

SPORT PSYCHOLOGY FOR YOUNG ATHLETES

Edited by Camilla J. Knight, Chris G. Harwood,
and Daniel Gould



10

OPTIMISING FAMILY INVOLVEMENT IN YOUTH SPORT

Travis E. Dorsch

Youth sport cannot operate without families. Family involvement, namely that of parents, is an integral part of children's participation. In many cases, it is parents who serve as head and assistant coaches, referees, scorekeepers, concession stand attendants, and ticket-takers. Unofficially, parents also serve as chauffeurs, travel agents, nutritionists, and, in elite youth sport, agents. Overwhelmingly, these services are performed on a volunteer basis, and it is clear that youth sport would not function wholly without parent involvement. In short, youth sport is a by-product of parent involvement. To optimise the experience, researchers and practitioners have continually sought ways to enhance children's motivation in sport. Namely this has taken the form of providing best practice recommendations for coaches and administrators. Although these efforts have been fruitful in many respects, they often ignore families as the 'hidden' participants in youth sport.

Family involvement is especially salient at the earliest stages of youth sport, when parents (and sometimes guardians or grandparents) serve the multiple roles described above. Through their involvement, parents can positively and negatively influence children's developmental experiences. Accordingly, research practitioners have sought to identify how parents can best be involved in their children's sporting experiences and how they can be supported in doing this. The aim of this chapter is to outline the theoretical and research base underpinning parental involvement in sport, while providing insights into how practitioners might work with parents to enhance their involvement in youth sport (see also Chapter 27).

What is optimal parental involvement in sport?

Optimal parenting in youth sport is demonstrated via parental involvement that supports children's opportunities to achieve their potential, both in and out of sport, engage in healthy psychosocial interactions, and experience a range of positive

developmental outcomes (Harwood & Knight, 2015). In their recent position paper, Harwood and Knight proposed six skills that should be fostered in parents to enhance interactions with children in youth sport:

- 1) Parents should help children select appropriate sporting opportunities. This is best accomplished by communicating with children about their goals for sport, providing the necessary support for participation, and placing an appropriate value on enjoyment and performance.
- 2) Parents should strive to understand and apply appropriate parenting styles in sport. This entails creating a healthy emotional climate, allowing children an appropriate level of autonomy, and providing a united front across both parents' parenting styles at home and in sport.
- 3) Parents should attempt to manage the emotional demands of sport. Indeed, sport is a context defined by emotive expression, but parents should not make their love contingent upon a child's outcomes. Instead, parents should demonstrate and foster values such as composure, sportspersonship, and teamwork.
- 4) Parents should strive to foster healthy relationships with significant others (e.g. parent peers, coaches, and athletes). In doing so, they must appreciate the demands associated with being a parent, coach, and athlete in youth sport, and be willing to help when called upon.
- 5) Parents need to manage the demands associated with youth sport. Parents should not overextend themselves or their children emotionally, financially, or physically, and each family should strategically develop personal and family strategies to manage the demands of sport.
- 6) Finally, parents need to adapt their children's environments across the stages of sport participation. Sport is marked by numerous transitions that must be navigated by parents, children, and families. Therefore, parents must remain cognisant of their children's changing needs across the course of a youth sport career.

Practitioners can foster these six skills by engaging in a reciprocal process of knowledge acquisition and dissemination. Specifically, they should work not just to provide knowledge *to* parents but also to learn *from* them. No two athletes, no two families, and no two sport contexts are the same; therefore, it is incumbent upon individuals who work in youth sport settings to avoid treating 'facts' as one-size-fits-all. In short, I would encourage practitioners to adopt a humanistic lens (Gordin, 2012), continually assessing the thoughts, emotions, and behaviours of the given subculture prior to designing and delivering workshops, interventions, or counselling.

