This item was submitted to [Loughborough's Research Repository](#) by the author.
Items in Figshare are protected by copyright, with all rights reserved, unless otherwise indicated.

A phenomenological interpretation of the parent-child relationship in elite youth football

PLEASE CITE THE PUBLISHED VERSION

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/spy0000052>

PUBLISHER

© American Psychological Association

VERSION

AM (Accepted Manuscript)

PUBLISHER STATEMENT

This work is made available according to the conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0) licence. Full details of this licence are available at:
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

LICENCE

CC BY-NC-ND 4.0

REPOSITORY RECORD

Harwood, Chris G., Nicola J. Clarke, and Christopher J. Cushion. 2019. "A Phenomenological Interpretation of the Parent-child Relationship in Elite Youth Football". figshare. <https://hdl.handle.net/2134/19295>.

**A Phenomenological Interpretation of the Parent-Child Relationship in Elite Youth
Football**

Accepted: Sport, Exercise and Performance Psychology

Abstract

Youth sport parenting research, in psychology, has methodologically prioritised individual level analysis of the behaviours, perceptions or needs of parents and young athletes. While this has contributed greatly to understanding the role of parents in sport, children's parenting preferences and the challenges of parenting in this unique setting, an exploration of parenting in youth sport from a dyadic, inter-individual perspective has received far less attention. Accordingly, the purpose of this research was to explore parent's and children's experience of their interaction and relationship, in the context of elite youth football. Eight parent-player dyads, recruited from English professional football club youth academies, participated in phenomenological interviews. A two-stage analysis process was performed to explore individual parent and player experiences and examine how accounts related dyadically. Findings present a detailed description and interpretation of the parent-player relationship; as one constituted by relations with other family members, an embodied sense of closeness, the temporal significance of football transitions, and gender relations. This research advocates the need for a view of parenting in youth sport that accounts for how interaction is experienced by both parents and children and highlights the importance of conceptualising parenting as an embodied, temporal process, constituted through interaction and the social context.

Key words: Parenting, dyadic, youth sport, soccer, qualitative.

A Phenomenological Interpretation of the Parent-Child Relationship in Elite Youth Football

Parents are a unique influence in the sporting lives of children and an enduring feature of the youth sport landscape. To understand parenting in this context, sport psychology research has predominantly focused on identifying “optimal” parenting involvement to enhance children’s experiences, development and achievement in sport (e.g., Harwood & Knight, 2015; Knight & Holt, 2014). Methodologically, studies have prioritised analysis at the individual level – exploring the behaviours, perceptions or needs of parents and/or young athletes. This has contributed greatly to understanding the role of parents in youth sport (e.g., Côté, 1999; Holt, Tamminen, Black, Mandigo & Fox, 2009; Lauer, Gould, Roman & Pierce, 2010b), children’s preferences for parenting practices in sport (e.g., Knight, Boden & Holt, 2010; Knight, Neely & Holt, 2011; Omli & Wiese-Bjornstal, 2011) and the complexity and challenges of parenting in this setting (e.g., Clarke & Harwood, 2014; Dorsch, Smith & McDonough, 2009; 2015; Wiersma & Fifer, 2008).

However, an emphasis on analysis at the individual level, risks obscuring an understanding of parenting in youth sport from a dyadic, inter-individual perspective. Dyadic research seeks to understand something of the complex and situated nature of relationships by examining *relational phenomena* that occur between individuals, such as the content, diversity, quality and pattern of interactions, commitment, conflict and power (Hinde, 1976; 1996). Drawing upon a symbolic interactionist perspective (Blumer, 1969), Poczwardowski, Barott and Jowett (2006) described interpersonal relationships as “a dynamic product of social interaction in which interpretations and meanings are actively negotiated by social actors” (p.130). From this perspective, parenting can be viewed as a dynamic process, constituted through interaction with significant others and the social-cultural context. Research which seeks to explore the social, interpersonal, situated nature of parenting,

therefore, has the capacity to further contribute to existing knowledge of parenting in youth sport. A focus on an exploration of the parent-child relationship in the context of youth sport, offers one such direction for research.

Social and contextual influences on the parenting process in youth sport have previously been highlighted. For example, Knight and Holt (2013) described how parents' experiences of watching junior tennis tournaments were affected by children's performances, on-court behaviours and emotional reactions to matches, alongside the focus on ranking points and organisation of tournaments. Similarly, from longitudinal research with four families over the first 15 months of a child's involvement in organised youth sport, Dorsch et al. (2015) illustrated how parents adjusted their behaviour in response to their child's participation. This interactive process was shaped by the characteristics of the parent, the reciprocal influence of the child and the social context, and supported the authors' previous recommendation; that the quality of the relationship and the sport context in which the relationship exists should be considered in future parenting research (Dorsch et al., 2009). Holt et al. (2009) also analysed interviews with parents and players from the same family, supported by participant observation, to explore the parenting styles and associated practices used by parents of under-12 and under-14 age group female football players. The findings suggested that children reciprocally influenced their parents' behaviours when they demonstrated responsibility, or challenged unsupportive comments for example. However, this study was limited by interviewing children for the purposes of triangulating parents' descriptions, rather than to represent children's perspectives of parenting. Although these studies have illustrated how the parent-child relationship is shaped by the social context, there is a tendency for findings of this nature to be located within a discussion of the determinants of parents' behaviours and/or associated child effects (e.g., Harwood & Knight, 2015; Holt et al., 2009; Holt, Tamminen, Black, Sehn & Wall, 2008). This can isolate parenting from its situated,

interpersonal context and reduce parent-child relationships to a set of tasks to be achieved (Faircloth, Hoffman & Layne, 2013; Lee, 2014), if the reciprocal and flexible nature of parenting is not recognised. As Knight and Holt's (2014) grounded theory of parenting in youth tennis indicated, parents can adapt their involvement over time, dependent on their individual child's needs and goals. Also, the extent to which players perceived that parents understood their tennis journey, the challenges of competing and how sport fitted within their overall lives was a salient feature of children's experiences.

In addition to the reciprocal nature of parent-child relationships in sport, research using qualitative methods has also begun to describe aspects of these relationships (Clarke & Harwood, 2014; Dorsch et al., 2009; Kay, 2009; Lauer, Gould, Roman & Pierce, 2010a). Examining the extent to which fathers can fulfil contemporary expectations of parenting through youth sport, Kay (2009) highlighted that fathers perceived that their son's participation in junior grassroots football provided an opportunity to develop a shared interest and connect emotionally with their sons. Football was an activity through which fathers could become more involved with their son's lives and experience "male bonding" (p.114). As none of the participants had any prior direct involvement with football, Kay (2009) interpreted that fathers became involved through their desire to be a good parent and develop an involved and emotionally close relationship with their son – reflecting the prevalent societal expectations for fathering (Dermott, 2003; Jeanes & Magee, 2011). This illustrates the influence of cultural constructions of parenting on the meanings parents attach to their relationships with their child.

