consistent with gender differences in participation (NCYS, 2008), such that boys tend to participate in more sport than girls, it is important for future research to monitor given the rising participation of girls in youth sport. In fact, given the changing contexts of sport participation, as more girls participate in youth sport, and become prominent figures while serving as role models for their sisters (Nelson & Strachan, 2017), future research would benefit from further exploration of sport participating older sisters' influence on younger sisters' interests in sports.

Consistent with research on mothers' influence on child interests' in sport (Weiss & Barber, 1995) and the concept of hierarchy within the family system, our results showed that mothers' interests uniquely predicted younger siblings' interests in sports. When considered in combination with the fact that mothers' less frequently participated in sports than fathers or older siblings, this finding may reflect mothers' roles as gatekeepers and managers of their children's activities (Clarke-Stewart & Parke, 2014; Grusec, Chaparro, Johnston & Sherman, 2013; Huston & Ripke, 2006). This notion of mothers' control of

children's environments also helps explain why fathers' and older siblings' were not significant influences on second-born siblings' interests in sports.

Skills in Sports

Similar to the results for interests, boys reported higher levels of skills in sports than girls did. Perhaps boys greater level of involvement in youth sport (NCYS, 2008) results in more experience and possibly higher expectations for skill level. Further, it follows that those who have a greater interest in sport are more likely to practice and gain more skill. Youth who reported warmer sibling relationships also reported greater sports-related skills. It could be that warmer sibling relationships promote a context in which sports-related skills can be practiced and enhanced. However, as we discuss later, we did not find evidence that warmer relationships enhanced older siblings' effects.

Contrary to interests, fathers' and older siblings' skills in sports, but not mothers' skills, were positively associated with younger siblings' skills. Given that fathers are more involved in play and interactive activities with their offspring (e.g., McBride & Mills, 1993; Robinson & Godbey, 1997), the former finding could reflect fathers' direct involvement in promoting their children's skills. Further, with increasing societal expectations of parents to constantly monitor their children, youth sports may be a natural home where fathers feel comfortable being involved (Coakley,

2006). Importantly, older siblings' perception of sports-related skills was the strongest predictor of younger siblings' skills. Given the shared time that siblings spend together in childhood and adolescence (McHale & Crouter, 1996; Updegraff et al., 2005), siblings likely provide each other with partners to engage in and enhance their sports skills and abilities. Further, given that sibling relationships include elements of complementarity like parent-child relationships as well as reciprocity like peer relationships (Dunn, 1983), older siblings may serve as particularly important socialization agents.

Participation in Sports

Similar to both interests and skills in sport, boys spent more time playing sports than girls did. Taken together, it could be that boys greater interests in sports leads to more participation, which in turn, gives youth the opportunity to practice/play more, thus increasing their skills. Unfortunately, our cross-sectional data cannot disaggregate such temporal patterns, but future longitudinal research should consider how youth's interests shape their later participation and skills.

Older siblings' participation in sport-related activities was also positively associated with younger siblings' time spent in sports. Importantly, however, this effect was moderated by an interaction with gender composition of the sibling dyad. Findings revealed that older siblings'

participation was only associated with younger siblings' participation in same-gender dyads. This finding is consistent with previous research on physical activity and the socialization of sport, in that same-gendered siblings were found to be influential with continued sport participation (Ebihara, Ikeda, & Myashita, 1983; Ziviani, Macdonale, Ward, Jenkins, & Rodgers, 2006). This finding may also reflect that same-gendered siblings (especially, sister-sister dyads) spend more time in various activities during adolescence as compared to mixed-gender siblings (Updegraff et al., 2005).

Limitations

The results of the present study should be considered in context of its' limitations. First, inconsistent with hypotheses, we did not find evidence that relational warmth moderated the associations between family members' interests, skills, and participation in sports. Although used in previous research as a proxy for modeling (e.g., McHale et al., 2009; Slomkowski et al., 2005), it could be that relational intimacy is not an adequate measure of social learning. Indeed, work by Whiteman and colleagues (e.g., Whiteman, Bernard, & McHale, 2010; Whiteman, Jensen, & Maggs, 2013; Whiteman, McHale, & Crouter, 2007) shows that newer measures of social learning predict similarities above and beyond relational intimacy. Additionally, rather than similarities in siblings' behavior/development being influenced

and moderated by relational warmth, patterns may be better explained by the concept of triadic reciprocal determinism (Bandura, 1989). This extension of social learning theory suggests that individual development is predicated upon the reciprocal interaction of person/cognitive factors, the environment, and behavior. Therefore, future research should consider how individuals' biological characteristics and belief in oneself (person/cognitive factors), perceptions of and actual sports environment (including siblings), and behavior, all interact to influence youth in sport.

Second, the ability to generalize the findings is limited due to the homogenous racial make-up of the participants. Families of different ethnicities may demonstrate varying levels of sibling influence. For example, sibling influence may be greater in families that emphasize familism or those in which siblings provide a great deal of caretaking. Additionally, this study only examined youth from two-parent, martially intact families. Future research should explore how parents and siblings, including step-siblings, shape youth's interests and participation in sports in single-parent and remarried families. In fact, given differences in parental time and resources, it could be that sibling influences are stronger in single-parent families.

Third, although this study controlled for birth order effects by only including first- and second-born siblings, it ignored the potential influence of additional younger

siblings. Future research on sibling relationships should include all members of the family to understand how all family subsystems interact to shape youth's interests and behaviors. Additionally, given our relatively small sample, we explored whether the associations between siblings' interests, skills, and participation in sports were greater in same- as opposed to mixed-gender dyads. As mentioned earlier, given the changing demographics of sports participation, future research with larger samples should explore whether patterns of sibling influence are stronger in dyads involving only sisters, brothers, or various combinations.

Fourth, although we used multiple methods and reporters, our measures of interests, skills, and participation were based on a single category of sports that included several potential sub-dimensions. Future work should make greater distinctions between youth's interests, skills, and participation in specific sports, and determine whether family socialization operates in general or domain specific patterns.

Fifth, because of our cross-sectional design, were unable to test whether older siblings' qualities were related to changes in younger siblings' qualities over time. Sibling relationships are dynamic, particularly in adolescence (e.g., Kim, McHale, Osgood, & Crouter, 2006; Whiteman, Solmeyer, & McHale, 2015), and thus, their influence on one another may fluctuate as a function of developmental period. Longitudinal

assessments are critical to study such possibilities. Finally, consistent with models of parent socialization during adolescence (Smetana, Robinson, & Rote, 2015) and most research on sibling influences, we followed a vertical or top-down socialization perspective. That is, we viewed socialization as flowing downward from older (parents, older siblings) to younger family members. In addition to hierarchy, a family systems perspective (Cox & Paley, 1997) highlights the multidirectionality of family processes. Such possibilities may be especially likely in sibling relationships given their more egalitarian role structures. Future research, with longitudinal designs should explore potential bidirectional/reciprocal effects within families, especially siblings.

Future Directions

Future work including siblings, sibling relationships, and sibling socialization represents an important direction for the youth sport literature. For example, similar to the literature of health risk behaviors, greater emphasis should be placed on the mechanisms of sibling influence during childhood and adolescence. In addition to studying social learning processes such as modeling and imitation, researchers can add to this literature by examining how sibling rivalry and deidentification (or differentiation) processes shape youth's interests and participation in sport. For example, qualitative research highlights that sibling competition and rivalry are associated with discontinuation of sport

(Fraser-Thomas, Côté, & Deakin, 2008). By testing mechanisms of sibling influence, future research has the opportunity to illuminate how siblings and entire family systems shape youth's engagement in sport.

References

Aiken, L. S., & West, S. G. (1991). *Multiple regression: Testing and interpreting interactions.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bandura, A. (1977). *Social learning theory.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Bandura, A. (1989). Social cognitive theory. In R. Vasta (Ed.), Six theories of child development. *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology, 6,* (p1-60) Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Blazo, J. A. & Smith, A. L. (2017). A systematic review of siblings and physical activity experiences. *International Review of Sport and Exercise Psychology.* doi: 10.1080/1750984X.2016.1229355.

Blazo, J. A., Czech, D., Carson, S., & Dees, W. (2014). A qualitative investigation of the sibling sport achievement experience. *The Sport Psychologist, 28*, 36-47. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1123/tsp.2012-0089

Blyth, D. A., & Foster-Clark, F. S. (1987). Gender differences in perceived intimacy with different members of adolescents' social networks. *Sex Roles, 17*, 689-718. doi: 10.1007/BF00287683

Cicirelli, V. G. (1995). *Sibling relationships across the life span.* New York: Plenum Press.

Clarke-Stewart, A. K. & Parke, R. D. (2014). *Social Development* (2nd ed.). New York: Wiley.

Coakley, J. (2006). The good father: Parental expectations and youth sports. *Leisure Studies, 25* (2), 153-163. doi: 10.1080/02614360500467735.

Conger, K. J., & Kramer, L. (2010). Introduction to the special section: Perspectives on sibling relationships: Advancing child development research. *Child Development Perspectives, 4*, 69-71. doi: 10.1111/j.1750-8606.2010.00120.x

Côté, J. (1999) The influence of the family in the development of talent in sport. *The Sport Psychologist, 13,* 395-417. doi: 10.1123/tsp.13.4.395

Côté, J. & Hay, J. (2002). Family influences on youth sport performance and participation. In J. Silva & D. Stevens (Eds.), *Psychological foundations of sport* (p. 503-519). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Cox, M. J., & Paley, B. (1997). Families as systems. *Annual Review of Psychology, 48,* 243-267. doi: 10.1146/annurev.psych.48.1.243

Davis, N. W. & Meyer, B. B, (2008) When sibling becomes competitor: A qualitative investigation of same-sex sibling competition in elite sport. *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology, 20,* 220-235. doi: 10.1080/10413200701864817

Dunn, J. (1983). Sibling relationships in early childhood. *Child Development, 54,* 787-811. doi:10.2307/1129886

Ebihara, O., Ikeda, M., & Myiashita, M. (1983). Birth order and children's

socialization into sport. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 18*, 69-90. doi: 10.1177/101269028301800305

Fraser-Thomas, J. L., Côté, J. & Deakin, J. (2005). Youth sport programs: An avenue to foster positive youth development, *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy, 10*, 19-40. doi: 10.1080/1740898042000334890.

