Introduction

More than 80% of North American and European youth participate in organized sport during childhood, adolescence, or emerging adulthood (European Youth Sport Forum, 2017; Sports & Fitness Industry Association, 2016). This participation has been associated with a range of positive biopsychosocial outcomes, both during the years of participation and across the life span (Bailey, 2006; Weiss, 2004). Importantly, youth sport occurs primarily through the complex and repeated interactions of multiple individuals in the youth sport ecosystem. In this sense, youth sport is a ubiquitous group dynamics process. Among the coaches, officials, administrators, volunteers, and family members who engage in youth sport, parents have arguably the most significant impact on young athletes’ sport experiences. Indeed, parents regularly seek opportunities for growth, development, and
socialization for their children in sport settings and, in doing so, they themselves become dynamically involved in their children’s youth sport experiences (Dorsch, Smith, & McDonough, 2009; Fraser-Thomas, Strachan, & Jeffery-Tosoni, 2013).

Although parent involvement is an important component of successful sport participation, recent data indicate that youth sport is increasingly driven by adults and has become less centered on the young athletes who participate (Brenner, 2016). As parents continue to invest a growing percentage of resources into the athletic achievement of their children, the way “appropriate” or “optimal” parent involvement is defined across different stages of development has become an important area of debate among researchers, stakeholders, coaches, and parents. This debate is consequential because parent involvement in extracurricular activities is a group dynamics process that has been linked to child outcomes including physical and mental health (Bailey, 2006; Eime, Young, Harvey, Charity, & Payne, 2013), motivation (Pelletier, Fortier, Vallerand, & Brière, 2001), life skill and sport competency development (Strachan, MacDonald, Fraser-Thomas, & Côté, 2008), and parent–child relationship quality (Dorsch, Smith, & McDonough, 2015). There is substantial evidence to suggest that positive parent involvement can help facilitate the development of adaptive outcomes for youth engaged in organized sport across the life stages of childhood, adolescence, and emerging adulthood. The purpose of the present chapter is therefore to highlight parent involvement in youth sport as an important group dynamics process that occurs across these three formative life stages. Although an extensive review of these stages is beyond the scope of this chapter, we will discuss how interdisciplinary research on family processes and relationships has informed the study of parent involvement during childhood, adolescence, and emerging adulthood, and explicate how this work may be extended through a group dynamics lens.

**Conceptual background and key literature**

**Parent involvement during childhood**

Parents are largely responsible for socializing children into and through sport during the beginning stages of participation (Greendorfer, 2002), and serve as the interpreters of children’s initial experiences (Fredricks & Eccles, 2004). This has led to growing empirical interest in the ways individuals develop as sport parents (Dorsch et al., 2009, 2015), the competencies parents acquire for this dynamic role (Harwood & Knight, 2015), and the
methods by which scholars and practitioners might enhance the involvement of parents in the youth sport setting (Dorsch et al., 2019; Dorsch, King, Dunn, Osai, & Tulane, 2017; Thrower, Harwood, & Spray, 2016).

Parenting children in youth sport is relatively ubiquitous in Western culture (European Youth Sport Forum, 2017; Sports & Fitness Industry Association, 2016). At the earliest stages of youth participation, parents typically serve as the managers of their children’s experiences (Côté, 1999; Harwood & Knight, 2015). This includes finding opportunities for participation, providing financial support, coordinating practice/training schedules and transportation, volunteering to coach and/or fundraise, and other day-to-day responsibilities (Dorsch et al., 2009; Wiersma & Fifer, 2008). These roles and responsibilities are exacerbated for parents who have multiple children in sport simultaneously. Despite these varied roles, it remains unclear in this literature how factors such as role ambiguity, role efficacy, role overload, role satisfaction, and role performance (Chapter 3) may impact parents’ involvement at the earliest stages of youth sport participation.