Supporting the finding that parent-child relationships have the potential to be enhanced through a shared experience of sport, Clarke and Harwood (2014) in their study of parenting experiences in elite youth football, described how the experience of being part of a professional club, sharing a passion for football and travelling to and from matches together

heightened parents' sense of closeness in their relationship with their son; highlighting the influence of the sport context on parent-child relationships. However, like Kay (2009), this study did not explore whether players had also experienced this increased closeness.

Although the parent-child relationship was not explicitly examined by Dorsch et al., (2009), in group interviews parents described how their involvement in their child's organised team sport programme provided the opportunity for additional and enhanced communication, which led to a perceived higher quality parent-child relationship. Relationships were described as fluid and dynamic, as friction between parent and child could also be encountered. Similarly, in a retrospective interview study with parent-child dyads, Lauer et al. (2010a) identified that parents facilitated smooth, difficult or turbulent development pathways for elite young tennis players. Although many of the observations made by Lauer et al. focused on parenting behaviours and the impact of these on player outcomes, other findings reflected aspects of the parent-child relationship. For example, the presence of frequent or unresolved conflict (arising from parents' desire to control the tennis experience, or players failing to respond to parents' advice) led to strained relationships and regret in later years, with some players perceiving that parents' love and support were conditional on tennis success. This underlines the importance of understanding how interpersonal phenomena such as conflict is experienced and negotiated by *both* parents and players. Exploring parent-child interactions in the present, rather than retrospectively, may also contribute to extending knowledge of this relationship in sport.

In summary, the predominant focus on delineating parenting involvement and associated child outcomes in youth sport through analysis of individual-level constructs, has meant an understanding of parent-child relationships from a dyadic perspective remains a relatively unexplored but potentially fruitful avenue for research. Studies describing aspects of this relationship in sport have drawn attention to the dynamic and complex nature of

parent-child interactions, highlighting that relationship quality, the context in which interactions occur, and both parents' and players' experiences of interaction such as closeness and conflict should be considered in future research (Clarke & Harwood, 2014; Dorsch et al., 2009; Kay, 2009; Lauer et al., 2010a) – yet an examination of the parent-child relationship in youth sport was not a specific aim of these studies. Therefore, there is a need firstly to describe the parent-child relationship in detail and to understand how interaction is experienced by both parents and children. Accordingly, the purpose of this research was to explore parent's and children's experience of their interaction and relationship, in the context of elite youth football.

English football offers a unique and useful setting in which to study parent-child relationships. Research has begun to illustrate some of the difficulties of parenting in this highly challenging, competitive culture (Clarke & Harwood, 2014; Harwood, Drew & Knight, 2010). Becoming a professional footballer is a common aspiration among young players, yet few will progress to be offered a full-time playing contract (Cushion & Jones, 2006). For parents, managing the time and financial commitment required for players to participate in elite training and competition programmes, together with the emotional demands of preparing their child for the potential of deselection, can be a stressful experience (Harwood et al., 2010). Parents of players identified as talented can also experience enhanced status and a heightened responsibility to fulfil societal expectations to facilitate their child's development (Clarke & Harwood, 2014). Therefore, the high risk high reward nature of elite youth sport can amplify the potential influence of the social context on parent-child relationships.

A phenomenological approach, which is concerned with describing subjective experience and understanding how this is shaped by the social context, offers much potential for exploring relational phenomena such as parent-child relationships, as it foregrounds the

assumption that meaning is constructed between a person and their world, rather than through a cognitive process, or as a response to behaviour (Langdridge, 2008). Furthermore, the phenomenological focus on how the social and material world is experienced *as lived* (by particular bodies, in particular places, at particular times) allows for an in-depth understanding of how interactions are interpreted by both parents and players. Previous phenomenological studies have described parenting as an embodied, intentional *pedagogic relation* in which parents orientate towards their child's future and their responsibility of care and children experience a fundamental sense of support and security that empowers them "to be and to become" (van Manen, 1990 p.59). The shared experience of lived time and space can be enriching for parents and children when their reciprocal influence is felt and recognised, but can also lead to vulnerability, when parents experience a lack of control or knowledge of how to act, or children feel parents are unresponsive (De Mol & Buysse, 2008).

This study endeavours to extend existing research by providing a detailed description and interpretation of the parent-child relationship in elite youth football. Specifically, an existential phenomenological approach was selected for this study, guided by Ashworth's lifeworld analysis (2003a; 2003b). A focus on the phenomenological lifeworld anchors research in understanding everyday lived-experience and explicitly attends to peoples' experiences of relations with others. In addition, this research was informed by van Manen's (1990) hermeneutic (interpretative) phenomenological approach, to develop a richer understanding of the parent-child relationship. Drawing on Gadamer's (1975) position that "[t]hat which can be understood is language" (p.491), which proposes that being *pre-exists* language, but is *expressed through* language, van Manen's phenomenological project emphasises the role of language in constituting experience. As Langdridge (2007) summarises, "we always speak from somewhere, from a position dependent on our history and culture" (p.42); therefore a focus on language recognises that in dyadic research

interviews participants reflect upon their relations with others, and that this interpretative process is influenced by individuals' social, cultural and historical backgrounds.

Methods

Research Context

In England, the Premier League's youth football performance pathway is delivered by professional football clubs through their academy programmes. Academies provide programmes of coaching, games, sports science support and education for players across the performance pathway, to "create a fully integrated environment servicing all aspects of the players' development" (EPPP, 2011 p.18). The pathway comprises three distinct phases; the foundation phase (under-5 to under-11 age group players), the youth development phase (under-12 to under-16 age group players) and the professional development phase (under-17 to under-21 age group players). Clubs can register up to a maximum of 30 players per age group, reducing to 20 in the under-15 and under-16 squads, and 15 in the professional development phase squads (The Football League, 2014).

Youth development phase football players, which this study focused upon, are provided with between 12 and 16 hours of evening coaching and weekend competitive matches per week. In addition, in 2011 a hybrid training model was introduced to the academy programme, where young players take time off school to attend daytime training. Players can stay within the academy system for a number of years requiring a significant commitment from players and parents alike. As academy players in the youth development phase can live up to a maximum of 90 minutes travel time from the training ground, parents have an important role to play in transporting their children to training and home matches. Aspiring footballers who successfully progress through the youth development phase will be offered a scholarship to train full-time at the academy for a further two years. At the end of this apprenticeship, a small number of players may be offered a professional playing contract.

The remaining players will be deselected or 'released' from the club. Currently, on average, nine new young players advance from the academy system into first team Premier League football each year (The Football Association, 2014).