Fraser-Thomas, J., Côté, J., & Deakin, J. (2008). Understanding dropout and prolonged engagement in adolescent competitive sport. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise, 9,* 645-662. doi: 10.1016/j.psychsport.2007.08.003

Grusec, J. E., Chaparro, M. P., Johnston, M., & Sherman, A. (2013). Social development and social relationships in middle childhood. In I.B. Weiner et al. (Eds.), *Handbook of moral development* (2nd ed., Vol). New York: Wiley.

Hopwood, M. J., Farrow, D., MacMahon, C., & Baker, J. (2015). Sibling dynamics and sport expertise. *Scandinavian Journal of Medicine & Science in Sports, 25*, 724-733. doi: 10.1111/sms.12387

Huston, T. L., McHale, S. M., & Crouter, A. C. (1985). Changes in marital relationship during the first year of marriage. In R. Gilmour & S. Duck (Eds.), *The emerging field of personal relationships* (pp. 109-132). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Huston, A. C., & Ripke, M. N. (2006). Experiences in middle and late childhood and children's development. In Huston A. C. & Ripke, M. N. (Eds.), *Development contexts in middle childhood*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Jellinek, M., & Durant, S. (2004). Parents and sports: Too much of a good thing? *Contemporary Pediatrics, 21*, 17-20.

Kendler, K. S., Ohlsson, H., Sundquist, K., & Sundquist, J. (2013). Within-family environmental transmission of drug abuse: a Swedish national study. *JAMA Psychiatry, 70,* 235-242. doi:10.1001/jamapsychiatry.2013.276

Kim, J. Y., McHale, S. M., Osgood, D. W., & Crouter, A. C. (2006). Longitudinal course and family correlates of sibling relationships from childhood through adolescence. *Child Development*, *77*, 1746-1761. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8624.2006.00971.x

Knight, C. J., Dorsch, T. E., Osai, K. V., Haderlie, K. L., & Sellars, P. A. (2016). Influences on parental involvement in youth sport. *Sport, Exercise, and Performance Psychology, 5*, 161-178. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/spy0000053.

Larson, R., & Richards, M. H. (1994). Divergent realities: The emotional lives of mothers, fathers, and adolescents. New York: Basic Books.

McBride, B. A., & Mills, G. (1993). A comparison of mother and father involvement with their preschool age children. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, *8*, 457–477. doi:10.1016/S0885-2006(05)80080-8

McHale, S. M., Bissell, J., Kim, J. (2009). Sibling relationship, family, and genetic factors in sibling similarity in sexual risk. *Journal of Family Psychology. 23*, 562-572. doi:10.1037/a0014982.

McHale, S. M., & Crouter, A. C. (1996). The family contexts of children's sibling relationships. In G. Brody (Ed.), *Sibling relationships: Their Causes and Consequences* (p. 173-195). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

McHale, S. M., Updegraff, K. A., & Whiteman, S. D. (2012). Sibling relationships and influences in childhood and adolescence. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 74*, 913-930. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-3737.2012.01011.x

National Council of Youth Sport. (2008). Reports on trends and participation in youth sports. Retrieved from http://www.ncys.org/pdfs/2008/2008-ncys-market-research-report.pdf.

Nelson, K., & Strachan, L. (2017). Friend, foe, or both? A retrospective exploration of sibling relationships in elite youth sport. *International Journal of Sports Science & Coaching, 12*, 207-218. doi: 10.1177/1747954117694923

Robinson, J. P., & Godbey, G. (1997). *True for life: The surprising ways Americans use their time*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Rowe, D. C., & Gulley, B. L. (1992). Sibling effects on substance use and delinquency. *Criminology, 30*, 217-234. doi: 10.1111/j.1745-9125.1992.tb01103.x

Slomkowski, C., Rende, R., Conder, K. J., Simons, R. L., & Conger, R. D. (2001). Sisters, brothers, and delinquency: Evaluating social influence during early and middle adolescence. *Child Development, 72*, 271-283.

Slomkowski, C., Rende, R., Novak, S., Lloyd-Richardson, E., & Niaura, R. (2005). Sibling effects on smoking in adolescence: Evidence for social influence from a genetically informative design. *Addiction, 100*, 430-438. doi:10.1111/j.1360-0443.2004.00965.

Smetana, J. G., Robinson, J., & Rote, W. M. (2015). Socialization in adolescence. In J. E. Grusec & P. D. Hastings (Eds.), *Handbook of socialization: Theory and research* (pp. 60–84). New York, NY: Guilford.

Smith, S. R., & Hamon, R. R. (2012). *Exploring Family Theories*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Trussell, D. E. (2014) Contradictory aspects of organized youth sport: Challenging and fostering sibling relationships and participation experiences. *Youth & Society, 46,* 1-18. doi: 10.1177/0044118X12453058

Ullrich-French, S., & Smith, A. L. (2006). Perceptions of relationships with parents and peers in youth sport: Independent and combined prediction of motivational outcomes. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise, 7,* 193-214. doi: 10.1016/j.psychsport.2005.08.006

Updegraff, K. A., McHale, S. M., Whiteman, S. D., Thayer, S. M., & Delgado, M. Y. (2005). Adolescent sibling relationships in Mexican American families: Exploring the role of familism. *Journal of Family Psychology, 19*, 512-522. doi: 10.1037/0893-3200.19.4.512

Weiss, M. R. & Barber, H. (1995). Socialization influences of collegiate female athletes: A tale of two decades. In *Sex Roles, 33*, 129-140. Plenum: New York.

Whiteman, S. D., Bernard, J. M., & McHale, S. M. (2010). The nature and correlates of sibling influence in two –parent Aftrican American families. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 72,* 267-281. doi: 10.1111/i-1741-3737.2010.00698.

Whiteman, S. D., Jensen, A. C., & Maggs, J. L. (2013). Similarities in adolescent siblings' substance use: Testing competing pathways of influence. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol and Drugs, 74*, 104-113. doi: 10.15288/jsad.2013.74.104

Whiteman, S. D., McHale, S. M., & Crouter, A. C. (2007). Explaining sibling similarities: Perceptions of sibling influences. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 36*, 963-972. doi: 10.1007/s10964-006-9135-5

Whiteman, S. D., McHale, S. M., & Soli, A. (2011). Theoretical perspectives on sibling relationships. *Journal of Family Theory and Review. 3,* 124-139. doi: 10.1111/j.1756-2589.2011.00087.x

Whiteman, S. D., Solmeyer, A. R., & McHale, S. M. (2015). Sibling relationships and adolescent adjustment: Longitudinal associations in two-parent African American families. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 44*, 2042-2053. doi: 10.1007/s10964-015-086-0

Ziviani, J., Macdonald, D., Ward, H., Jenkins, D., & Rogers, S. (2006). Physical activity and occupations of children: Perspectives of parent and children. *Journal of Occupational Science, 13*, 180-187. doi: 10.1080/14427591.2006.9726514

Tables

Table 1

Results of multiple regression analysis examining the influence of mothers', fathers', and older siblings' interests in sports-related activities on younger siblings' interests controlling for structural and relational factors.

Variables	B	$SE\ b$	B
Intercept	3.38^{***}	.10	
Gender	$.35^{**}$	.11	.21
Gender composition of sibling dyad	-.07	.11	-.04
Youth-mother intimacy	$-.02^{\dagger}$	.02	-.14
Youth-father intimacy	$.02^{\dagger}$	.02	.14
Sibling intimacy	$.02^{*}$	.01	.17
Mothers' interests in sports	$.18^{**}$	.05	.23
Fathers' interests in sports	$.14^{\dagger}$	.07	.13
Older siblings' interests in sports	.09	.08	.08
R^2		.20	
F for R^2		5.81^{***}	

$^{\dagger}p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001$

Table 2

Results of multiple regression analysis examining the influence of mothers', fathers', and older siblings' skills in sports-related activities on younger siblings' skills controlling for structural and relational factors.

Variables	B	SE b	B
Intercept	3.13***	.10	
Gender	.31**	.11	.19
Gender composition of sibling dyad	.02	.11	.01
Youth-mother intimacy	-.02	.02	-.12
Youth-father intimacy	.02	.02	.10
Sibling intimacy	.03**	.01	.23
Mothers' skills in sports	.12†	.06	.12
Fathers' skills in sports	.18**	.07	.17
Older siblings' skills in sports	.26***	.07	.25
R^2		.23	
F for R^2		6.83***	

†$p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 3

Results of multiple regression analysis examining the influence of mothers', fathers', and older siblings' time spent in sports-related activities on younger siblings' time spent in sports-related activities controlling for structural and relational factors and examining social learning hypotheses.