Overview of relevant theoretical frameworks for examining family involvement

Youth sport is a complex setting, shaped by adults, children, communities, and the various societies in which it is enacted. Despite this, much of the research conducted

in the field of sport psychology has adopted an individual lens, focusing on outcomes experienced by the children who participate (e.g. Fraser-Thomas, Côté, & Deakin, 2005). It is also important to employ a more distal lens to account for the cultural, community, team, and family contexts that surround the young athlete (e.g. Brenner, 2012; Horn, 2004; Horn & Horn, 2007). Specifically, two broad frameworks can be used to help practitioners adopt this approach when working with young athletes and their families: family systems theory and bioecological theory.

Family systems theory

Family systems theory suggests that individuals are best understood not in isolation from one another, but as a part of a larger whole: *the family system*. Individual members of a family are thought to be interconnected and interdependent; consequently, no member of the family can be understood separate from its other members. According to Von Bertalanffy (1968), each member of a system plays a role within the system while also respecting its rules and traditions. Members of a family are expected to respond to each other in certain ways, which are determined by the nature of the relationships within the family (e.g. siblings can scratch, claw, and hit, but spouses cannot). Perhaps the most important tenet of family systems theory is that within a family, one family member's behaviour both causes, and is caused by, other family members' behaviours and experiences (Smith & Hanon, 2012).

White and Klein (2008) delineate four 'scope assumptions' of family systems theory. First, *all members of the family are interconnected*. In youth sport, this means that a child's participation also impacts the parent(s), sibling(s), and all other members of the family unit. The second assumption is that *understanding a family member is only possible by viewing the whole family*. In youth sport, to understand the thoughts, emotions, and behaviours of an athlete, one must view that athlete in the context of her/his entire family. The third assumption is that *a family affects its environment and the environment affects the family*. In youth sport, families shape – and are shaped by – the participation context. The final assumption is that *'systems' are heuristics, not real things*. In youth sport, there are many ways to understand the experiences of athletes and families. Adopting a family systems perspective is but one way to organise these experiences into meaningful understanding. The practitioner who wishes to adopt a family systems lens can do so by working not just with the athlete, but also her parents and siblings. More importantly, the practitioner must recognise that the 'sport family' does not exist only at training and competitions. Rather, family issues can impact all aspects of sport performance and sport issues can permeate the family.

Bioecological theory

A family's involvement in youth sport is shaped by interpersonal, individual, and contextual factors that interact over time. Drawing from Lewin's (1935) field theory, which viewed human behaviour as an interaction of person and environment, contemporary ecologists frame human development as a function of multiple

systems of influence. Four such systems are process, person, context, and time (PPCT), and taking each into account is the foundation of the PPCT framework (Bronfenbrenner, 1999, 2005; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998).

Within the PPCT framework, *processes* are the social exchanges that individuals experience in their immediate social setting (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). According to Bronfenbrenner (2005), these exchanges (e.g. parent–child communication) result in gradual adaptation (i.e. development) throughout the lifespan. Indeed, as noted by Kremer-Sadlik and Kim (2007), it is the processes that occur during sport participation – not one's participation itself – that have the potential to foster positive developmental outcomes for children and families.

Person characteristics are the ascribed or achieved traits of an individual that influence his or her development (Bronfenbrenner, 1999). Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield, & Karnik (2009) suggest that some person characteristics are external (e.g. race, sex, height), eliciting immediate responses from the outside world. For example, a youth basketball coach might have two athletes arrive at a tryout; one is nearly 2 metres tall (i.e. 6 feet 6 inches) and another is much shorter. The external characteristic of 'being tall' might elicit excitement (and favourable bias) from the coach, whether the taller athlete is more skilled or not. Person characteristics can also be internal (e.g. intelligence, determination, compassion). These characteristics might be more important to an athlete's overall development and success, but are less accessible to coaches and managers who make personnel decisions.

Context, the hallmark of most ecological perspectives, consists of four progressively more distal systems of an individual's environment (the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem) that guide one's development. For example, the parent–child relationship (microsystem), the parent–coach relationship (mesosystem), the league or community sport mission (exosystem), and society's imperative on youth sport participation (macrosystem) all influence a young athlete's sport experience. Through a family lens, it is important to note that Darling and Steinberg (1993) describe parenting as perhaps the most important 'context' of child development.