Participants

Ethical approval was obtained from the university's ethics committee and all participants gave informed consent. Mothers, fathers and players from three English professional football club youth academies were purposively sampled (i.e., had experienced the phenomenon of interest), guided by maximum variation sampling (Patton, 2002). Variation between participants allows similarities and differences in how a phenomena is experienced to be highlighted (Langdrige, 2007). Therefore, mothers and fathers from one and two-parent families across the youth development phase were recruited to enable a range of parent and player experiences to be examined. Eight parent-player dyads participated in this study; four mothers and four fathers aged between 40 and 49 years ($M = 44.75$), of players aged between 12 and 17 years ($M = 14$). Participants described their ethnicity as White British ($n = 8$), Black African ($n = 2$), African British ($n = 1$), African Caribbean & Bengali Spanish ($n = 1$), Spanish Bengali ($n = 1$), White Asian ($n = 1$), White & Black African ($n = 1$) and White & Black Caribbean ($n = 1$). Parents self-identified as the person most involved in their son's football participation.

Data Collection

Dyadic research offers a powerful method for understanding interaction and relationships and has been used extensively within family research (Morgan, Ataie, Carder & Hoffman, 2013; Wittenborn, Dolbin-MacNab & Keiley, 2013). Dyadic interviewing, where two people who share a relationship are interviewed separately, allows each person to discuss an experience from their own perspective and also reflect upon their relationship. Interview data can then be explored from an individual and a dyadic perspective, examining overlaps

and contrasts between accounts (Eisikovits & Koren, 2010). Using separate dyadic interviews enabled both parent and player experiences of academy football and interaction with the other to be collected.

Participants took part in a phenomenological semi-structured interview, held at parents' homes or at academy training grounds. Parent and player information sheets and consent forms were sent to participants explaining; the purpose of the research; the format of the interviews; issues pertaining to confidentiality and withdrawal; and how research findings would be used. To ensure players were able to give an informed indication of their willingness to participate, each interview was preceded by a discussion with the researcher to allow participants the opportunity to ask any questions they had. It was emphasised that there was no expectation for them to participate, that consent could be withdrawn at any time, and that participants should consider themselves experts on the research topic. Players were interviewed first, in rooms accessible to parents (or coaches) but where conversations could not be overheard. Four parents also participated in a follow up interview, at the request of the researcher, to discuss certain aspects of their experience more fully. Total interview time was between 33 and 182 minutes ($M = 62$) for players and 40 and 237 minutes ($M = 97$) for parents. The first stage of the player interviews was guided by questions which focused on participants' subjective experiences of playing academy football. The opening question; "tell me about your experience of playing football from when you first began to the present day", was designed to encourage players to reflect upon and share their experiences in their own words. Subsequent questions explored their present, everyday experiences of playing football. The second stage of the player interviews concentrated on players' experience of interaction with their parents. The purpose of these questions was to prompt players to reflect upon their relationship with their parent, in the context of football. Follow up questions were used to ask players to elaborate and provide more detailed descriptions. Parent interviews

followed a similar format, but rather focused firstly, on their experiences of being a parent of an elite youth footballer and secondly, on their experience of interaction with their son in relation to football. Both interview guides can be found in Appendix A. Interviews were audio recorded and all verbal talk transcribed. Pseudonyms were chosen for each participant and for any person or organisation referred to by name in the interviews to provide confidentiality.

Data Analysis

Analysis began by reflecting upon each interview directly after it had concluded and audio recording initial impressions and interpretations, which were later used as prompts to write research diary notes. These notes assisted in enhancing reflexivity – a process of “continually reflecting upon interpretations of both our own experience and the phenomena being studied” (Finlay, 2014 p.130) – by checking that initial, instinctive interpretations were not obscuring alternative understandings.

Interview transcripts were explored using the “selective” and “wholistic” reading approaches described by van Manen (1990 p.93), from within a phenomenological attitude, which seeks to set aside taken-for-granted assumptions about the world and remain open to seeing phenomena “afresh” (Finlay, 2014 p.122). Firstly, transcripts were read several times while listening to the respective audio recording, and sections of the text which seemed particularly essential to the participants’ individual experience were highlighted, creating meaning units in the data. Descriptive and interpretative notes for each meaning unit were entered into an analysis table, which differentiated between descriptions related to participants’ phenomenological lifeworld and to the parent-child relationship. An analysis extract is shown in Appendix B. Next, a wholistic reading of each transcript was used to understand the overall meaning of participants’ descriptions and ensure that idiosyncratic interpretations did not move beyond the data.

A two-stage analysis process was performed to examine how the individual parent and player accounts related dyadically. In the first stage, meaning units identified in each interview were interpreted in relation to the seven universal features or ‘fractions’ of the phenomenological lifeworld as described by Ashworth (2003a; 2003b), paying attention to links between them. This produced a set of thematic interpretations for each individual participant. The seven lifeworld fractions are:

- selfhood (what the phenomenon means for social identity, agency and voice);
- sociality (how the phenomenon affects relations with others);
- embodiment (the role of the body in experiencing the phenomenon, including gender and emotion);
- temporality (the lived-sense of past, present and future);
- spatiality (meanings of space and place in relation to the phenomenon);
- project (how the phenomenon affects people’s ability to pursue life activities); and
- discourse (how language is drawn upon to describe the phenomenon).

Secondly, parent and player themes were analysed together by undertaking a wholistic reading (van Manen, 1990) of both transcripts and searching for patterns in the data from a dyadic perspective. Informed by Eisikovits and Koren’s (2010) guidance for dyadic interview analysis, particular attention was paid to overlaps and contrasts in participants’ accounts. For example, were experiences described similarly but interpreted differently, or vice versa? In addition, how language was used to construct participants’ descriptions was examined closely (in recognition of the constitutive role of language) to avoid uncritically combining individual data and making conclusions about the parent-player relationship. Moving between the dyadic and individual analyses allowed for different interpretations of individual themes and unique relational themes to be constructed.

Drawing upon Gadamer’s (1975) concept that understanding is developed through

conversation in which we seek a *fusion of horizons* towards agreement, van Manen (1990) describes his phenomenological approach as a “conversational relation that the researcher develops with the notion he or she wishes to explore and understand” (p.97-98), and emphasises how transforming thematic statements into phenomenologically sensitive writing is a creative, hermeneutic process. Therefore, writing was embraced as an additional method of analysis, in which detailed descriptions of each parent-player relationship were produced from individual and dyadic themes. Extracts of this writing were shared with research peers experienced in qualitative research and knowledgeable of social psychological theories to facilitate further conversation and reflection upon analysis. Collaborators offered additional interpretative lenses which could be used to enhance understanding of participants’ experiences. Finally, the writing and rewriting process (van Manen, 1990) assisted in the production of descriptions which present phenomenological accounts of the parent-player relationship and interprets how this shapes the parenting process.