	Model 1			Model 2		
Variables	*B*	*SE b*	β	*b*	*SE b*	β
Intercept	117.19***	24.37		131.80***	24.24	
Gender	88.00**	27.92	.22	60.93*	28.38	.15
Gender composition of sibling dyad	-20.15	27.18	-.05	-27.62	26.75	-.07
Youth-mother intimacy	-1.96	3.57	-.04	-2.56	3.52	-.06
Youth-father intimacy	.11	3.74	.00	1.80	3.71	.04
Sibling intimacy	3.28	2.58	.10	2.212	2.57	.06
Mothers' time spent in sports	.31	.44	.05	.12	.46	.02
Fathers' time spent in sports	.34	.21	.11	.36†	.21	.12
Older siblings' time spent in sports	.24***	.06	.27	.44***	.09	.49
Mothers' time X youth-mother intimacy				.02	.11	.01
Fathers' time X youth-father intimacy				.08†	.05	.12
Older siblings' time X sibling intimacy				-.01	.01	-.08
Older siblings' time X gender composition				-.39**	.13	-.31
R^2		.17			.23	
F for change in R^2		4.87***			3.16*	

†$p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Figures

Figure 1

Association between older and younger siblings' participation in sports-related activities as a function of gender composition of the sibling dyad.
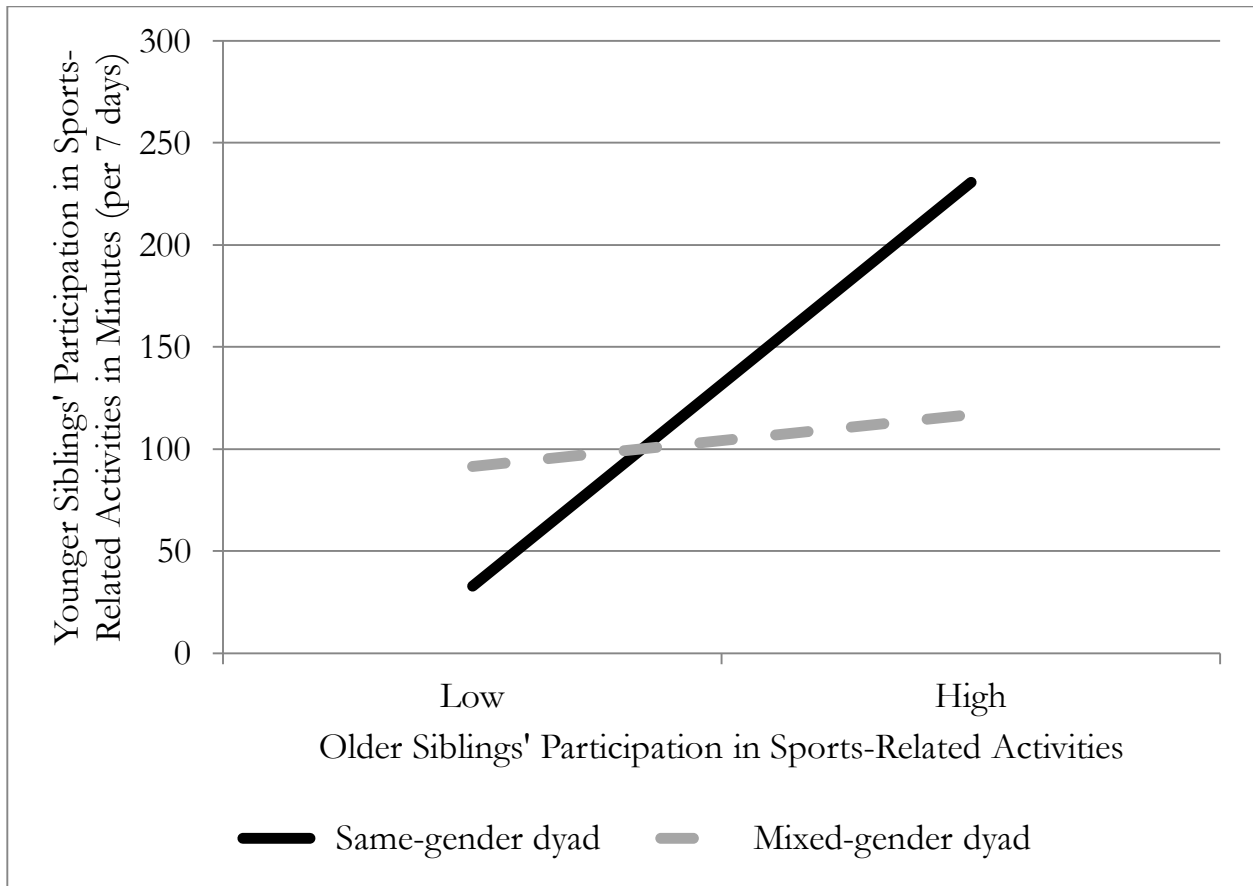
Parental Involvement in the Lives of Intercollegiate Athletes: Views from Student-Athletes and Academic Advisors for Athletics

Megan L. Parietti[1]   Sue Sutherland[2]
Donna L. Pastore[2]
[1]University of Wisconsin-Parkside
[2]The Ohio State University

The topic of parental involvement in the lives of their children, and the concept of over-involved parents has been growing as an area of research. The current study aims to fill this gap by examining parental involvement in the context of intercollegiate athletics. Specifically, a qualitative case-study method was utilized to examine parents' involvement in the academic and athletic lives of their student-athletes, including a focus on the concept of over-involvement in relationship to this population. Participants included eight NCAA Division I intercollegiate student-athletes (five male and three female) and the five academic advisors for athletics that worked with them. Participants completed two interviews and one journal, and all of the data was analyzed utilizing thematic analysis. The five themes that emerged were types of involvement, increasing involvement, over-involvement, outcomes of over-involvement, and the fine line between healthy involvement and over-involvement. The present study offers insight into how student-athletes and academic advisors perceive parental involvement. This knowledge can be used by practitioners to improve how they communicate with parents and student-athletes. Also, researchers can employ this information to improve the overall understanding of parental involvement in regard to athletes.

Student-athletes make up a unique population because their experience is unlike the average college student experience given of the athletic demands that are placed upon them (Gayles, 2009; Jolly, 2008). In addition, these student-athletes face conflicting roles of being a student and an athlete (Comeaux, 2010).

Learning to deal with this role conflict may have been influenced by how their parents raised them, and continue to be involved in their lives. Adding to this conflict is the developmental stage that the student-athletes are in, that of emerging adulthood. This is a stage where individuals are working to learn who they are and want to be while gradually becoming more independent from parents (Arnett, 2000; 2004). This growing independence can mean the student-athletes are attempting to handle their role conflict on their own for the first time as they are separated from their parents. However, research has shown that parents often have an influence over their child's athletic and academic behaviors, and this influence continues into college (Baumrind, 2013; Stewart, 2008). Therefore, it is important to explore how parents are still a major influence in their emerging adult child's academic and athletic careers.

One way that parents can influence their children is by being involved in their lives. Parental involvement is considered anytime a parent is a part of their child's life including the provision of tangible and intangible resources, which is the definition utilized for this study (Bradley-Geist & Olson-Buchanan, 2013; Lowe & Dotterer, 2017; Ratelle, Larose, Guay, & Senécal, 2005). This could include being in communication with their child, giving their child advice, or intervening when their child has a problem (Cullaty, 2011). It could also include spending time and attention on their child (Ratelle et al., 2005). When including

all types of involvement, studies have found that parental involvement is on the rise, especially in regard to parents with college-aged children (Cullaty, 2011; Dorsch, Dotterer, Lowe, & Lyons, 2016a).

Overall, most researchers agree that parental involvement is beneficial to their offspring (Dorsch et al., 2016a; Odenweller, Booth-Butterfield, & Weber, 2014). However, this involvement may go too far, which can be termed over-involvement, and may lead to negative outcomes (Bradley-Geist & Olson-Buchanan, 2013; Givertz & Segrin, 2014; Schiffrin et al., 2014; Segrin, Woszidlo, Givertz, Bauer, & Murphy, 2012). Previous studies show that parental involvement has an impact on child outcomes, however, one consistent definition of parental involvement and over-involvement has been lacking, especially with reference to student-athletes (Dorsch et al., 2016a; Dorsch, Lowe, Dotterer, Lyons, & Barker, 2016b).

Intercollegiate student-athletes may need support as they attempt to navigate their dual roles of being students and athletes while also trying to define their new parent-child relationship. In response to this need, the NCAA has required Division I universities to offer support services for student-athletes (Gayles & Hu, 2009; Gill & Farrington, 2014; Johnson, 2013). One of the offerings of these departments is academic advisors who are knowledgeable about both NCAA eligibility standards and the academic requirements of the university (Johnson, 2013; Parietti, Weight, & Spencer,

2013). These advisors meet with athletes to assist them with keeping their grades up (Holsendolph, 2006; Parietti et al., 2013) and helping them choose a major and classes to take (Brown, 2007). They also work with student-athletes to assist them with the transition to college (Parietti et al., 2013). While interviewing academic advisors for athletics, Parietti et al. (2013) discovered that they saw themselves as mentors for the student-athletes, and they spent the majority of their time at work meeting with student-athletes. This relationship allows academic advisors to have unique insights into the student-athletes' experiences.

Theoretical Framework
Emerging Adulthood

Major shifts in the American culture over the past 50 years has led to the proposition of a new stage of life development for individuals between the ages of 18 and 25 called emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000; 2004). The theory of emerging adulthood suggests that this period of life is a unique time between adolescence and adulthood that has emerged as individuals wait longer to get married and have children (Arnett, 2000; 2004; Sussman & Arnett, 2014). According to Arnett (2004) emerging adulthood is characterized by five qualities: a) identity exploration, b) instability, c) self-focus, d) feeling in-between, and e) possibility. Overall, this developmental period is a time when individuals are able to explore who they are and who they want to be as they

negotiate separation from their parents. Another aspect that has contributed to emerging adulthood is an increase in the number of people who now pursue higher education, which is a place where these individuals have the freedom to perform the exploration just discussed (Arnett, 2004). Multiple researchers have studied this time frame in regard to parental involvement because of the uniqueness of this developmental period (Dorsch et al., 2016a, 2016b; Hill, Burrow, & Sumner, 2016; Lowe, Dotterer, & Francisco, 2015; Padilla-Walker, Nelson & Knapp, 2014; Segrin, Woszidlo, Givertz, & Montgomery, 2013). However, few have examined parental involvement during this developmental period among intercollegiate student-athletes (Dorsch et al., 2016a).

Parental Involvement in Emerging Adulthood

Emerging adulthood is characterized as a period of life that has less parental control than the preceding period of adolescence (Arnett, 2004; Hill et al., 2016; Padilla-Walker et al., 2014; Sussman and Arnett, 2014). However, researchers have found that parents are becoming more involved in the lives of their college-aged emerging adults (Cullaty, 2011; Savage & Petree, 2013). Cullaty (2011) shared that there has been a cultural shift in how parents are involved in their child's life since the year 2000, when evidence emerged that parents were becoming more involved on college campuses. College student affairs have also

been giving more attention to how parents are involved in the lives of their children (Harper, Sax, & Wolf, 2012; Lowe & Dotterer, 2017; Savage & Petree, 2013). The University of Minnesota Parent Program does a biennial survey to examine parent/family services, and they have discovered that since the early 2000s universities are increasingly including parents because of the impact they may have on the academic success of college students (Savage & Petree, 2013). Research has recently shown that more than 20% of emerging and young adults indicated intense parental involvement in their lives (Fingerman et al., 2012). Also, other studies have found that over 50% of participants were in contact with parents once a day with 25% being in contact multiple times per day (Givertz & Segrin, 2014), and that college students included parents in important life decisions (Pizzolato & Hicklen, 2011).