One of the role responsibilities parents adopt at the earliest stages of youth sport is the fostering of their children’s athletic competencies. In building from the seminal work of Ericsson and Charness (1994) and Bloom (1985), Côté (1999) explored the influence of the family in the development of talent in sport. This interest in how young people progress from novice to expert has led to the contemporary proliferation of popular books (Coyle, 2010) providing parents a “road map” for their children’s pursuit of elite sport participation. Albeit a group dynamics process, one issue with talent development (more specifically, talent identification) at the earliest levels of youth sport is that talent and performance at an early age are not always an accurate predictor of talent and performance as an adult (Abbott, Button, Pepping, & Collins, 2005). Indeed, research in the biopsychosocial domain suggests that children younger in relative age may be overlooked, cut, or given less attention than their early maturing peers, thus limiting their opportunity (and motivation) to develop (Abbott & Collins, 2002; Hancock, Alder, & Côté, 2013).

Empirical and anecdotal evidence suggests that the increasingly professionalized nature of youth sport is forcing parents to assume more responsibility (e.g., money, time, and emotion) for their children’s participation (Dunn, Dorsch, King, & Rothlisberger, 2016; Wiersma & Fifer, 2008). Collectively, the impact of this enhanced managerial role on parents has the potential to lead to enhanced family relationships and parents’ personal growth (Dorsch et al., 2015) but also strained spousal and/or sibling relationships,
reduced leisure and/or social opportunities, decreased job productivity, and increased perceptions of parent pressure for sport performance (Dorsch, Smith, & Dotterer, 2016; Harwood & Knight, 2009). This work has yet to explore family cohesion (or a lack thereof) as an outcome of parent involvement, and could build from past research investigating the role of parent–child warmth and conflict in sport (Dorsch, Smith, et al., 2016).

During the earliest stages of youth sport, parents also serve as role models for their children, engaging in behaviors that set standards for their children while providing a target for imitation or comparison (Fraser-Thomas, Côté, & Deakin, 2005). Although parents who are more active tend to have children who are also active, parents’ own participation in sport (past or present) is not as influential on children compared to the ways parents offer support, encouragement, and feedback in the sport setting, or the overall value they place on sport participation (Horn & Horn, 2007). Indeed, the ways parents communicate with their children (verbally and nonverbally) before, during, and after sport has the potential to impact children’s moral and life skill development (see Gould & Carson, 2008, for review), talent development (Côté, 1999), and youth sport experiences such as enjoyment and burnout (Stein, Raedke, & Glenn, 1999). In building from this work, as well as Holt et al.’s (2017) review of the qualitative positive youth development literature, one area of relatively little understanding is parent and child shared and unshared experiences of sport satisfaction and burnout. Future work conducted through a group dynamics lens could be designed to target group (family) functioning through optimal achievement goals (Harwood, Beauchamp, & Keegan, 2014).

Relevant to this chapter, parents have the potential to influence a number of outcomes for children in sport (Fredricks & Eccles, 2004; Knight & Holt, 2014). For example, recent work has highlighted how children’s perceptions of supportive parent involvement during this stage are associated with greater sport enjoyment, self-esteem, warmth in the parent–child relationship, and motivation to participate (Dorsch, Smith, et al., 2016; Wuerth, Lee, & Alfermann, 2004). In contrast, children’s perceptions of pressuring parent involvement have been linked with fear of failure, anxiety, more conflict in the parent–child relationship, and burnout during this stage (Bois, Lalanne, & Delforge, 2009; Dorsch, Smith, et al., 2016). This work highlights the role of parents in youth sport as a group dynamics process, and has the potential to be fruitfully integrated with research examining the interplay of athletes, coaches, officials, and administrators that comprise the sport ecosystem.
Parent involvement during adolescence