Findings and Discussion

Analyses of the participants’ individual and relational experiences are drawn upon to consider the implications for understanding the phenomenology of parent-player relationships in elite youth football. In particular, the findings are interpreted using the phenomenological concepts of relationality, embodiment and temporality, as the lifeworld fractions that appeared most relevant to participants’ experiences (Ashworth, 2003a; 2003b; van Manen, 1990). Although all eight parent-player dyads inform the findings, some more detailed examples are presented, to capture something of the complexity of participants’ experiences. The family context for each individual dyad is provided in Appendix C. The findings presented are not claimed to represent a ‘true’ version of reality and it is acknowledged that other readings of the data are possible and may offer alternative interpretations and understandings of the parent-player relationship.

Embodiment: Closeness

Across the parent-player dyads, football was a shared experience which shaped their relationships and was significant in their lives. Players described spending more time with, or feeling closer to their parent through football. This was reflected in parents' accounts, supporting previous findings that parents valued the opportunity to interact more with their child that sport provided (Dorsch et al., 2009; Wiersma & Fifer, 2008). This closeness in parent-player relationships can be described as a key feature of participants' lived-experiences, which manifested in various embodied ways. For example, parents experienced excitement from the buzz of the Sunday morning pre-match routine, pride when players felt able to ask for feedback to be given in a different way and uncertainty about the fragility of their son's academy place. Players described feeling frustrated or embarrassed if they did not play well or were substituted when parents were watching, happy when parents gave them positive feedback, and a sense of security from the knowledge that their parent would be there for them if they were released by the club. These emotions can be described as part of the embodied experience of closeness in the parent-player relationship and - following Burkitt's (1999) interpretation of emotions – were constituted through social interaction and shaped by the elite, competitive culture of football academies.

For one non-resident father, the connection with his son that developed through football was particularly pertinent:

Rob: My relationship with him is extremely close we are very very close. And I think that's because we don't live together, you know so the time he spends with me is quality time only. I can't remember the last time I've told my son off, because the time I spend with him is quality time

Josh also reflected on the closeness he experienced in his relationship with his father:

Author: Do you think football has influenced your relationship with your dad at all?

346 Josh: Yeah. It's made us become a lot closer. And cos we both love football it's like
347 we both know what to talk about if you get what I mean so like we have a lot to talk
348 about

349 Author: In what way do you mean that it's sort of made you closer?

350 Josh: Well sometimes like cos I come up here a lot of times in the week, he like
351 brings me up like every day, and like we've been with each other like the whole way
352 basically. So yeah if I didn't really have football it wouldn't have- like we wouldn't
353 have been like this close

354 The shared experience of football enabled Rob to participate in "involved fathering",
355 even though he did not live with his son. In doing so, he met the societal expectations for
356 fathers to have an active role in parenting and to develop open, close relationships with their
357 children (Dermott, 2003; Jeanes & Magee, 2011). Having a high-quality father-child
358 relationship has also been associated with lower psychological distress in non-resident fathers
359 (Vogt Yuan, in press). This research, therefore, supports the claim that youth sport provides a
360 setting where fathers can enact involved parenting (Coakley, 2006; Kay, 2009; Trussell &
361 Shaw, 2012) and furthermore, that this can influence perceptions of relationship quality,
362 which may be salient to non-resident fathers.

363 Extending this further, closeness was in part constituted through a shared
364 understanding of how football influenced players' everyday subjective experience. Luke, who
365 was in his first season of balancing playing football full-time with his education, described
366 feeling closer to his father than his siblings were, because after his parents separated he
367 continued to see him more at football. Football was something he and his father talked about
368 frequently and had "always worked towards"; indicating that they shared a mutual
369 understanding of Luke's goal of becoming a professional footballer. This influenced Luke's
370 decision to move in with his father, as he found balancing his educational and football

commitments challenging and wanted to have someone there to push him to “stay on top of everything”. His father was uniquely positioned to be aware of and understand his life as a whole. Moreover, he reflected that he did not think he would be where he was right now if he did not live with his father. Similarly, his father recognised that he had spent more time with Luke than his other children due to football, but that this was justified because of Luke’s success, which he perceived he would not have been able to achieve without his support.

Mike: It has meant that I have spent a ridiculous amount of time with him as opposed to the other two. And I probably would have spent more time with the other two if I wasn’t dragged away all around the country with him. However he would have never have gotten the level of support he probably needs and needed had I have not been able to sacrifice the time to do that

Illustrating an overlap in their accounts, Mike constructed his involvement as unique, by suggesting that Luke would “never” have received this support otherwise, because of its sacrificial nature; and by emphasising the permanence and necessity of his support to meet his son’s needs. Likewise, Luke interpreted that his father “knows me better than anybody else”, in particular with regards to football, as whereas his coaches and teammates had changed, his father had been “the only person that’s been with me the whole time”. This reflects how a shared understanding of his everyday subjective experience was an important aspect of Luke’s relationship with his father, which contributed to the sense of closeness in the relationship.

This finding indicates that the elite culture of football academies, which demands high levels of commitment and involvement from players and parents over a prolonged period of time, can uniquely contribute to increased closeness in the parent-child relationship. The shared corporeal understanding of players’ football experience, and how this fits in with their lives, also enhanced this closeness and supports Knight and Holt’s (2014) postulation that

developing an understanding emotional climate is integral to parents enhancing their child's tennis journey. The experience of closeness enabled fathers to participate in involved fathering, however mothers described feeling closer to their son despite a perceived lack of football knowledge, and is described below.

Embodiment: Gender

Exploring both mother- and father-player dyads highlighted the gendered dimension of parent-child relationships. Professional football clubs are controlled and organised by men and permeated by dominant masculine norms and values (Roderick, 2006). Youth sport can provide a setting where fathers feel comfortable and competent to perform parenting, as men's knowledge and experience of sport are considered authoritative (Coakley, 2006; Willms, 2009). How mothers experience this subordination is unclear, yet mothers must also negotiate contemporary cultural expectations of intensive mothering (child-centred, expert-guided, emotionally absorbing and time and labour intensive) when supporting their son's sport participation (Hays, 1996; Trussell & Shaw, 2012). For example; Carla, a single mother to Ali, experienced uncertainty about the effectiveness of her feedback to her son. Feeling that she was "constantly on his case" to keep him motivated in football and in school meant she questioned the degree to which she pushed her son and the effectiveness of her advice as a mother.