Lastly, the PPCT perspective emphasises the role of *time* in human development (Bronfenbrenner, 2005; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). Time is a necessary component of development and is therefore described by family scholars as essential in any developmental theory (Elder, 1998). Indeed, Elder and other life course theorists (e.g. Bengtson, Elder, & Putney, 2005) have advised practitioners to reflect on when something occurs within the context of history (e.g. did a woman's sport participation occur before or after Title IX?) as well as within the context of the individual's life (e.g. did the sport participation occur as a young person or as an adult?).

Both of these theoretical broad frameworks can shape our understanding of youth sport and the work practitioners conduct with parents and young athletes. It is important to note, however, that they need not be used simultaneously. Indeed, my own method is often eclectic, drawing from the appropriate tenets of multiple theories (broad and narrow) to inform my research and application. The two theories presented herein are simply *potential* lenses through which to better understand the role of families in youth sport.

Applying theory and research in practice

The most important aspect of working with parents or families in youth sport is translating our growing theoretical and research evidence base into practice. In this section, I provide insights from my own research and application to illustrate how I, and other research practitioners, have attempted to do this, while sharing insights from our ongoing projects.

A case study of an American sport family

Given preliminary support for the impact of children's sport experiences on other family members (i.e. parents) across the earliest stages of youth sport (Dorsch, Smith, & McDonough, 2009, 2015), a colleague and I are currently exploring parents' sport socialisation experiences over time. Over the past seven years, we have been conducting interviews with the family's father, mother, and child, and both parents have been regularly reflecting on their experiences in journals. In these data, family members are providing a unique insight into how parents' experiences are influenced by the child's sport experiences over time.

At a general level, our preliminary findings indicate that youth sport is playing an important role in fostering the child's relationships with both parents, is impacting the substance and tenor of the child's communication with both parents, and is informing the goals both parents have for their child's overall and sport-specific development. These preliminary interpretations underscore the utility of adopting a family-focused lens when working with athletes in youth sport. One example of the importance of doing so lies in the potential for 'spillover' from the sport to home domain. Indeed, in our work, the family's commitment to youth sport is greatly influencing their scheduling and financial decision-making.

Over the first seven years of the child's sport participation, the parents have developed stronger identities as 'sport parents', begun to view sport as a forum for their child to learn life lessons, and become increasingly committed to the athletic progression of their child. In sum, it is apparent that youth sport is influencing the entire family system via the proximal processes afforded to this family by the child's sport participation. In light of this understanding, practitioners interested in the family should not only focus on the impact of family (e.g. parent and sibling) involvement on youth sport outcomes, but also the nuanced effects of sport participation on family-level processes and outcomes.

Lessons learned from my experiences as a coach, practitioner, and parent

As a sport coach and practitioner, I have learned that parents, in most cases, are allies (see also Chapter 27). Too many people view 'sport parents' as a monolithic group of crazed individuals, who are only involved because they want to see their children ascend to greatness. Largely, this caricature is perpetuated by media reports that

that parents are a resource, albeit one that can be enhanced (see next section on parent education strategies). Indeed, the vast majority of parents share the same goal as coaches: seeing young people become more skilled athletically, while also becoming better teammates, individuals, and representatives of the next generation. I have long wondered, if parent and coach goals are generally in alignment, why is there so much vitriol in many cases between them? One answer is a potential lack of communication between coaches and parents before, during, and after a sport season. To foster such communication, practitioners could measure the quantity and quality of the communication that takes place between coaches and parents, and assess its usefulness toward achieving positive development among participating young people.

As a new sport parent, I am learning that emotion is a powerful driver of behaviour (see Chapter 27 for further information). We all want the best for our children and we all have an inalienable expectation of fairness and opportunity. When those expectations are not met (i.e. when the outcomes of our children's participation do not meet our standards), it is easy to place the blame at someone else's feet. Practitioners can play an important role in helping parents understand and accept these emotions. I like to think of myself as an expert in the content area being discussed; however, that does not mean I am impervious to the same emotions other parents feel and act upon in youth sport. So how can we teach parents to more effectively cope with – and then act upon – their emotions in youth sport? The answer, I argue, lies in parent education.