As young athletes transition from childhood to adolescence, they undergo a number of normative physical, cognitive, social, and emotional transitions that make this arguably the most difficult and challenging stage for parenting in sport (Horn, 2004; Kipp, 2018; Smith, Dorsch, & Monsma, 2012). Parents’ roles and responsibilities also change as they transition (alongside their child) from youth to adolescent sport (Côté, 1999; Wylleman and Lavellee, 2004). During this transition, many young athletes reduce the number of sports in which they participate, become more dedicated to one or two sports, engage in higher levels of deliberate practice, and compete in higher-level competitions (Bloom, 1985; Côté, 1999). As a result, parents often become more involved in their child’s sport at the start of this stage and make sacrifices in order to provide additional tangible (i.e., financial and time commitment) and emotional support. However, as athletes progress through this stage (i.e., mid-to-late adolescence), parent involvement typically reduces as adolescents seek greater independence from the family unit. Despite this, parents remain an important source of emotional support to help with injuries, fatigue, setbacks, and pressures associated with higher-level competitions (Bloom, 1985; Côté, 1999).

To gain an in-depth understanding of parent involvement during adolescence, a considerable body of research has examined the influence of different parenting styles and practices on adolescents’ experiences, participation, and development. This work has shown how authoritative (Baumrind, 1971) and autonomy-supportive (Grolnick, 2003) parenting are positively associated with self-determined motivation and task-orientated behavior among youth, as well as higher levels of sport satisfaction, athletic engagement, overall well-being, and adaptive perfectionism, and lower levels of norm-breaking behavior in adolescent athletes (Amorose, Anderson-Butcher, Newman, Fraina, & Iachini, 2016; Gagné, Ryan, & Bargmann, 2003; Holt, Tamminen, Black, Mandigo, & Fox, 2009; Juntumaa, Keskivaara, & Punamäki, 2005; Sapieja, Dunn, & Holt, 2011). In contrast, authoritarian or more controlling parenting styles have been linked to reduced self-esteem, higher levels of perfectionism, and increased chances of norm-breaking behavior (Gagné et al., 2003; Juntumaa et al., 2005; Sapieja et al., 2011). These findings highlight the importance of parents remaining interested in, knowledgeable about, and involved in their children’s sport during adolescence, while also facilitating a sense of autonomy (e.g., options to choose, involvement in decision-making, opportunities to solve
problems) and providing appropriate structure (i.e., clear and consistent boundaries; Holt et al., 2009).

Beyond the broader parenting styles, many researchers have explored the specific behaviors and practices parents display and their influence on adolescent outcomes (Gould, Lauer, Rolo, Jannes, & Pennisi, 2008; Lauer, Gould, Roman, & Pierce, 2010). For instance, parents’ positive and supportive behaviors are associated with greater sport enjoyment, continued participation, and higher self-esteem (Fraser-Thomas, Côté, & Deakin, 2008; Leff & Hoyle, 1995; Wuerth et al., 2004), while negative or pressuring behaviors have been linked with fear of failure, anxiety, and burnout during this stage (Bois et al., 2009; Leff & Hoyle, 1995; Sagar & Lavalle, 2010). However, the ways in which adolescents perceive specific parenting behaviors appears to be influenced by the time and place they occur, the characteristics of the parent and child, and the quality of the parent–child relationship (Amado, Sánchez-Oliva, D., González-Ponce, I., Pulido-González, J. J., & Sánchez-Miguel, 2015; Dorsch, Smith, et al., 2016; Elliot & Drummond, 2017; Knight, Little, Harwood, & Goodger, 2016; Ullrich-French & Smith, 2006).

Parents also influence adolescents’ experiences and development in youth sport groups through the motivational climate they initiate. Studies have shown that when parents are perceived to place an emphasis on individual improvement, progress, and effort during this stage (i.e., mastery/task-oriented climates), they increase adolescents’ self-esteem (O’Rourke, Smith, Smoll, & Cumming, 2014), sport competence, enjoyment (Atkins, Johnson, Force, & Petrie, 2015), and intention to continue participating in sport (Le Bars, Gernigon, & Ninot, 2009). In contrast, when parents focus on outperforming others and social comparison (i.e., performance/ego-oriented climate), they can increase adolescents’ anxiety (O’Rourke et al., 2014) and perfectionistic cognitions (Appleton, Hall, & Hill, 2011). These findings support the notion that parents remain an important source of competency-based information during adolescence. Moreover, this work highlights the importance of parents creating a mastery-oriented climate to help adolescents distinguish between effort and ability while adopting more self- (rather than other-) referenced goals (Nicholls, 1984).