Carla: I do push him, I do push him and I do try to keep him motivated and sometimes I do wonder you know am I just a nag, does he just think I'm a nag. [] A boy learns certain things from his father and if he's not there, and there isn't another man in the house, where does that come from? I mean I've been taking Ali to football since he was five years old it's always been me. And I've always been the one giving him the advice and everything, and I love football. I've been watching it- I watched it with my older brother since I was a young girl so I kind of know what I'm talking about! But

421 obviously you have the coaches teaching them whatever they teach them, and I have
422 said to Woody and Wrighty in the meeting, sometimes I don't know whether what I
423 say to him is a help or a hindrance

424 Despite this uncertainty, Ali praised his mother's parenting approach and described feeling
425 closer to his mother than his father (who separated from his mother when he was very young)
426 because of the time they had spent together through football.

427 Ali: She like helps me analyse the game after sometimes, she makes sure I'm not too
428 hard on myself, like I don't beat myself up over mistakes, she always encourages me
429 on the sideline tells me what I'm not doing enough of, stuff like that

430 Author: And is that helpful having that feedback from your mum?

431 Ali: Yeah it's quite good yeah so coz I can't watch myself, coz they record it but I
432 don't- we don't get to see it, they just watch it. But yeah she just tells me what I do
433 really, and if I can do better or anythin

434 In this extracts Ali describes how he accepts his mother's advice because he interprets
435 that it has a positive impact on him. This is in contrast to Carla's anxiety that her guidance
436 was construed as "nagging" by her son and represents a divergence in their individual
437 accounts. Her embodied sense of interaction with his son – that her feedback as a mother was
438 not effective – illustrates the gendered nature of parenting experiences. By positioning herself
439 within this gender order – the pattern of power relations between men and women (Connell,
440 1987) – Carla experienced greater uncertainty and questioned the value of her advice to her
441 son in this setting, even though at other points in the interview she described her detailed
442 knowledge of and love for football.

443 However, the value Ali placed on his mother's advice after football matches was in
444 contrast to many of the players whose fathers were identified as the most involved in their
445 football. Players often described their mother's role in limited terms because of a perceived

446 lack of football knowledge.

447 Author: Is your mum involved in football at all?

448 Josh: She's supportive, she's like, she don't know much about football at all. She just
449 says like enjoy it and stuff, so she's not really like- she wouldn't watch football or
450 like she wouldn't- she don't really know much about football basically heh. So it's
451 hard to get something from her

452

453 Jason: My stepdad gets more sort of involved sort of thing than my mum because he
454 knows a bit more about football than her, and like is more interested and stuff like that

455 Perceived lack or undervaluing of football knowledge was also reflected in the interviews
456 with parents. Mothers described how their understanding of football developed a sense of
457 closeness with their son, but typically downplayed their level of knowledge.

458 Steph: Because obviously I'm a female, being able to enjoy that with them has helped
459 our relationship because he's so into it. I suppose I've got enough football knowledge
460 and like of the game enough to you know to be able to enjoy that with him

461

462 Susan: I think if Jason hadn't have done the football in the way that he did I would
463 struggle to have conversations with them about anything sometimes. It is a topic of
464 conversation I can now join in, and not feel I don't know anything about it. I don't
465 know as much as everybody else but I feel as though I'm part of it

466 These findings imply that knowledge and understanding of football was assumed and
467 accepted with fathers or step-fathers, but not mothers, reflecting the dominant masculine
468 norms and values of professional football (Roderick, 2006). This supports and extends Holt et
469 al.'s (2008) finding that perceived knowledge and experience influenced parents'
470 involvement at youth sport competitions, by highlighting how certain knowledge is

authoritative within sport cultures. Importantly, perceived knowledge also has the potential to contribute to an embodied sense of closeness in the parent-child relationship, which may be problematic for mothers who lack or devalue their experiential knowledge of football. In the above quotes, although mothers consistently downplayed their knowledge, they emphasised how this understanding enhanced their relationship and improved communication with their sons, highlighting a unique aspect of the parent-child relationship in this setting.

Temporality and Transitions

Interaction between parent and player was influenced by the temporal significance of the players' next transition in football. Transition points occurred towards the end of each season when a decision would be made by the club as to whether to extend players' contracts. Players described experiencing pressure to develop and impress coaches within a definitive timeframe, or else their academy status would be at risk. Likewise, parents recognised that their son's place in the academy was not secure and were aware of the restricted period of time in which their child had to meet expected performance standards.

At 15 years old, and playing in the under-16 squad, Harry would learn within the next month whether the club would offer him a scholarship to play full-time academy football. The imminent scholarship decision created a shared experience of uncertainty for father and son. Harry described feeling nervous about the impending decision but also a sense of assurance that he would be able to play at another club in a lower tier of English football if he was not offered a scholarship at his current academy. He described being unconcerned about looking for another club, as his aim was simply to play football. This was in contrast to his father Steve, who experienced increased anxiety about his son's future at the club and a desire for a resolution.

Steve: But yeah at the minute everybody's edgy, everybody's worried, this and that you know why is he playing half a game, who's this that's come in on trial, blah blah

496 blah. I've been quite laid back about the whole thing really over the years, now even
497 I'm starting to feel it a little bit. I'm getting worried f' him if he has a bad game it's
498 like ohh you know hope they're not gonna drop him. You do start getting like that. I
499 just want it to be over really I just want to get him sorted

500 For Steve, success was judged by whether or not Harry was offered a professional
501 contract. His concern that the club might "drop" his son and his desire to "get him sorted",
502 alongside the prominence of football in his family's life; "football's just a life for us it's a
503 lifestyle", implies that Steve's experience of pressure was constituted through his connection
504 to his son's football participation, and that his identity was in part constructed through
505 Harry's achievements in football. Furedi (2002 p.107) suggested that "adults do not simply
506 live their lives through their children, but in part, develop their identity through them". In the
507 sport domain, Smoll, Cumming and Smith (2011 p.16) termed this experience "reversed-
508 dependency", where parents define their own self-worth in terms of their child's sporting
509 successes or failures. Steve's shared football identity with his son meant that he was
510 committed to supporting his son's pursuit of a professional football playing career. Smoll et
511 al. (2011) assumed that reverse-dependency was accompanied with excessive parental
512 pressure. However, this was not apparent in Harry's interpretation of his interaction with his
513 father. He acknowledged his father's determination "to get him being a footballer", but rather
514 than this expectation increasing the sense of pressure to succeed, he interpreted his parent's
515 behaviours in relation to achieving his personal goal of playing professional football.