Parent education programmes

The previous question has been the catalyst for my early career research at Utah State University. One thing that strikes me is that, although many practitioners are quick to prescribe 'fixes' for negative parent behaviour (e.g. silent Saturdays, parent contracts, signs encouraging good behaviour), evidence-based parent education programmes have yet to be systematically implemented and assessed across a wide range of youth sport settings. Below I highlight two programmatic interventions that targeted parents in youth sport, both of which may be adapted or implemented by practitioners seeking to enhance their work with parents. The first was designed, executed, and evaluated by members of my research laboratory in the United States. The second was designed and executed by Sam Thrower and his colleagues in the United Kingdom.

Programme 1

In ongoing research and outreach being conducted by my lab, youth sport administrators, coaches, and parents have expressed a desire for an evidence-based approach to parenting children in youth sport. This need is supported by anecdotal reports in the popular media that communicate children's dissatisfaction with parenting practices such as over-involvement, negative communication, and pressuring behaviours (e.g. Bigelow, Moroney, & Hall, 2001).

To address this desire, we first conducted a needs assessment in our local community. In doing so, our primary aim was to highlight these key stakeholders' perceptions of how educational programming for parents in youth sport may impact parent involvement behaviour and children's developmental experiences. Indeed, I am of the mindset as a researcher that identifying the needs of parents and stakeholders is an important first step before attempting to plan and execute an intervention. From interviews with parents, coaches, and league administrators, it became clear that the current state of youth sport necessitated a formalised parent education strategy.

Informed by this needs assessment, we designed an evidence-based education programme for parents in the local youth sport community (Dorsch, Dunn, King, & Osai, 2015). Programming included a 33-page *guide* and a 45-minute *seminar*, both of which offered evidence-based tips and strategies for parenting in youth sport. While the *guide* was constructed to offer parents a self-paced curriculum, the *seminar* was designed to offer best practices to parents in a more directed, face-to-face setting.

Seven distinct categories of parent involvement serve as the framework for our educational programming:

- 1) The *youth sport participation* section highlights the reasons children participate in youth sport, as well as the reasons they drop out (see, e.g., Babkes & Weiss, 1999; Fredricks & Eccles, 2005).
- 2) The *developmental outcomes* section highlights the developmental processes children experience as they ascend in youth sport (see, e.g., Côté, Baker, & Abernethy, 2007).
- 3) The *participation rates* section underscores the unlikelihood of children participating in various sports in high school, college, and/or professionally (see, e.g., Aspen Institute, 2015; NFSHA, 2014).
- 4) The *communication* section offers parents strategies for communicating with their children, other parents, and coaches in youth sport (see, e.g., Knight & Holt, 2014; Dorsch, Smith, Wilson, & McDonough, 2015).
- 5) The *working with coaches* section offers parents tips from athletes and coaches on how and when to interact with a child's coach (see, e.g., Gould, Lauer, Rolo, James, & Pennisi, 2006).
- 6) The *sport parent behaviour* section provides parents with tools for becoming effectively involved in their children's sport experiences (see, e.g., Dorsch, et al., 2015; Wuertth, Lee, & Alfermann, 2004). Specifically, it outlines a range of parent verbal sideline behaviours and their potential consequences, and highlights what children report wanting and not wanting from parents before, during, and after competitions (Harwood & Knight, 2015).
- 7) The *positive sport parenting* section focuses on supportive parenting strategies, and meeting the emotional demands of sport, forging healthy relationships, and choosing appropriate sport settings for children (see Holt & Knight, 2014 for review).

In our pilot study, parents exposed to the intervention had children with enhanced perceptions of parent support, parent-child warmth, child enjoyment, and child competence from pre- to post-season. Further children's perceptions of parent presence, parent-child conflict, and child stress all decreased from pre- to post-season (Dorsch, King, Dunn, Osai, & Tlilane, 2017). Given such positive findings, practitioners might benefit from drawing on this intervention to structure their own work with parents, while also crafting more culturally or developmentally specific parent education programmes as required.