Beyond parenting styles, behaviors, and motivational climates, the quality of parents’ relationships with their children, as well as with coaches and significant others (e.g., spouses and parent peers) within youth sport groups, also plays an important role in adolescents’ experiences and development. For instance, Ullrich-French and Smith (2006) illustrated how adolescent team sport athletes’ perceptions of relationship quality with their mother
and/or father predicted higher levels of enjoyment, perceived competence, and self-determined motivation and lower levels of stress. Furthermore, parents can facilitate group functioning by helping their children develop an effective relationship with coaches and peers by engaging in frequent communications and working exchanges with coaches (i.e., about their child’s specific needs) and helping their children to resolve conflicts (Jowett & Timson-Katchis, 2005).

**Parent involvement during emerging adulthood**

Parents remain an integral part of athletes’ careers during the latter stages of youth sport participation, particularly if athletes devote significant training time to perform and achieve at an elite level (Côté, 1999; Wyllereman, Alfermann, & Lavallee, 2004). Elite sport participation occurs during the developmental period of emerging adulthood (ages 18–29), which bridges the end of adolescence and the beginning of young adulthood whereby individuals gradually transition from other- to self-dependence (Arnett, 2015). Although both sport (Côté, 1999) and developmental theories (Arnett, 2015) identify parents as key socialization agents, parents’ sport involvement during emerging adulthood is vastly understudied compared to involvement in sport during childhood and adolescence. Understanding how parents are involved during this period of autonomy seeking and peak performance is warranted to clarify parents’ roles in supporting athletes’ sport and psychosocial development.

Over the last 2 decades, scholarship on family processes during emerging adulthood has documented that parent–child relationships become more mutual and intimate (e.g., viewing each other as near-equals and friends, experiencing less conflict; Aquilino, 2006; Arnett, 2015), and that parent involvement becomes more indirect (e.g., providing emotional support, texting; Fingerman & Yahirun, 2015; Lowe & Dotterer, 2017). These changes are integral for positive family functioning and emerging adult development (Settersten, 2012). However, renegotiating the parental presence can be difficult because emerging adults often still rely on parents as they become independent (Lowe & Dotterer, 2017) and because the parent and child roles lack clarity during this life stage (Padilla-Walker, Nelson, & Knapp, 2014). Parents are thus tasked with the difficult balancing act of providing support while respecting emerging adults’ burgeoning autonomy. This conflict is especially relevant for parents of elite athletes given their long-term involvement in their child’s sport career. From a group dynamics perspective, discerning the parents’ role is likely a great challenge for elite
athletes who must manage role expectations of themselves and their network of extrafamilial supports including teammates and coaches. Because role ambiguity has implications for role conflict, satisfaction, and performance, future work should investigate how parents and elite athletes negotiate their changing roles.

Parent involvement in elite sport was not clearly defined until 2016, when Dorsch et al. identified four domains of involvement in sport (i.e., support giving, contact, academic engagement, and athletic engagement) and linked them to NCAA Division I student-athletes’ academic, athletic, and developmental outcomes (Dorsch, Lowe, Dotterer, & Lyons, 2016a; Dorsch, Lowe, Dotterer, Lyons, & Barker, 2016b). Parent support giving is the provision of tangible (e.g., financial) and nontangible (e.g., advice) support, and it is normative for parents to gradually reduce support as self-sufficiency is acquired (Fingerman & Yahirun, 2015). Parent contact is the frequency with which parents and emerging adults communicate using various modes of contact, with cell/mobile phones being the most popular (Lefkowitz, Vukman, & Loken, 2012). Parent academic engagement is the degree to which parents are interested and actively involved in their college student’s academic lives, including discussing course grades and material (Harper, Sax, & Wolf, 2012). Parent athletic engagement is the degree to which parents are interested and actively involved in their child’s sport career, including listening to their child about sport problems and respecting decisions about sport careers (Dorsch et al., 2016b). Recent work supports the generalizability of this multidimensional definition by showing similar average levels of involvement across the NCAA Divisions and similar links between involvement and student-athlete experiences across divisions (Lowe et al., 2018).