516 Author: And in what ways have they helped you

517 Harry: Well, took me training that's the main part. They tell me what I need to
518 improve on, like in the nicest way and then they tell me like how I can improve it. So
519 dad got me a personal trainer, which helped me a lot. I wouldn't have been able to get
520 myself a personal trainer, so they get a lot of stuff like that

521 Author: And you say they tell you stuff in the nicest way what does that mean

522 Harry: Uhh they like, they just say ohh you need to work on your speed a little bit,

523 I've just seen like an example and then they give me an example of why and I'm like

524 yeah I do. And then they give me advice on how to do it, like my dad will take me out

525 training, speed training. So they don't just tell me 'yeah you need to work on your

526 speed or you won't get a scholarship'

527 Here, Harry described accepting feedback from his father (and grandfather) on how to

528 improve, explaining how it was delivered in a supportive way. By using "just" and "a little

529 bit" to describe how advice was typically given, he minimised the authoritarian nature of

530 their instruction. Instead, he constructed this feedback as based on evidence which he agreed

531 with, and further described how his father was then actively involved in helping him practise

532 at home. In doing so, Harry positioned himself as an active agent in the process of assessing

533 his weaknesses, as opposed to a passive recipient of evaluation and corrective instruction. His

534 reference to a failure to obtain a scholarship alluded to a shared understanding of the potential

535 negative consequence for not undertaking additional physical training, but dismissed that his

536 father used this as a way of exerting control.

537 However, whereas Steve interpreted Harry's enthusiasm for training to mean that he

538 was playing without the pressure he experienced so intensely himself, Harry described how

539 he completed additional training and fitness because "if the coaches know that you are doing

540 extra work they will like you a lot more because you are determined to get better", suggesting

541 that Harry was motivated to follow his father's instruction in order to increase his chances of

542 being offered a scholarship. Interpreting his interaction with his father in this way indicates

543 how the temporal significance of transition points in football influenced their relationship.

544 Similarly, across the dyads, this sense of lived-time in relation to their son's future

545 reinforced parents' commitment to facilitate their son's football development and was used to

justify certain practices, for example criticising performances. Criticism was legitimised as a practice necessary for preparing their son for a future in professional football:

Ade: It's good that I tell him already now and then I'm harsh with him and then because he wants to become professional footballer he's prepared to take whatever I'm going to throw to him, umm because I know after this it's gonna be tough. It's gonna be very bad

This reflects Jeanes and Magee's (2011) finding that parenting practices which contradict the orthodox expectations of involved fathering, such as aggressive or controlling behaviours, were rationalised by fathers (of 14-year-old academy players) as necessary for equipping their sons for the masculine, competitive, elite environment of professional football.

Although criticising performances was a strategy used by some fathers in the present study, in the face of temporal uncertainty parents also described complying with academy expectations (e.g., to attend additional training), proactively making contact with other clubs (a practice discouraged by the Premier League), and emphasising the importance of education to manage their son's approaching transition point.

Susan: We had an agreement that school was as important as football. As far as I'm concerned, it's more important. If the football works out that's fabulous and you know you're going to have plenty of money, that'd be great, but the likelihood is that's not going to happen. And you have got to do your schoolwork because this is your opportunity to get your schoolwork right

Natasha: I don't want him to be broken hearted if he doesn't, because he might not fit in here but he might fit in somewhere else. There's other kids that have left that have fitted in other places so, we just try and say that to him and he's fine. And he even in the car he was saying about school, I heard him and his friend, 'you've gotta make

sure you do well at school because you've gotta have a backup plan.' I'm thinking good that's good because that's what we try and say make sure you do well at school because you could be injured, you could, anything could happen. You can't count on it

These findings indicate how the temporal nature of parenting experiences in football compelled parents to act in ways that accepted or resisted the academy's control, mirroring the experiences of parents of foundation phase academy players (Clarke & Harwood, 2014). This represents a unique aspect of parent-child relationships in this setting. As other phenomenological studies have illustrated, parents and children experience a shared sense of lived-time, in which parents are future-orientated and hopeful for their child's becoming (De Mol & Buysse, 2008; van Manen, 1990). In elite youth football, this temporality is experienced differently, as fixed timescales and arbitrary decisions for transition points threaten parents and players' shared identity, goals and future possibilities for relational experiences.

Relations with Family

The experiences of parents and players in this study highlight how parent-child interaction occurred within the context of wider, more complex family relationships. A variety of individual adults may be involved in the care of children including step-parents, grandparents, older siblings and other family members (Ribbens McCarthy & Edwards, 2011). Each dyad in this study was part of a unique network of family relationships, which shaped their interaction in different ways. For example, Harry's grandfather was considerably involved in his football. He provided transport and technical advice to his grandson, and monitored his performance to pass on information to Harry's father. The regret that Harry's father experienced because his own father did not allow him to sign a contract with a professional club also influenced his decision to support Harry to play academy football. At

15 years of age he was offered a youth contract by the same club that his son now plays at, but was not allowed to sign it because his own father decided “it was too one-sided”. He regrets that he was denied the chance of playing higher level football and wonders what he could have achieved as a player if he had signed to the club. When his son started playing football he discussed with his father that if Harry was offered a similar opportunity he would let him sign a contract, highlighting how his parenting was influenced by his personal experiences with his father.

Parent-sibling relationships were often used as a comparison to describe and interpret players’ own relationship with their parent. For example, having two older brothers who had been through the academy system meant for Theo that he anticipated how his interaction with his father was likely to change:

Theo: I guarantee if I stay until the under 13s, he will talk a lot and a lot. He talks a lot to my brother, like just gives him a conversation for like an hour. For me he speaks like 20 minutes, but when I get older probably be an hour as well. It’s long.

His father Ade also acknowledged that his approach was influenced by his experience of supporting his other sons’ football participation. Describing professional football as “very ruthless and very cruel”, he had resolved to “never be laidback again” and instead, be more involved in facilitating opportunities for his youngest son to play and progress.

Ade: I’m really strict with him. So, what I tell him, if you want to become a professional footballer I know what it takes, what you need to have. So that’s the bottom line.

This finding exemplifies how parent-child relationships both shaped, and were shaped by, relations with other family members. Previous research has indicated that siblings can positively support the development of young athletes when brothers and sisters are cooperative rather than competitive (Côté, 1999), that parents can struggle balancing time

with their other children (Harwood et al., 2010; Harwood & Knight, 2009a; 2009b) and that sport can act as a catalyst for changing the dynamics of family interaction (Dorsch et al. (2015). The interdependence of family relationships in sport, therefore, remains an important area of interest for future research.

Furthermore, this study lends support to a family systems approach to research and to working with families to enhance experiences in sport. Family systems theory, although typically used in family therapy, has been utilised in the sport setting and focuses on understanding individuals in the context of their relationships with family members (Hellstedt, 2005; Zito, 2010). This approach aims to develop the necessary support for families to manage change and adapt to the transitions that children may experience as they progress in sport, by identifying patterns of functional or dysfunctional interaction. This offers an alternative intervention strategy to types of parental education programmes which seek to increase parents' knowledge and awareness through a "one-size-fits-all" solution to optimising parental involvement in sport, which often fails to consider the dynamic and varied nature of family relationships (Holt & Knight, 2014 p.114). However, family systems theory is limited by underlying assumptions which determine what is meant by functional interaction within a family, and a failure to account for the influence of political, social and economic power in relationships (Walters, 1990). Therefore, future research which explores parent-child relationships in the context of the family – including individuals who a child identifies as having a significant relationship with – can further enhance understanding of the complex process of parenting in sport; especially when the influence of gender relations and temporal transitions within the sport culture are considered.