Programme 2

In the United Kingdom, Sam Thrower and his colleagues conducted initial research to identify tennis parents' education and support needs across contexts and developmental stages (Thrower, Harwood, & Spray, 2016a). Observational and interview data suggested a need to provide tennis parents with education in four areas:

- 1) **Introductory needs:** Parents need to understand how their involvement is influenced by their tennis knowledge, financial and time demands, and their personal reasons for involvement.
- 2) **Organisational needs:** Parents need to understand how the national, regional, or local governing body's organisational system works, and the ability to organise their child's competitions.
- 3) **Development needs:** Parents need to understand child and talent development, and the ability to make informed decisions with their child about her/his tennis involvement.
- 4) **Competition needs:** Parents need to understand how to communicate with their child and fulfil their pre-match, in-match, and post-match roles.

The authors recommended that practitioners meet these needs differently across an athlete's stages of development, a take-home message being that parents' needs can only be met if engaged in a supportive learning environment that provides them with structured education.

Thrower, Harwood, and Spray (2016b, 2017) subsequently delivered face-to-face and online interventions with parents of youth tennis players. Their face-to-face programme included seven workshops designed to run over a 12-week period for tennis parents with children between the ages of 5 and 10 years. Results of the work suggest the programme was effective in enhancing tennis parents' perceived knowledge, effect, and skills across a range of learning objectives. A subsequent online intervention showed similarly promising results, particularly with respect to improvements in sport parenting efficacy. However, the researchers noted that the effectiveness of any intervention is determined by parents' motivation to learn as well as continual support from key stakeholders such as administrators and coaches. In practice, this means interventions are not a quick fix. Rather, practitioners should attempt to build programmes that are sustainable and meaningful in their outcomes.

Conclusion

As I started at the outset, youth sport cannot operate without families. It is therefore necessary for practitioners to understand and account for the role of family involvement in youth sport. Hopefully within this chapter I have offered some useful insights into how best to optimise family and parent involvement. If and when this mission is accomplished, parents will no longer be relegated to 'hidden' participants in youth sport; rather, they can be utilised as necessary contributors to a successful youth sport experience.