The quality of involvement needs to be considered when examining parental involvement (Bradly-Geist & Olson-Buchanan, 2013; Lowe & Dotterer, 2017) as parents can be involved in their child's lives in different ways. Involvement can be more communication-focused, where parents talk to their emerging adult and give advice or chat about daily events (Cullaty, 2011; Dorsch et al., 2016a; Fingerman et al., 2012; Lowe & Dotterer, 2017). Another avenue of involvement is action-focused, such as when parents do things for or with their child, such as assisting with academic work or practicing a sport (Cullaty, 2011; Lowe &

Dotterer, 2017; Odenweller et al., 2014). Communication-focused and action-focused involvement can be considered different qualities of involvement as they do different things for the emerging adult. For example, communication can guide an individual through a problem, but action may fix the problem with minimal effort from the individual. Another way of looking at quantity and quality of involvement is who has authority in a student's life. For instance, Padilla-Walker et al. (2014) found three different parent-child authority patterns within the college student population: shared control, personal control, and parental control. With shared control, parents have some authority over the college student's life other than their personal domain. Under personal control, the emerging adult retains all the authority. Finally, parental control is when parents retain authority in all domains of their college student's life. When considering quality of involvement, researchers have suggested that parents can go too far, and this can be considered over-involved parenting (Brussoni & Olsen, 2012; Schiffrin et al., 2014; Segrin et al., 2012).

Over-involvement
There have been many popular press articles and books that have suggested that parents may be too involved in their child's life (Brussoni & Olsen, 2012; Schiffrin et al., 2014; Segrin et al., 2012). Brussoni and Olsen (2012) implored researchers to examine the concept of over-involved

parenting because of how popular the idea has become in the public. While research has been increasing on this topic, the line between a healthily involved parent and an over-involved parent has not been clear in the literature. This can be seen in the multiple terms that are used to discuss the concept of parents being excessively involved in their child's lives such as over-involvement (Givertz & Segrin, 2014), over-parenting (Bradley-Geist & Olson-Buchanan, 2013; Segrin et al., 2012), overprotection (Brussoni & Olsen, 2012), high levels of involvement (Cullaty, 2011), helicopter parenting (Lowe et al., 2015; Padilla-Walker & Nelson, 2012; Schiffrin et al., 2014), bulldozer parenting (Taylor, 2006) and intense parental support (Fingerman et al., 2012). This study utilizes the term over-involvement.

The conceptualization of over-involvement has not been clearly delineated in the literature but has included the amount and type of behaviors exhibited by parents, that compromises the development of future independence (Bradley-Geist & Olson-Buchanan, 2013; Brussoni & Olsen, 2012). Development can be compromised through over-involved parents fixing their children's problems for them, intervening in their child's life, or directing their child's behavior (Bradley-Geist and Olson-Buchanan, 2013; Givertz & Segrin, 2014; Odenweller et al., 2014). Other researchers have conceptualized over-involvement as parents providing support multiple times a week (Fingerman et al., 2012) or being in

constant communication with their child (Odenweller et al., 2014). Utilizing previous researchers' conceptualizations, we defined over-involvement as parents who are in frequent contact with their child (at least once a day), provide frequent support to their children (at least once a week), give their child advice and direct their behavior, and occasionally step in to solve issues or make decisions for their child. In regard to intercollegiate student-athletes this could play out in parents assisting with athletic or academic matters, such as talking to coaches, advisors, or faculty members on behalf of their emerging adult. Parents' involvement in athletic matters is one possible difference between student-athletes and their non-athlete peers. Based on this, it is important to study student-athletes to discover the possible impact over-involved parenting has on both their academic and athletic responsibilities.

There are many possible antecedents to over-involved parenting. Researchers have suggested that parents may become over-involved if they are worried about their emerging adult child's life path, meaning they may attempt to be more of a safety net if they think their child needs that (Segrin et al., 2013; Swartz, Kim, Uno, Mortimer, & O'Brien, 2011). Lowe et al. (2015) found that the more parents paid for their college student's education, the more likely they were to be over-involved, and that this was especially true if the student did not have a scholarship. Bradley-Geist and Olson-Buchanan (2014) discovered parents were

more likely to be over-involved if their college student child lived at home and/or if they had fewer siblings. Researchers have also shared that poor communication may lead to over-involved parenting (Givertz & Segrin, 2014; Segrin et al., 2012).

Researchers have suggested that there are several negative outcomes of over-involved parenting for emerging adults. Segrin, Givertz, Swaitkowski, and Montgomery (2015) found that children of over-involved parents responded to social problems by withdrawing, and they had a more challenging time connecting with others. Negatives also included lower levels of family satisfaction, life satisfaction, self-efficacy, feelings of autonomy, coping skills, and academic engagement (Bradley-Geist & Olson-Buchanan, 2013; Cullaty, 2011; Givertz & Segrin, 2014; Padilla-Walker & Nelson, 2012; Schiffrin et al., 2014; Segrin et al., 2013). Researchers have also tied other negative outcomes to over-involved parenting, such as higher levels of interpersonal dependency, neuroticism, depression, narcissism, and entitlement (Givertz & Segrin, 2014; Odenweller et al., 2014; Schiffrin et al., 2014; Segrin et al., 2012; Segrin et al., 2013). Overall, these researchers have suggested that over-involved parenting hinders children's development (Odenweller et al., 2014; Segrin et al., 2013).

While many researchers have found negative outcomes for over-involvement, a few have suggested that there may be positive correlations to highly involved parenting. Fingerman et al. (2012) found that emerging and young adults reported higher levels of well-being and a better sense of their goals when their parents were intensely involved in their lives. Harper et al. (2012) discovered that highly involved parents had children that were more socially satisfied with their college experience. Padilla-Walker and Nelson (2012) found that children of over-involved parents saw their relationship as "high in guidance, involvement, and emotional support" (p. 1186). Whether over-involvement causes more positive or negative outcomes is unclear. However, most researchers have suggested that parents who are over-involved typically want the best for their child (Brussoni & Olsen, 2012; Givertz & Segrin, 2014; Padilla-Walker & Nelson, 2012; Segrin et al., 2012). Also, it has been discovered that the majority of parents are not over-involved, but it is important to understand the impact of those who are (Lowe et al., 2015).

More research is required to better understand parental involvement and over-involvement within the collegiate student-athlete population so that a more comprehensive understanding of outcomes can be acquired. This is especially true for intercollegiate student-athletes, which is a unique population that has received little attention from parental involvement scholars with a few key exceptions (Dorsch et al., 2016a & 2016b). Intercollegiate student-athletes are also in a unique period of development, that of emerging adulthood

(Arnett 2000; 2004). Both the uniqueness of being a student-athlete and being an emerging adult make this a very important population to study.

Current Study

Overall, there is a dearth of research in regard to parental involvement in the lives of student-athlete emerging adults. Emerging adulthood is characterized as a time when people negotiate relationship changes with their parents as they strive to figure out who they are as an individual. This study strives to add to the knowledge base of this time frame by examining intercollegiate student-athletes and their advisors' views of parental involvement during college. The uniqueness of the intercollegiate student-athlete population requires that it be studied as separate from other college students or from athletes in other developmental stages. The purpose of this research is to assist with filling this gap by examining parental involvement in regard to intercollegiate student-athletes and their athletic and academic endeavors through the viewpoints of both student-athletes and academic advisors for athletics. Specifically, it examines parental involvement in the lives of their intercollegiate student-athlete emerging adult. It also explores the concept of over-involvement as it relates to this population.

The information obtained in this study can be utilized to obtain a better understanding of parental involvement and over-involvement in the lives of intercollegiate student-athlete emerging adults, which can be disseminated to practitioners and researchers to better assist this population. Having a better understanding of parental involvement in the lives of these student-athletes can assist all those who advocate for this population to assist them with their transition to college and beyond.

The following research questions were assessed in this study: a) How involved do the student-athletes and their advisors feel parents are in the lives of intercollegiate student-athletes? b) In what ways are parents involved in their intercollegiate student-athlete's lives? c) What is the relationship between over-involved parenting and outcomes for intercollegiate student-athletes? and d) How do the views of student-athletes compare to those of their academic advisors for athletics in regard to parental involvement?

Methods

Research Design

There is a lack of research on the topic of parental involvement in regard to intercollegiate student-athletes. Therefore, it was beneficial to obtain a qualitative comprehensive account about this subject from athletes (Dorsch, Smith, & McDonough, 2009). A qualitative, case study method was employed to obtain these accounts and help to uncover information about parental involvement and over-involvement (Hancock & Algozzine, 2011; Stake, 1995). This method was appropriate

for this study because it allows for a greater understanding of the perceptions held by participants (Stake, 1995).

There are several characteristics that define case study research including a focus on a particular situation, a study of a phenomenon that has space and time boundaries, the use of multiple information sources, and rich descriptions (Hancock & Algozzine, 2011). In regard to this study, the particular situation is parental involvement in the lives of student-athlete emerging adults. This study was bounded by space; it took place at one large Midwestern university. It also was bounded by time; it took place during the 2014-2015 academic year. Multiple information sources were used including both student-athlete and their academic advisors for athletics. Also, interviews and journals were employed. Finally, this study utilized rich descriptions throughout the results and discussion by including quotes from the participants' interviews and journal entries.

Researcher Reflexivity

For this study, all of the researchers have a strong interest in sports and personal experience with their parents' involvement in their sport participation, which impacted their views of the research. The first author has worked in intercollegiate student-athlete services and as a faculty member, and through both positions has heard from both student-athletes and academic advisors for athletics about parents' involvement. She has also volunteered to be an assistant

coach for a junior high girls' basketball team and a high school ultimate Frisbee team. This provided another view of how parents are involved in the lives of their athlete child(ren). She is also the parent of an infant, who she plans to have participate in sport in the future. Both her work and personal life has led her to have some initial opinions on parental involvement. To help limit the impact of her experiences, the author kept a journal throughout the process to help her understand her thought processes. Also, the first author worked with the other authors on this paper and with other colleagues to talk through the research to help limit her personal biases.