Conclusions and Future Directions

By adopting an existential phenomenological approach, this study aimed to explore parents' and children's experience of their interaction and relationships, in the context of elite

youth football. The findings present a detailed description and interpretation of the parent-player relationship; as one constituted by relations with other family members, an embodied sense of closeness, the temporal significance of football transitions, and gender relations. It is suggested that these experiential aspects may serve as a useful heuristic (although not foundational) guide for researchers and practitioners working with families to encourage reflection on current understandings of parent-child relationships and interaction in this context.

Uniquely to elite youth football, parents and players experienced increased closeness through the shared and embodied experience of academy football and a heightened sense of lived-time as families prepared for the player's next transition point and the potential consequences of academy decisions. The corporeal understanding of players' football experience and how this fitted in with children's lives, developed over time through interaction, was valued by players. However, the constitutive role of gender to the parent-child relationship represents an area which requires further exploration. As De Mol and Buysse (2008) highlighted, parents can experience vulnerability when they lack control or knowledge of how to act toward their child. Mothers in the male dominated environment of elite youth football frequently devalued or questioned their knowledge of the game. Further research which examines the power of gender relations to enable or restrict parenting experiences is required in order to challenge assumptions about what constitutes authoritative knowledge within sport cultures. In addition, the finding that parent-child relationships shaped, and were shaped by, relations with other family members has implications for future research; in particular that examining parent-child relationships in isolation from the family milieu may limit understanding of the parenting process. A limitation of the present study, therefore, was the focus on the experiences of biological parents, which may have excluded step-parents or grandparents who were actively involved in parenting and with players'

football.

By illustrating how players experienced agency in the parenting process, this research also emphasised how children mutually constitute their relationship with parents. For example, rather than the experience of reverse-dependency (where parents define their self-worth in terms of their child's sporting success or failure; Smoll et al., 2011) being interpreted as pressurising, players made sense of parenting behaviours in relation to achieving their personal goal of playing professional football, when they felt their aspirations were shared by their parent. This supports previous research that shared and communicated goals for youth sport can enhance parent-child interactions (Harwood & Knight, 2015; Knight & Holt, 2014) and advocates the need for a view of parenting that accounts for how relationships are experienced by parents *and* children, rather than a sole focus on explicating optimal parental involvement. Similarly, parents' lived-experience of developing and acting upon a shared understanding of their child's identity, goals and everyday experiences to effectively manage and negotiate transitions in sport, presents an alternative to the construction of parenting as a skill set which parents must learn to be effective. Harwood and Knight (2015, p.26) proposed that self-development to "learn the trade" of being a sport parent is required for parents to be able to offer appropriate types of social support. This, however, does not recognise parents' ability to empathise with their child's lived-experience and that this understanding may enable parents to provide social support which is valued by their child. Parents' recognition and understanding of their child's needs and their capacity to adapt to meet these has previously been reported (e.g. Dorsch et al., 2009; 2015, but is often overshadowed within wider discussions focusing on the determinants of parents' behaviours and/or associated child effects. For example, parents' empathy with their child has been framed as a contributory factor to parents' emotional reactions at competitions, and therefore, as a potential area of development (Holt et al., 2008; Knight & Holt, 2013). Considering the

emphasis on the need for parent education in the sport psychology literature (e.g., Gould, Lauer, Rolo, Jannes & Pennisi, 2008; Knight et al., 2011; Wiersma & Fifer, 2008), further research to establish the circumstances in which expert advice in elite youth sport is legitimate and warranted, or when active support for parental instinct and judgement can be encouraged may therefore be useful. Furthermore, the temporal uncertainty experienced by parents and the constitutive role of transitions points to parent-child relationships suggest that parents' need for expert advice and/or active support may vary depending on their child's development stage in football. Academies and practitioners may wish to reflect upon how best to meet this need to ensure families are prepared to manage players' transitions.

In conclusion, by illustrating a fraction of the complex, dynamic nature of parent-child relationships in the context of youth football, this research has highlighted the importance of conceptualising parenting as embodied, temporal *process*, constituted through interaction and the social context. Further research which aims to achieve a detailed description of these relationships has the potential to contribute to a base of knowledge, from which researchers can build theory and attempt to explain this ubiquitous sporting phenomenon.

References

- Ashworth, P. (2003a). An approach to phenomenological psychology: The contingencies of the lifeworld. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology*, 34(2), 145-156.
- Ashworth, P. (2003b). The phenomenology of the lifeworld and social psychology. *Social Psychological Review*, 5(1), 18-34.
- Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic interactionism*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Burkitt, I. (1999). *Bodies of thought*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Clarke, N. J., & Harwood, C. G. (2014). Parenting experiences in elite youth football: A

phenomenological study. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, 15(5), 528-537.

doi:10.1016/j.psychsport.2014.05.004

Coakley, J. (2006). The good father: Parental expectations and youth sports. *Leisure*

Studies, 25(2), 153-163. doi:10.1080/02614360500467735

Connell, R. W. (1987). *Gender and power: Society, the person and sexual politics*.

Cambridge: Polity Press.

Côté, J. (1999). The influence of the family in the development of talent in sport. *The Sport*

Psychologist, 13(4), 395-417.

Cushion, C., & Jones, R. L. (2006). Power, discourse, and symbolic violence in professional

youth soccer: The case of Albion football club. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 23(2), 142-

161.

De Mol, J., & Buysse, A. (2008). The phenomenology of children's influence on parents.

Journal of Family Therapy, 30(2), 163-193. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6427.2008.00424.x

Dermott, E. (2003). The 'intimate father': Defining paternal involvement. *Sociological*

Research Online, 8(4). Retrieved from

<http://www.socresonline.org.uk/8/4/dermott.html>.

doi:10.1080/2159676X.2013.857708

Dorsch, T. E., Smith, A. L., & McDonough, M. H. (2015). Early socialization of parents

through organized sport. *Sport, Exercise and Performance Psychology*, 4(1), 3-18.

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(4), 444-468.

Eisikovits, Z., & Koren, C. (2010). Approaches to and outcomes of dyadic interview analysis.

Qualitative Health Research, 20(12), 1642-1655. doi:10.1177/1049732310376520

Faircloth, C., Hoffman, D.M., & Layne, L. L. (2013). *Parenting in global perspective*.