References

- Aspen Institute (2015). *Sport for all, play for life: A playbook to get every kid in the game*. Retrieved from <http://aspenprojectplay.org/sites/default/files/Aspen%20Institute%20Project%20Play%20Report.pdf>.
- Babkes, M. L., & Weiss, M. R. (1999). Parental influence on children's cognitive and affective responses to competitive soccer participation. *Pediatric Exercise Science*, 11, 44–62.
- Beagston, V. L., Elder Jr, G. H., & Purney, N. M. (2005). The life course perspective on ageing: Linked lives, timing, and history. In M. L. Johnson (Ed.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Age and Aging*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Bigelow, B., Moroney, T., & Hall, L. (2001). *Just Let the Kids Play: How to Stop Adults from Ruining Your Child's Fun and Success in Youth Sports*. Deerfield Beach, FL: Health Communications.
- Bremner, K. L. (2012). Parental involvement, pressure, and support in youth sport: A narrative literature review. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 4, 235–248.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1999). Environments in developmental perspective: Theoretical and operational models. In S. L. Friedman & T. D. Wachs (Eds.), *Measuring Environment across the Life Span: Emerging Methods and Concepts* (pp. 3–28). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (2005). *Making Human Beings Human: Bioecological Perspectives on Human Development*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (1998). The ecology of developmental process. In R. M. Lerner (Ed.) & W. Damon (Series Ed.), *Handbook of Child Psychology*, Vol. 1: *Theoretical Models of Human Development* (5th ed., pp. 993–1027). New York, NY: Wiley.
- Côté, J., Baker, J., & Abernethy, B. (2007). Practice and play in the development of sport expertise. In R. Eklund & G. Tenenbaum (Eds.), *Handbook of Sport Psychology* (3rd ed., pp. 184–202). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Daring, N., & Steinberg, L. (1993). Parenting style as context: An integrative model. *Psychological Bulletin*, 113, 487–496.
- Dorsch, T. E., Dunn, C. R., King, M. Q., & Osai, K. V. (2015). *Parent Guide: Evidence-Based Strategies for Parenting in Organized Youth Sport*. Logan, UT: Utah State University Families in Sport Lab.
- Dorsch, T. E., King, M., Dunn, C. R., Osai, K. V., & Tulane, S. (2017). The impact of evidence-based parent education in organized youth sport: A pilot study. *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology*, 29, 199–214.
- 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.
- Dorsch, T. E., Smith, A. L., & McDonough, M. H. (2015). Early socialization of parents through organized youth sport. *Sport, Exercise, and Performance Psychology*, 4, 3–18.
- Dorsch, T. E., Smith, A. L., Wilson, S. R., & McDonough, M. H. (2015). Parent goals and verbal sideline behaviour in organized youth sport. *Sport, Exercise, and Performance Psychology*, 4, 19–35.
- Elder, G. H. (1998). The life course as developmental theory. *Child Development*, 69, 1–12.
- Fraser-Thomas, J., Côté, J., & Deakin, J. (2005). Youth sport programs: An avenue to foster positive youth development. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy*, 10, 19–40.
- Fredricks, J. A., & Eccles, J. S. (2005). Family socialization, gender, and sport motivation and involvement. *Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology*, 27, 3–31.
- Gordin, R. D. (2012). Dr. Rich Gordin. In M. Aoyagi & A. Poczwadowski (Eds.), *Expert Approaches to Sport Psychology: Applied Theories of Performance Excellence* (pp. 37–49). Morgantown, WV: Fitness Information Technology.
- Goold, D., Lauer, L., Rolo, C., Janney, C., & Pennisi, N. (2008). The role of parents in tennis success: Focus group interviews with junior coaches. *The Sport Psychologist*, 22, 18–37.
- Harwood, C. G., & Knight, C. J. (2015). Parenting in youth sport: A position paper on parenting expertise. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, 16, 24–35.
- Holt, N. L., & Knight, C. J. (2014). *Parenting in Youth Sport: From Research to Practice*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Horn, T. S. (2004). Lifespan development in sport and exercise psychology: Theoretical perspectives. In M. R. Weiss (Ed.), *Developmental Sport and Exercise Psychology: A Lifespan Perspective* (pp. 27–71). Morgantown, WV: Fitness Information Technology.
- Horn, T. S., & Horn, J. L. (2007). Family influences on children's sport and physical activity participation, behaviour and psychosocial responses. In G. Tenenbaum & R. C. Eklund (Eds.), *Handbook of Sport Psychology* (3rd ed., pp. 685–711). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- 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.
- Kremer-Sadlik, T., & Kim, J. L. (2007). Lessons from sports: Children's socialization to values through family interaction during sports activities. *Discourse & Society*, 18, 35–52.
- Lewin, K. (1935). *A Dynamic Theory of Personality*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- National Federation of State High School Associations (NFSHA). (2014). High School Athletics Participation Survey. Retrieved from www.nfhs.org/content.aspx?id=3282.
- Smith, S. R., & Hannon, R. R. (2012). *Exploring Family Theories* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Oxford.
- Thrower, S. N., Harwood, C. G., & Spray, C. M. (2016a). Educating and supporting tennis parents: A grounded theory of parents' needs during childhood and early adolescence. *Sport, Exercise, and Performance Psychology*, 5, 107–124.
- Thrower, S. N., Harwood, C. G., & Spray, C. M. (2016b). *Educating and supporting tennis parents: An exploratory online education programme*. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Thrower, S. N., Harwood, C. G., & Spray, C. M. (2017). Educating and supporting tennis parents: An action research study. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 9, 600–618.
- Tudge, J. R. H., Mokrova, I., Hatfield, B. E., & Karnik, R. B. (2009). Uses and misuses of Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory of human development. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 1, 198–210.
- Von Bertalanffy, L. (1968). *General Systems Theory*. New York, NY: Braziller.
- White, J. W., & Klein, D. M. (2008). *Family Theories* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Wuerth, S., Lee, M. J., & Altermann, D. (2004). Parental involvement and athletes' career in youth sport. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, 5, 21–33.