Participants

Student-athletes and academic advisors for athletics from a large NCAA Division I institution were asked to participate in this study. Emerging adults who also identify as student-athletes have an important perspective on parental involvement in their lives, since they are one half of the parent-child dyad. With this in mind, student-athletes were included in this study to better understand their experiences. Academic advisors for athletics were also chosen as participants in this study because of their close connection to both students and their parents (Parietti et al., 2013).

A purposive sampling design was used when finding student-athletes, which was aided by the Student-Athlete Support Services Office at a large Midwestern university. This office aided in identifying

potential participants who fit the criteria for this study. The criteria included student-athletes that participated in football, baseball, or softball. These sports were chosen because they were not in-season, and therefore the athletes were available to participate. The student-athletes were also required to have spent most of their childhood living with at least one biological parent. All student-athletes that the advisors indicated met the criteria for this study on the football, baseball, and softball teams were contacted via email about the purposes and procedures of the study. All non-respondents were sent follow-up emails once a week for the next three weeks. A total of three football, two baseball, and three softball players self-selected to participate in the study (Table 1).

We used a purposive sampling to find academic advisors for athletics. The five advisors that worked with the student-athletes that participated in the study were contacted regarding this study. Each of the advisors agreed to be a part of the study. In that way, every student-athlete that participated also had their advisor participate, which made it possible to better compare the two groups. Four of the advisors currently worked directly with student-athletes and one supervised two of the other advisors. Two of the advisors requested to not be directly cited in this paper. The demographic profiles of the advisors are not included in order to limit the ability to identify the participants.

Data Collection

The five advisors and eight student-athletes that agreed to participate in this study were asked to complete a demographic survey. The student-athlete survey included gender, ethnicity, age, sport team, length of participation in their sport, and who they lived with while growing up. The advisor survey included gender, ethnicity, age, teams currently working with, and length of career as an advisor. Each participant was asked to participate in two interviews and to complete a two-week journal.

Interviews. Face-to-face, semi-structured interviews were conducted twice with each participant by the primary author. Each interview was audio recorded with the approval of the participant, and was conducted in an unused office on the university's campus. The first interview (I1) for student-athletes focused on the student-athlete's relationship with their parents, including how their parents were and currently are involved in their academic and sport lives. Examples of questions include: "How is(are) your parent(s) involved in your athletics currently?" and "How is(are) your parent(s) involved in your academics currently?" The academic advisor's first interview was similar in that it focused on what they had heard from both student-athletes and their parents on their relationships and the advisor's opinions on parental involvement. The questions included "Overall, how involved do you think parents are with their child's athletics?

In what ways?" The first interviews lasted an average of 22 minutes with a range of 12 minutes to 40 minutes.

The first interview was transcribed prior to the second interview. The second interview (I2) was held two weeks after the first (within two days for all participants) in the same location, and it covered questions that were sparked by the reading of the first interview's transcripts. The participants turned in their journals when they arrived at their second interview, or emailed them just before the interview, so the only question asked about the journal was their experience completing the journal. Participants were also asked to give feedback about themes that we discovered while going over their first interview, such as how the student-athletes felt about their parent's involvement and the outcomes advisors saw in regard to parental involvement. Two student-athletes did not complete a second interview. Both explained that they did not have any time for a second interview because of their sport requirements. As the second interview mostly consisted of follow-up questions from the first interview, they were shorter in length, averaging 14 minutes, with a range of 10-22 minutes.

Journal. Participants were asked to complete a hand-written or typed journal (J) for two weeks (whichever method they felt most comfortable with). Student-athletes were asked to record when they talked to their parent(s) by any method (e.g., in-person, by phone, text, etc.), which parent(s) they talked to, for how long, and a summary of the conversation. It was explained to the student-athletes that they did not need to go into detail on any topic that they felt was too personal to share. Advisors were also asked to keep a journal of any conversation they had with parents by any type of contact. They were asked to record when they talked to parents, for how long, and a summary of the conversation. It was made clear that they did not have to add any detail that could be considered inappropriate to share, but they should include information about any sport or academic specific information. All participants indicated that they made a record of each contact with parents, which was determined as an adequate level of participation. One student-athlete did not complete the journal because he left the study. He did allow for the data from his first interview to still be used. It is important to note that this did not allow for triangulation of his information or follow-up questions. Overall, four advisors and six athletes completed both interviews and journals. The data from all participants was still analyzed understanding the limitations presented by having three participants not complete every part.

Data Analysis

After interviews were transcribed and journals were collected, thematic analysis was performed. Psuedonyms were used for all participants. The first step was reducing the data by marking sections of interest (Clarke & Braun, 2014; Seidman, 1998). For

this study, we highlighted any passages that related to the research questions, stood out as unique, seemed interesting, or were related to topics that were repeated by several of the participants. In alignment with Clarke and Braun's (2014) second phase of thematic analysis, these sections were coded based on what they had in common or was unique about them and each transcript was compared to the others looking for repeated ideas or unique items. The third step was to categorize the codes into themes based on the relationships that they share (Clarke & Braun, 2014; Glesne, 2011; Lofland, Snow, Anderson & Lofland, 2006; Seidman, 1998). As suggested by Clarke and Braun's (2014) fourth and fifth phases, the potential themes were reviewed with all of the data and then named. The themes that emerged were types of involvement, increasing involvement, over-involvement, outcomes of over-involvement, and the fine line between healthy involvement and over-involvement.

Credibility

Triangulation was utilized in this study in the forms of multiple data sources: student-athletes and academic advisors, and multiple methods: interviews and journals (Schwandt, 2007). Multiple data sources allowed for the examination of parental influence from two viewpoints, the children of the parents themselves, and people who work with the student-athletes and often hear from them about their parents or hear from their parents directly. By interviewing both of these parties, we were able to compare what the student-athletes share in the interviews, to what they tell their advisors, and what the advisors have directly experienced by interacting with parents. Journals allowed for a comparison between what the participants shared in the interviews and the actual conversations they had with parents.

For this study, member checks were completed by conducting second interviews. These follow-up interviews included questions that arose after examining the first interview, and questions based on the themes and interpretations that we had discovered. These checks allowed us to corroborate the findings with the participants (Schwandt, 2007). It also helped to give the participants more power to have their "voice" heard accurately (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007).

An attempt at thick description has already been included in this methods section. We have endeavored to be very detailed in what methods were used and for what purpose. We also used direct quotes from the participants within the results section. Two advisors asked to not be directly quoted for their study, so their information was utilized only for overall perceptions of parental involvement. Our goal was to have readers feel that they would have come to the same interpretations that we did, and that they could replicate the study in a context of their own interest (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007; Sparkes, 1998).

Any negative or unique cases were explored through the analysis phase of this study. There were a few areas where one or two participants disagreed with the others. This information was studied and shared in the results section. This was done to give the most complete, accurate account possible (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007).

Findings

How parents are involved in their child's life can have a large impact on how they influence their children. Overall, the participants indicated that parents are often involved in the lives of the student-athlete. As the advisors described it, parents wanted to be informed of what was going on in their child's life. Joe explained that from his "previous experience with parents, they just want to be informed and in the know" (I1). The student-athletes talked about how their parents were always there in some capacity in their lives, even once they entered college. April said, "I'm glad they're still around…to be involved still as I'm in college" (I2). Parental involvement may take different forms and levels.

From the data collected from both the student-athletes and the advisors we discovered several themes. The themes that emerged were types of involvement, increasing involvement, over-involvement, outcomes of over-involvement, and the fine line between healthy involvement and over-involvement. Types of involvement included the different ways that parents were involved in the life of their emerging adult. Increasing involvement discusses how parental involvement has been on the rise recently. The theme of over-involvement arose from the participants discussing when parents are too involved, and then they discussed the outcomes of parents being overly-involved. Finally, participants shared that while parental involvement was normally good, it could easily cross a fine-line into being too involved.

Types of Involvement

The student-athletes indicated that since they started college, their parents were still very involved in their lives. For example, Devin explained that his parents tried to be as involved as they could still be with his college athletics. "My mom's still the head freshman mom" (Devin, I1). They also shared that their parents were involved in their lives in different ways. The ways parents are involved in their children's lives as described by the participants in this study can be categorized as communication-focused or action-focused involvement.

Communication-focused involvement included any time parents talked to their student-athlete. All of the student-athletes in this study had frequent contact with their parents. They each talked to their parents almost every day, and most had contact with their parents multiple times a day. Each of the student-athletes were asked what they typically talked to their parents about. As indicated by these participants, a lot of their communication was about their general lives. This included basics about their life or

details about their day. For example, April reported that she spoke about, "just pretty much how our days are going" (I2).

A specific form of communication-focused involvement was the giving of advice. In these cases parents were involved by talking to their emerging adult about a decision, problem, etc. Many times these conversations were driven by the students as reported by Alec, "I definitely look to them for advice. I trust them a lot to lead me in the right direction" (I1). Ron shared that he would, "go to them if I have you know, issues with coaches or anything like that" (I1). Although Ron's parents never talked to the coaches, they would help him deal with the issues himself by helping him "put the pros and cons on the table and make the best decision" (I1). Other times the conversations were started by the parents. If Devin had a problem he would "call my mom and dad and figure out a solution together as we always do if something happens" (I1). Paul explained that he would only involve his parents if a problem "was really big and something that I would say could be really either beneficial or detrimental" (I1). Denise shared that, "He [her father] finds things to give me advice about" (I2). April indicated that her parents often provide her with advice, "they still give me advice every day of how to interact with people, how to drive my car, to be careful for black ice, to just keep in contact with people" (I1). All of the student-athletes said they received some

sort of advice from their parents since they had started college.

In some cases, parents helped to steer their student-athlete toward certain decisions such as classes to take and experiences to pursue. April shared that her mother encouraged her to take classes to help her interact with people, which lead to her pursuing a minor in that area despite it not being an initial interest of hers. April indicated that, "at the end of the day, they know what's best for me" (I1). Renee shared a similar experience where she shared, "my dad is probably the biggest influence, like for my job/career because were' always talking about this wildlife officer thing, and he's the one who brought it up to me, like made me actually think about it." (I1). In this way, these parents were very involved in their emerging adult's academic and career choices.