Research on college, professional, and Olympic athletes has revealed each aspect of involvement to be prominent and of utmost importance for promoting adaptive outcomes (Wylleman, Knop, Verdet, & Cecič-Erpič, 2007). For instance, about 75% of US student-athletes report they “sometimes” or “often” ask their family for financial and emotional support (NCAA, 2017), and about 40% of a sample of US student-athletes report texting with parents daily (Dorsch, Smith, et al., 2016; Lowe et al., 2018). Across the United States, about 80% of elite athletes report their family to be “appropriately involved” in both their academics and athletics during this stage, with training and coaching issues being commonly discussed sport topics with family (NCAA, 2017). Qualitative work also reveals that parents help ease stress associated with poor academic performance (Cosh & Tully, 2015). Regarding
Parent involvement in youth sport links to adaptive outcomes, findings show positive and negative implications of involvement. For instance, all aspects of involvement are negatively associated with US student-athletes’ independence; however, academic engagement positively predicts academic self-efficacy and athletic satisfaction (Dorsch et al., 2016a; Lowe et al., 2018). Similarly, although cell/mobile phones facilitate a connection between parents and busy elite athletes, more communication about alcohol use and its consequences has the potential to elicit higher levels of heavy drinking behaviors among college athletes (Turrisi, Mastroleo, Mallett, Larimer, & Kilmer, 2007). Importantly, parent athletic engagement supports positive mental health, academic, and sport outcomes, but detracts from emotional independence (Dorsch et al., 2016a; Lowe et al., 2018).

Overall, although still in its infancy, this burgeoning literature demonstrates the importance of parents’ continued presence during the elite stage of sport participation and highlights the challenges with renegotiating parents’ involvement during emerging adulthood. The differential links between involvement and athlete outcomes show that there is a fine line between appropriate involvement and overinvolvement, which is likely blurred by the ambiguous parental role during this stage. As such, research is warranted to clarify how parents can tailor their involvement to match their child’s changing developmental needs within the high-stakes context of elite sport. Utilizing a group dynamics lens for this research would be especially useful, as no work to date has examined how parent involvement in sport affects family cohesion (or lack thereof), and in turn contributes or detracts from elite athletes’ performance and other important outcomes including burnout and psychosocial development.

**Applying a group dynamics lens to future sport parenting research**

Parenting in sport is a group dynamics process insofar as it occurs among multiple individuals, who (sometimes) have differing motivations and fulfill different roles, at the level of complex and repeated interactions. These dynamic interactions not only influence children and parents independently, but also have the potential to impact the family unit in its entirety. Past research indicates that approximately 7 in 10 sport parents feel their family’s home life revolves around the athletic schedules of one or more of their children (Jambor, 1999). More recent research suggests that families devote, in some cases, as much as 10% (per child) of their gross annual income to
youth sport participation (Dunn et al., 2016). Through a group dynamics lens, youth sport involvement has also been shown to influence household chore allocation, family members’ social and leisure activities, eating and sleeping patterns, and family cohesiveness (Dorsch et al., 2009; Snyder & Purdy, 1982; Weiss & Hayashi, 1995). Despite these important family-level outcomes, few researchers have adopted a traditional group dynamics approach when examining the complex interplay of parents and youth in organized sport settings. Given the large growth in the popularity and intensity of organized youth sports programs, especially at the younger age groups, investigating the effects of youth sport participation on other key members of the family (i.e., parents and siblings) and broader sport community (i.e., coaches, teammates, officials, and administrators) represents an important path toward a deeper understanding of the youth sport system.