Action-focused involvement included anytime parents stepped in and did work for the student-athlete or talked to others in order to assist their emerging adult. Brad shared a time when his mother spoke to his coach when Brad had an issue with the coach's approach but indicated that this was "the only situation that's ever been really, my parent who stepped in for me personally" (I1). Parents found other ways to be actively involved. Paul's mother talked to his coach and discovered that he could possibly get some benefits to assist with paying for his academics. Paul felt that that his mother pushed to help him but it seemed that he was not sure how to

capitalize on the situation because he did not fully understand, "she was talking about something that I need, that some coach told her I should do about, I don't even know, like help, I'm not even sure, to help put me in some position or something like that" (I2). In addition, Denise and Paul stated that their parents helped to proofread their papers for class, which showed an active involvement in their academics.

Increasing Involvement

The advisors that participated in this study shared that they have seen an increase in how involved parents are in the lives of their student-athlete. Joe shared that "I don't think parents were that involved when I first started in this industry…I probably started seeing this maybe about five, six years ago" (I1). Frank agreed by saying "they're more involved than they were five years ago" (I1). Anna has found that parents are continuing to be more involved, saying "compared to when I got in this field four years ago…now you have parents come in more" (I2). All the advisors agreed that they had seen an increase in the involvement of parents over their career. The student-athletes all shared that their parents were very involved in their lives. "They're involved a ton" (April, I1). The student-athletes were not able to provide insight into how parental involvement has changed in regard to intercollegiate student-athletes since they did not have the experience of interacting with intercollegiate sports over an extended period of time. Therefore, they were unable to provide insight into the changing nature of parental involvement for intercollegiate student-athletes.

Need for Involvement

The advisors and the student-athletes believed that parental involvement was needed, even at the college level. Frank explained that he "always have been under the belief that more kids that had success here have been the ones who have gotten support from their mom and dad" (I1). Anna also believed parental involvement was important; she shared that "there's those parents who…[are] involved kinda right away. Typically, what I've found is students are pretty well prepared for college" (I1). All of the student-athletes talked about how they appreciate their parents being involved in their lives.

The student-athletes were asked how they would react if they could not talk to their parents for one week, and the majority shared that it would be an extreme hardship. April answered, "I would be devastated" (I2). For Brad, not talking to his parents for a week would make him feel, "terrible…their kind of my support system. I really depend on them for a lot of emotional and mental support" (I2). The student-athletes wanted to be able to talk to their parents whenever they wanted to talk to them.

Over-Involvement

The advisors shared that while parental involvement is important, there are times

when parents take it too far. None of the student-athletes addressed over-involvement or possible outcomes. This may be because they do not have the "outside" perspective that the advisors had or because they all believed their parent's level of involvement was "just right." Also, the advisors did not refer to any parents directly, so it was impossible to know if they were referring to any of the parents of the student-athletes that participated in the study.

The advisors used the terms helicopter and bulldozer to describe some of the experiences they had with parents. For example, Joe explained that he:

> had experiences with helicopter parents. The new term is the bulldozer parent. My son cannot do wrong and you know, basically if he failed the exam, you know, it's not their son's fault, it's whatever support was given to that son. (I1)

Each of the advisors at some point mentioned either helicopter or bulldozer parents, without any prompting. It was a topic that they all felt was important.

Some of the advisors gave examples of times that parents were highly involved in their student-athlete's life, to the point of possible over-involvement. Anna shared a story of a student-athlete whose mom had called her about a problem the student-athlete was having with his class schedule. She explained that, "his mom reached out first. So he obviously went to his mom and then his mom came to me…it's kinda that,

almost what we've started to call not even helicopter parents anymore but bulldozer parent" (I2). Anna believed that the student should have come to her to discuss any issues with his class schedule instead of his mother. Frank told of a transfer student with whom he had been working and how he had talked more with her mother than he had with her; it was "like the kid just runs to mom and then mom and dad try to take care of everything" (I2). These were all examples of very involved parents. However, the advisors did share that the majority of the parents that they worked with were not over-involved. Anna said "rarely do I see, at least, oftentimes, the kind of bulldozer parent that's clearing the way…for the most part, the parents kind of keep themselves in check" (I2). All the advisors said that they only dealt with a handful of parents that they would label as over-involved each year.

While the advisors had seen parents that were over-involved in their college student-athlete's lives, the student-athletes that participated in this study all believed that their parents were involved just the right amount. When asked how she felt about her parent's involvement in her life, Denise responded, "I love it…I wouldn't have it any other way how they are now" (I1). To the same question April replied, "they're involved a ton. I love how involved they are" (I1). The student-athletes did not appear to think that their parents were over-involved.

Outcomes of Over-involvement

All of the advisors believed that they had encountered parents that were over-involved, and they all shared that this type of involvement was detrimental to the student-athletes. The advisors shared that they believed the over-involved parents wanted to help their emerging adult. "I think both parties think they're actually helping, but I think in my mind, it's actually hurting." (Frank, I2). Overall, the advisors believed that parents wanted to be helpful, but they sometimes went too far, and that only hurt their children. There were two main areas that they believed were negatively impacted when parents were over-involved: the preparedness of the student-athletes and the student-athlete's development.

The advisors shared that student-athletes whose parents were over-involved came to college less prepared. "I personally think the students are just less and less prepared because mom and dad are doing more and more" (Frank, I1). "What concerns me is they come in with these habits almost of their parents doing it for them from high school" (Anna, I2). Both of these advisors believed that when parents did work for the students when they were younger, the students did not know how to do work for themselves once they went to college. The other advisors agreed that student-athletes were less prepared to face a lot of the administrative parts of being in college because they were used to other people doing the work for them.

Along with being less prepared to start college, the advisors believed that student-athletes with over-involved parents were inhibited in their development. This was especially true when parents stepped in to fix problems for their student-athlete. Frank shared that "they [parents] try to be supportive, but I think it becomes more detrimental to the kids, it doesn't allow them to grow, it doesn't allow them to just face the consequences of a bad decision" (I1). Joe shared that overall he thought, "we're starting to see a generation of kids that have been enabled all their life and not ever really had to learn how to be independent or learn how to advocate for themselves" (I1). These advisors felt that student-athletes' development was inhibited if their parents were too involved.

Fine Line

Overall, the advisors believed that parents should be involved in their student-athlete's life, but they should not be too involved. There is a fine line between helping and hurting their child. "What worries me is that they don't know how, when to pull back…It's definitely important to have a role in it [academics], but I think that they [parents] need to almost know their place a bit" (Anna, I2). Joe shared that "parents need to let their students face adversity and learn how to deal with the coping skills to learn how to deal with that" (I1). An example of a parent doing this was Brad's mother, who he shared would give him advice and was very involved in his life.

However, she also told him to, "make your own decision, develop your own leadership abilities and character traits, but you're going to have to also deal with the consequences" (I1). Joe would likely have found this a "healthy" level of involvement. The implication was that parents need to be careful with the boundaries of their involvement in their child's life.

The advisors shared that they believed the overinvolved parents wanted to help their child:

> The scary part of it for me is…I think both parties think they're actually helping, but I think in my mind, it's actually hurting. I don't think the parents are doing it to stifle their kid's growth, and I don't think the kids doing it to take advantage of their mom and dad. It's just that's the nature they've been raised and to try and help them break through of that, we're doing more at the college level now then we've ever had to do. (Frank, I2)

Overall, the advisors believed that parents wanted to be helpful, but they sometimes went too far, and that only hurt their children. This is a fine line because parental involvement is helpful, even necessary, up to a point. Past that it can become very detrimental. The advisors all indicated that this line existed, but no specific guide for what was too far was offered.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine the perspectives of intercollegiate student-athletes and academic advisors for athletics on the topic of parental involvement in the lives of student-athlete emerging adults. While there has been an abundance of research on parental involvement, minimal work has been done considering the emerging adult student-athlete population. Overall, this study attempts to fill some of this gap in the literature on this population and parental involvement. A qualitative case-study was done considering the research questions: a) How involved do the student-athletes and their advisors feel parents are in the lives of their intercollegiate student-athlete? b) In what ways are parents involved in their intercollegiate student-athlete's lives? c) What is the relationship between over-involved parenting and outcomes for intercollegiate student-athletes? and d) How do the views of student-athletes compare to those of their academic advisors for athletics in regard to parental involvement?

The themes discovered through the data analysis were types of involvement, increasing involvement, over-involvement, outcomes of over-involvement, and the fine line between healthy involvement and over-involvement. Overall, these themes both support and add to previous research on parental involvement during emerging adulthood, specifically within the student-athlete population. Themes aligned with the view that parents are still an important agent of support for student-athlete emerging adults (Dorsch et al., 2016a; Lowe & Dotterer, 2017). Unlike previous research,

this study included academic advisors for athletics, who had a unique vantage point from which to discuss parental involvement since they were involved in both the academic and athletic lives of student-athletes. Also, the advisors were able to give the perspective of seeing the evolution of parental involvement in regard to intercollegiate student-athletes that the student-athlete participants did not have.

Parental Involvement

Overall, the current study shows that parents are involved in the lives of student-athletes in many ways that include both academic (e.g., assisting with classes and helping choose majors) and athletic elements (e.g., attending games and talking to coaches). The addition of the athletic element makes the student-athletes unique from their peers. The academic advisors explained that most of the student-athletes that they worked with had parents that were involved. It appeared with this study that the student-athletes wanted their parents to be involved in their lives. They all felt that their parents were very involved in their lives, and they all loved how involved their parents were. This was similar to the findings of Dorsch et al., (2016a), Fingerman et al. (2012), and Cullaty (2011) who all found that the majority of their participants felt that their parents provided just the right amount of support. Combined with previous research, it is possible that emerging adults, including student-athletes, will see whatever level of involvement they are used to their parents displaying as the "right" amount, no matter what that amount is.

Researchers have suggested that parental involvement on college campuses has been increasing since the early 2000s (Cullaty, 2011), which was supported by the academic advisors in this study, the majority of whom indicated they'd seen an increase since they started working. Similar to Givertz and Segrin's (2014) study, the student-athletes in this study were in frequent communication with their parents. The student-athletes in this study shared that one of their reasons for communicating with their parents was to receive advice. Our findings were contrary to Pizzolato and Hicklen (2011) who found that almost half of their participants involved their parents when making important decisions, but most of them only chose to do that once. We found that the participants in this study indicated that they chose to include their parents more often. This disparity could be because the current study had a small sample of students who all indicated they were very close to their parents, therefore, how "close" student-athletes are to their parents may be related to how often they include parents in their decision-making.

It should be noted that according to the participants in this study, parents were involved in their emerging adult's lives in different ways and to different levels. Bradley-Geist and Olson-Buchanan (2013) shared that it is important to consider the quantity and quality of parental

involvement. The participants indicated that the support they received was similar to the findings of Fingerman et al. (2012) who shared that most of the support their participants received from their parents was in the form of listening, emotional support, and advice. This could be considered communication-focused involvement because the parents are not taking an active role in doing things for their student-athlete. The participants in this study also received more action-focused involvement from their parents in the form of helping to solve problems and assisting with academic work. Dorsch et al. (2016a) also found that parents were still actively involved in the lives of intercollegiate student-athletes. This again shows that it is important to consider how parents are involved once athletes go to college.

Overall, the participants felt that parental involvement was a good thing. This follows what previous researchers have found (Bradley-Geist & Olson-Buchanan, 2013; Cullaty, 2011; Dorsch et al., 2016b; Odenweller et al., 2014). The advisors explained that they felt student-athletes were more prepared for college and were better able to handle the transition when their parents were involved. The student-athletes in the current study also felt that they could make important decisions, and that their parents would support whatever those decisions were. However, according to the advisors in this study, the involvement could go too far into over-involvement.

Over-involvement. Researchers have found little consensus on how to conceptualize over-involvement. This study utilized a definition that combined a few of the different conceptualizations; over-involvement is when parents are in frequent contact with their child (at least once a day), provide frequent support to their children (at least once a week), and occasionally step in to solve issues or make decisions for their child. The advisors indicated that they had interacted with parents that would fit that definition. They shared that they would term some of these parents helicopter or bulldozer parents, which are the colloquial terms used in the popular press to identify over-involved parents (Bradley-Geist & Olson-Buchanan, 2013; Odenweller et al., 2014; Schiffrin et al., 2014). This shows that over-involved parents are of concern for those who work with student-athletes, as the advisors had all found need to negotiate those relationships.

The definition of over-involvement used in this study requires parents to meet four criteria frequent contact, frequent support, advice giving/directing behavior, and occasionally stepping in. Following this definition, none of the student-athletes in this study had over-involved parents. However, they all had parents that met three of the four areas. Each of the student-athletes were in frequent contact with their parents and received frequent support. Most of the student-athletes also shared that they received advice from their parents. Two of the student-athletes, April and Renee,

indicated that their parents had directed their behavior by leading them toward a minor or major. Only one student-athlete shared that his parent had stepped in to solve an issue for him while he was in college. Brad's mother had talked to a coach about how his coaching style was not conducive to Brad's success. His mother might be considered the most involved because of this, but Brad did not indicate that he received support at least every week from his mother, so she does not fit this study's definition of over-involvement. The fact that none of the student-athletes indicated that their parents fit the definition of over-involved parenting could be why they all saw positive outcomes with their athletics and academics. It is also possible that the definition utilized for this study is too specific, and may need to be adjusted (e.g., meeting three of four criteria).

The advisors in this study had strong feelings against over-involved parenting. Similar to the findings of Dorsch et al. (2016b) the advisors in this study felt that when parents were too involved they hurt their student-athlete's preparedness for college and their overall development. One of the reasons they said this happened was because the student-athletes felt entitled in that they believed other people should do their work for them because their parents had done so. Givertz and Segrin (2014) and Segrin et al. (2012) both shared that children of over-involved parents had a greater sense of entitlement than those who did not have over-involved parents. Some researchers,

such as Fingerman et al. (2012), Harper et al. (2012), and Padilla-Walker and Nelson (2012) all found some positive correlates to over-involved parents. While the advisors in this study did not see any positives, the fact that the student-athletes in this study all had very involved parents and they felt it was a good thing suggests that parents being heavily involved might not be bad.

Researchers have found that over-involved parenting often happens because parents are concerned about their children and want to protect them (Brussoni & Olsen, 2012; Givertz & Segrin, 2014; Padilla-Walker & Nelson, 2012; Segrin et al., 2012). Padilla-Walker and Nelson (2012) and Segrin et al. (2015) both suggested that over-involved parents were worried about their child's wellbeing. The advisors in this study also suggested that the parents that they had encountered wanted to do the best for their children.

The line between a parent being involved and being over-involved is blurry. The advisors all indicated that there was a point where involvement went too far, but they did not offer a specific line. The only indication they gave was that it was very important for parents to be involved, but at some point, the involvement would hurt the student-athletes. From what they did share, this point appeared to be whenever parental involvement prevented the student-athletes from facing adversity and learning to cope with it.

Some might consider the parents of the student-athletes in this study to be too

involved because they were in frequent contact, and their parents provided large amounts of advice and support. However, when examining what previous research has discovered about the outcomes of over-involved parenting, there is evidence that the student-athletes in this study did not have over-involved parents. The majority of the student-athletes in this study were successful both athletically and academically. This would indicate that their parents' involvement in their life was beneficial in those areas. This was unlike the findings of Padilla-Walker and Nelson (2012) who found lower levels of academic engagement when parents were over-involved. Next, the student-athletes in this study shared that they believed that they had the autonomy to make their own decisions, and that their parents would support their decisions. Again, this was unlike what previous researchers suggested happened when over-involved parenting existed (Padilla-Walker & Nelson, 2012; Schiffrin et al., 2014). These signs are indicative that the student-athletes in this study did not have parents that were over-involved. Though, it is possible that other areas of their lives were more negatively impacted by how involved their parents were. This study did not examine areas such as self-efficacy, dependency, neuroticism, depression, narcissism, and entitlement that other researchers had discovered as issues with over-involved parenting (Dorsch et al., 2016a; Givertz & Segrin, 2014; Schiffrin et

al., 2014; Segrin et al., 2013; & Odenweller et al., 2014).

Limitations

This study has a few limitations. As a qualitative study with a small participant sample, this research cannot be generalized. The participants in this study self-selected to participate and all self-identified as Caucasian. It is possible that this skewed the results as only students who had parents that were involved may have chosen to participate. The lack of racial/ethnic diversity could be a limitation as previous research has found racial/ethnic differences in parental involvement (Hill et al., 2004), which could not be examined in this research. Also, this study was solely conducted at one NCAA Division I university, with a small subset of teams, and therefore may not be representative of student-athletes at any other university, in other sports, or of any other age. Finally, no parents were involved in this research based on a lack of access, which prohibits any discussion of how parents see their relationship with their children. Future research can attempt to address these limitations by obtaining access to different types of participants and/or by conducting a quantitative study which would allow for more generalizability.

Implications

This study offers implications for both practitioners that work with athletes and researchers. Both parties can benefit from a

greater understanding of how parents are involved in the lives of their intercollegiate student-athletes. This study shows that parents are involved to different extents and in different ways. Future research can more fully examine the differences in how parents are involved through further exploration of the viewpoints of any individuals who may experience this relationship such as student-athletes, parents, advisors, coaches. Research can also be done to determine the outcomes of the different types of involvement. Practitioners can utilize this information to better communicate both with athletes and their parents because of a greater understanding of how parental involvement is perceived and connected to intercollegiate student-athlete outcomes.

This study has shared that there is a fine line between a healthy involvement level and a parent being over-involved in their emerging adult's life. It is possible that the parents and the student-athletes do not even realize that the parents are over-involved. All of the student-athletes in this study thought their parents were involved just the right amount, but some of them indicated that their parents were involved to the point that could be considered over-involved. It might be useful those who work with student-athletes to sit down with parents and have a discussion about the benefits of giving their emerging adult more freedom to make mistakes and fix their own problems. The advisors shared that they had seen student-athletes who were inhibited by their parents' involvement, and it might benefit

parents to hear how their actions may be influencing their emerging adult. Hopefully, this would encourage some parents to examine their relationship with their student-athlete to see how they may improve their involvement strategies. They may also explore why their relationship is the way that it is. Student-athletes might also benefit from knowing if their parent is over-involved so that they can work with their parent to find a more healthy balance of involvement. Many individuals who work with intercollegiate student-athletes (e.g., advisors and coaches) also have interactions with parents. They can include discussions on parental involvement when they meet with parents and student-athletes or they can refer both parties to resources on parental involvement, such as current research or popular press articles that explain current research.

Researchers can utilize the information discovered in this study to more closely examine the concept of over-involvement and how it impacts all athletes. Additional quantitative studies could be conducted that gives a more wide-spread view on the issues of parental involvement and over-involvement by including several universities and/or teams. Quantitative studies could also examine parental involvement outcomes, such as academic and/or athletic performance. Also, research can be done that includes the views of parents and how that relates to how athletes view involvement and over-involvement. This would offer another perspective on

parental involvement, which would give a more complete picture of the topic.

Conclusions

Overall, this study offers more insight into parental involvement in regard to emerging adult student-athletes. Notably, findings revealed that most parents are involved in the lives of intercollegiate student-athletes through different types of involvement that could be categorized as communication-focused or action-focused. Also, it showed that similar to what universities have been experiencing as a whole, intercollegiate athletics has also seen an increase in parental involvement. Importantly, the advisors in this study were able to give unique insights into the increase in parental involvement as well as the concept of over-involvement and the possible outcomes of overinvolvement. Overall, it was determined that there is a very fine line between healthy involvement and over-involvement that needs to be considered more fully in future research. Findings from this research help to identify how parents are involved in the lives of their intercollegiate student-athlete emerging adults to assist all who are involved with this population. This will potentially benefit student-athletes' development and the operation of athletic programs.

References

Arnett, J. J. (2000). Emerging adulthood: A theory of development from the late teens through the twenties. *American Psychologist, 55*(5), 469-480. doi: 10.1037//0003-066x.55.5.469.