To address the reciprocal effects of youth sport participation on parents and children (Dorsch et al., 2009), research would also benefit from considering the personal characteristics (e.g., motivational orientations, ability) these individuals bring to recreational, travel, and elite sports contexts (Hansen, Larson, & Dworkin, 2003), and the time over which sport participation occurs—as is a focus of this chapter (Elder, 1998). Each of these factors shapes the biopsychosocial outcomes experienced by children in sport (Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield, & Karnik, 2009), making it unlikely that the group dynamics processes of two families are identical. In short, youth and adults act as socializing agents for one another in the context of sport. Therefore, viewing transactional processes (e.g., communication) as reciprocal and enduring entails studying not just its outcomes, but also the dynamic processes by which it occurs and the contexts in which it takes place (Bell, 1979; Bell & Chapman, 1986). In this light, scholarship designed to understand sport for youth, adolescents, and emerging adulthoods should be designed to target (1) the ways in which parents socialize their children, (2) how parents are, in turn, influenced by their children, and (3) the context in which their children’s activities take place (Dorsch et al., 2009, 2015; Holt et al., 2009).

Parent–child interaction in youth sport has been described herein as a developmental process influenced by personal characteristics of the parent and child, as well as the broader characteristics of the social context that evolve over time. A theoretical lens that unifies these components is the bioecological perspective whereby the most mature form of this theory by Bronfenbrenner (1999, 2005) frames development as a function of four systems of influence: specifically, person, process, context, and time (i.e., PPCT
Within the PPCT framework, proximal processes (i.e., the day-to-day interactions with significant others in social contexts that result in progressive accommodation) are considered the most important mechanism of development. This tenet aligns nicely with contemporary group dynamics literature in that it is focused on individuals’ thoughts, feelings, and actions, and the manner in which they influence (and are influenced by) other individuals.

**Conclusion**

Broad questions concerning the construct of parent involvement remain, and further research is needed across childhood, adolescence, and emerging adulthood to more fully understand the role of parents in sport. In a recent citation network analysis of research on parent involvement in youth sport, Dorsch, Vierimaa, and Plucinik (2019) identified 199 peer-reviewed publications across 77 academic outlets since 1968. Few of these studies had investigated the antecedents or outcomes of parent involvement in sport through a group dynamics lens. Answering questions about, for instance, what factors prompt parents to directly contact coaches about playing time issues versus support their athlete in developing strategies to discuss playing time with their coach (i.e., overinvolvement vs. appropriate involvement) would be integral to informing programs developed to promote positive athletic engagement.

A review of the extant sport parenting literature also suggests that most studies have been cross-sectional and only represent athletes’ (not parents’) perspectives. As such, it is difficult to assess group processes or speculate about the developmental trajectory of involvement-outcome links across young athletes’ participation. Future researchers are thus encouraged to employ longitudinal designs and collect multi-method data from multiple reporters engaged in the youth sport system. Relatedly, future work would also benefit from garnering more diversity in athlete participants, as exploring questions about the generalizability of extant knowledge beyond Western samples is needed (Dorsch et al., 2019).

Last, most measures derived in the extant youth sport literature have been subjective in nature and based on outcomes experienced by youth in the sport context. Although these measures provide much needed insight into the participation experiences of young people in sport, future researchers should also include objective athletic, academic, social, and developmental outcomes in their assessments of the youth sport system. Future
work should also be informed by other individual- and contextual-level processes, including role perceptions in the family, gender effects on family members’ sport experiences, family cohesion in sport settings, and transmission of emotional intelligence and achievement goals from parents to children to provide a more comprehensive understanding of parent involvement in youth sport. Such an approach would move the field toward a more dynamic understanding of the youth sport system while promoting further interest in the area of group processes in sport.

References


The Power of Groups In Youth Sport