Arnett, J. J. (2004). *Emerging adulthood: The winding road from the late teens through the twenties.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Baumrind, D. (2013). Authoritative parenting revisited: History and current status. In R. E. Larzelere, A. S. Morris, & A. W. Harrist (Eds.). *Authoritative parenting: Synthesizing nurturance and discipline for optimal child development* (pp. 11-34). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Bradley-Geist, J. C. & Olson-Buchanan, J. B. (2013). Helicopter parents: An examination of the correlates of over-parenting of college students. *Education + Training, 56,* 314-328. doi: https://doi.org/10.1108/ET-10-2012-0096

Brown, G. T. (2007, February 12). Advisors help athletes make realistic academic choices. *The NCAA News*, 14. Retrieved from https://archive.org/details/NCAA-News

Brussoni, M. & Olsen, L. L. (2012). The perils of overprotective parenting: Father's perspectives explored. *Child: Care, Health, and Development, 39,* 237-245. doi: 10.1111/j.1365-2214.2011.01361.x

Clarke, V. & Braun, V. (2014). Thematic analysis. In A. C. Michalos (Ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Quality of Life and Well-Being Research* (pp. 6626-6628). Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer.

Comeaux, E. (2010). Mentoring as an intervention strategy. *Journal for the Study of Sports and Athletes in Education, 4,* 257-276. http://dx.doi.org/10.1179/ssa.2010.4.3.257

Cullaty, B. (2011). The role of parental involvement in the autonomy development of traditional-age college students. *Journal of College Student Development, 52,* 425-439. doi: 10.1353/csd.2011.0048

Dorsch, T. E., Dotterer, A. M., Lowe, K., & Lyons, L. (2016a). Parent involvement in young adult's intercollegiate athletic careers: Developmental considerations and applied recommendations. *Journal of Intercollegiate Sport, 9*, 1-26. http://dx.doi.org/10.1123/jis.2015-0013

Dorsch, T. E., Lowe, K., Dotterer, A. M., Lyons, L., & Barker, A. (2016b). Stakeholders' perceptions of parent involvement in young adults' intercollegiate athletic careers: Policy, education and desired outcomes. *Journal of Issues in Intercollegiate Athletics, 9*, 124-141. Retrieved from http://csri-jiia.org/

Dorsch, T. E., Smith, A. L., & McDonough, M. H. (2009). Parents' perceptions of child-to-parent socialization in organized youth sport. *Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology, 31,* 444-468. https://doi.org/10.1123/jsep.31.4.444

Fingerman, K. L., Cheng, Y., Wesselmann, E. D., Zarit, S., Furstenberg, F., & Birditt, K. S. (2012). Helicopter parents and landing pad kids: Intense parental support of grown children. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 74,* 880-896. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-3737.2012.00987.x

Gayles, J. G. (2009). The student-athlete experience. *New Directions for Institutional Research, 144*, 33- 41. doi: 10.1002/ir.311

Gayles, J. G. & Hu, S. (2009). The influence of student engagement and sport participation on college outcomes among Division I student-athletes. *The Journal of Higher Education, 80,* 315-333. https://doi.org/10.1353/jhe.0.0051

Gill Jr., E. L. & Farrington, K. (2014). The impact of an Intensive Learning Program (ILP) on Black male football student-athlete academic achievement. *Journal of College Student Development, 55*, 413-418. https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.2014.0037

Givertz, M. & Segrin, C. (2014). The association between over-involved parenting and young adults' self-

efficacy, psychological entitlement, and family communication. *Communication Research, 41,* 1111-1136. doi: 10.1177/0093650212456392

Glesne, C. (2011). *Becoming qualitative researchers.* Boston, MA: Pearson.

Hancock, D. R. & Algozzine, B. (2011). *Doing case study research: A practical guide for beginning researchers* (2nd Ed.). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Harper, C. E., Sax, L. J., & Wolf, D. S. (2012). The role of parents in college students' sociopolitical awareness, academic, and social development. *Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice, 49,* 137-156. doi:10.1515/jsarp-2012-6147

Hill, P. L., Burrow, A. L., & Sumner, R. (2016). Sense of purpose and parent-child relationships in emerging adulthood. *Emerging Adulthood, 4*, 436-439. Retrieved from https://us.sagepub.com/en-us/nam/emerging-adulthood/journal202127

Hill, N. E., Castellino, D. R., Lansford, J. E., Nowlin, P., Dodge, K. A., Bates, J. E., & Pettit, G. S. (2004). Parent academic involvement as related to school behavior, achievement, and aspirations: Demographic variations across adolescence. *Child Development, 75*, 1491-1509. Retrieved from http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/(ISSN)1467-8624

Holsendolph, E. (2006). When academics and athletics collide. *Diverse: Issues in*

Higher Education, 23(4), 22-23. Retrieved from http://diverseeducation.com/

Johnson, J. (2013). Assessing academic risk of student-athletes: Applicability of the NCAA Graduation Risk Overview model to GPA. *NACADA Journal, 33*, 76-89. https://doi.org/10.12930/NACADA -13-041

Jolly, J. C. (2008). Raising the question #9 is the student-athlete population unique? And why should we care? *Communication Education, 57*(1), 145-151. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03634520 701613676

Lofland, J., Snow, D., Anderson, L., & Lofland, L. H. (2006). *Analyzing social settings: A guide to qualitative observation and analysis.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

Lowe, K. & Dotterer, A. M. (2017). Parental involvement during the college transition: A review and suggestion for its conceptual definition. *Adolescent Research Review, 2,* 1-14. doi: 10.1007/s40894-017-0058-z

Lowe, K., Dotterer, A. M., & Francisco, J. (2015). "If I pay, I have a say!": Parental payment of college education and its association with helicopter parenting. *Emerging Adulthood, 3,* 286-290. doi: 10.1177/2167696815579831

Odenweller, K. G., Booth-Butterfield, M., & Weber, K. (2014). Investigative helicopter parenting, family environments, and relational outcomes for millennials. *Communication Studies, 65,* 407-425. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10510974 .2013.811434

Onwuegbuzie, A. J. & Leech, N. L. (2007). Validity and qualitative research: An oxymoron? *Quality and Quantity, 41,* 233-249. doi: 10.1007/s11135-006-9000-3

Padilla-Walker, L. M. & Nelson, L. J. (2012). Black hawk down? Establishing helicopter parenting as a distinct construct from other forms of parental control during emerging adulthood. *Journal of Adolescence, 35,* 1177-1190. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.adolesce nce.2012.03.007

Padilla-Walker, L. M., Nelson, L. J., & Knapp, D. J. (2014). "Because I'm still the parent, that's why!" Parental legitimate authority during emerging adulthood. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 31*, 293-313. doi: 10.1177/0265407513494949

Parietti, M., Weight, E., & Spencer, N. (2013). The NBA age-limit rule and academics in Division I men's basketball. *International Journal of Sport Management, 14,* 26-42. Retrieved from http://www.americanpresspublishers .com/IJSM.html

Pizzolato, J. E., & Hicklen, S. (2011). Parent involvement: Investigating the

parent-child relationship in Millennial college students. *Journal of College Student Development, 52,* 671-686. doi: 10.1353/csd.2011.0081

Ratelle, C. F., Larose, S., Guay, F., & Senécal, C. (2005). Perceptions of parental involvement and support as predictors of college students' persistence in science curriculum. *Journal of Family Psychology, 19,* 286-293. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0893-3200.19.2.286

Savage, M. & Petree, C. (2013). National survey of college and university parent programs: Survey conducted Spring 2013. Retrieved from University of Minnesota, Parent Program Website: http://www.aheppp.org/assets/Parent-Program-Research/2013.pdf

Schiffrin, H. H., Liss, M., Miles-McLean, H., Geary, K. A., Erchull, M. J., & Tashner, T. (2014). Helping or hovering? The effects of helicopter parenting on college students' well-being. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 23,* 548-557. doi:10.1007/s10826-013-9716-3

Schwandt, T. A. (2007). *The sage dictionary of qualitative inquiry* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Segrin, C., Givertz, M., Swaitkowski, P., & Montgomery, N. (2015). Overparenting is associated with child problems and a critical family environment. *Journal of Child and*

Family Studies, 24, 470-479. doi:10.1007/s10826-013-9858-3

Segrin, C., Woszidlo, A., Givertz, M., Bauer, A., & Murphy, M. T. (2012). The association between overparenting, parent-child communication, and entitlement and adaptive traits in adult children. *Family Relations, 61*, 237-252. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-3729.2011.00689.x

Segrin, C., Woszidlo, A., Givertz, M. & Montgomery, N. (2013). Parent and child traits associated with overparenting. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 32*, 569-595. https://doi.org/10.1521/jscp.2013.32.6.569

Seidman, I. (1998). *Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences* (2nd Ed.). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Sparkes, A. C. (1998). Validity in qualitative inquiry and the problem of criteria: Implications for sport psychology. *The Sport Psychologist, 12*, 363-386. https://doi.org/10.1123/tsp.12.4.363

Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Stewart, E. B. (2008). School structural characteristics, student effort, peer associations, and parental involvement: The influence of school- and individual-level factors on academic achievement. *Education and Urban Society, 40*, 179-204.

https://doi.org/10.1177/0013124507304167

Sussman, S. & Arnett, J. J. (2014). Emerging adulthood: Developmental period facilitative of the addictions. *Evaluation and the Health Professions, 37*, 147-155. doi: 10.1177/0163278714521812

Swartz, T. T., Kim, M., Uno, M. Mortimer, J. & O'Brien, K. B. (2011). Safety nets and scaffolds: Parental support in the transition to adulthood. *Journal of Family and Marriage, 73*, 414-429. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-3737.2010.00815.x

Taylor, M. (2006). Helicopters, snowplows, and bulldozers: Managing students' parents. *The Bulletin, 74*(6), Retrieved from http://www.taylorprograms.com/images/BulletinNov200612-21a.pdf

Tables

Table 1

Demographic Information about Student-Athletes

Pseudonym	Gender	Race	Age	Team	Parent Lived With
1. Alec	Male	White	18	Baseball	Mother and Father
2. Ron	Male	White	21	Baseball	Mother and Father
3. Devin	Male	White	19	Football	Mother and Father
4. Paul	Male	White	20	Football	Mother and Father
5. Brad	Male	White	20	Football	Mother
6. April	Female	White	20	Softball	Mother and Father
7. Renee	Female	White	21	Softball	Mother and Father
8. Denise	Female	White	22	Softball	Mother and Father