- 746 Abingdon: Routledge.
- 747 Finlay, L. (2014). Engaging phenomenological analysis. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*,
748 *11*(2), 121-141. doi:10.1080/14780887.2013.807899
- 749 Furedi, F. (2002). *Paranoid parenting: Why ignoring the experts may be best for your child*.
750 Chicago: Chicago Review Press.
- 751 Gadamer, H-G. (1975). *Truth and method*. (J. Weinsheimer & D. G. Marshall, Trans).
752 London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- 753 Gould, D., Lauer, L., Rolo, C., Jannes, C., & Pennisi, N. (2008). The role of parents in tennis
754 success: Focus group interviews with junior coaches. *The Sport Psychologist*, *22*(1),
755 18-37.
- 756 Harwood, C. G., & Knight, C. J. (2015). Parenting in youth sport: A position paper on
757 parenting expertise. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, *16*(1), 24-35.
758 doi:10.1016/j.psychsport.2014.03.001
- 759 Harwood, C., & Knight, C. (2009a). Stress in youth sport: A developmental investigation of
760 tennis parents. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, *10*(4), 447-456.
761 doi:10.1016/j.psychsport.2009.01.005
- 762 Harwood, C., & Knight, C. (2009b). Understanding parental stressors: An investigation of
763 British tennis-parents. *Journal of Sports Sciences*, *27*(4), 339-351.
764 doi:10.1080/02640410802603871
- 765 Harwood, C., Drew, A., & Knight, C. (2010). Parental stressors in professional youth football
766 academies: A qualitative investigation of specializing stage parents. *Qualitative*
767 *Research in Sport and Exercise*, *2*(1), 39-55. doi:10.1080/19398440903510152
- 768 Hays, S. (1996). *The cultural contradictions of motherhood*. New Haven: Yale University
769 Press.
- 770 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

Hinde, R. A. (1976). On describing relationships. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 17(1), 1-19. doi:10.1111/j.1469-7610.1976.tb00370.x

Hinde, R. A. (1996). Describing relationships. In A. E. Auhagen, & M. Salish (Eds.), *The diversity of human relationships* (pp. 7-35). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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

Holt, N. L., Tamminen, K. A., Black, D. E., Mandigo, J. L., & Fox, K. R. (2009). Youth sport parenting styles and practices. *Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology*, 31(1), 37-59.

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

Jeanes, R., & Magee, J. (2011). Come on my son! Examining fathers, masculinity and 'fathering through football'. *Annals of Leisure Research*, 14(2-3), 273-288. doi:10.1080/11745398.2011.616483

Kay, T. (2009). Fathers and sons: Being 'father angel'. In Kay, T (Ed.), *Fathering Through Sport and Leisure* (pp. 106-123). Abingdon: Routledge.

Knight, C. J., & Holt, N. L. (2013). Factors that influence parents' experiences at junior tennis tournaments and suggestions for improvement. *Sport, Exercise, and Performance Psychology*, 2(3), 173-189.

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. doi:10.1016/j.psychsport.2013.10.010

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.

doi:10.1080/10413200.2010.495324

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(1), 76-92. doi:10.1080/10413200.2010.525589

Langdrige, D. (2007). *Phenomenological psychology: Theory, research and method*.

Harlow, Essex: Pearson Education Ltd.

Langdrige, D. (2008). Phenomenology and critical social psychology: Directions and debates in theory and research. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 2(3), 1126-1142. doi:10.1111/j.1751-9004.2008.00114.x

Lauer, L., Gould, D., Roman, N., & Pierce, M. (2010a). How parents influence junior tennis players development: Qualitative narratives. *Journal of Clinical Sport Psychology*, 4(1), 69-92.

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

Lee, E. (2014). Experts and parenting culture. In E. Lee, J. Bristow, C. Faircloth, & J. Macvarish, *Parenting culture studies* (pp. 51-75). Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Morgan, D. L., Ataie, J., Carder, P., & Hoffman, K. (2013). Introducing dyadic interviews as a method for collecting qualitative data. *Qualitative Health Research*, 23(9), 1276-1284. doi:10.1177/1049732313501889

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

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

- 821 CA: Sage Publications Ltd.
- 822 Poczwadowski, A., Barott, J. E., Jowett, S. (2006). Diversifying approaches to research on
823 athlete-coach relationships. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, 7(2), 125-142.
824 doi:10.1016/j.psychsport.2005.08.002
- 825 Ribbens McCarthy, J., & Edwards, R. (2011). *Key concepts in family studies*. London: Sage
826 Publications Ltd.
- 827 Roderick, M. (2006). *The work of professional football: a labour of love?* Abingdon:
828 Routledge.
- 829 Skinner, E., Johnson, S., & Snyder, T. (2005). Six dimensions of parenting: A motivational
830 model. *Parenting: Science and Practice*, 5(2), 175-235.
831 doi:10.1207/s15327922par0502_3
- 832 Smoll, F. L., Cumming, S. P., & Smith, R. E. (2011). Enhancing coach-parent relationships
833 in youth sports: Increasing harmony and minimizing hassle. *International Journal for*
834 *Sports Science and Coaching*, 6(1), 13-26. doi:10.1260/1747-9541.6.1.13
- 835 The Football Association. (2014, May). *The FA chairman's England commission report*.
- 836 The Football League. (2014, August). *Charter for academy players and parents 2014/15*.
- 837 The Premier League. (2011, May). *Elite player performance plan*.
- 838 Trussell, D. E., & Shaw, S. M. (2012). Organized youth sport and parenting in public and
839 private spaces. *Leisure Sciences: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 34(5), 377-394.
840 doi:10.1080/01490400.2012.714699
- 841 van Manen, M. (1990). *Researching lived experience: Human science for an action sensitive*
842 *pedagogy*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- 843 Vogt Yuan, A. S. (In press). Father-child relationships and nonresident fathers' psychological
844 distress: What helps and what hurts? *Journal of Family Issues*.
845 doi:10.1177/0192513X14526394

- 846 Walters, M. (1990). A feminist perspective in family therapy. In R. J. Perelberg, & A. C.
847 Miller (Eds.), *Gender and power in families* (pp. 13-33). London: Karnac Books.
- 848 Wiersma, L. D., & Fifer, A. M. (2008). "The schedule has been tough but we think it's worth
849 it": The joys, challenges, and recommendations of youth sport parents. *Journal of*
850 *Leisure Research*, 40(4), 505-530.
- 851 Wittenborn, A. K., Dolbin-MacNab, M. L., & Keiley, M. K. (2013). Dyadic research in
852 marriage and family therapy: Methodological considerations. *Journal of Marital and*
853 *Family Therapy*, 39(1), 5-16. doi:10.1111/j.1752-0606.2012.00306.x
- 854 Zito, M. (2010). Family systems interventions in sport. In S. Hanrahan & M. B. Anderson
855 (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of applied sport psychology* (pp. 177-185). Abingdon:
856 Routledge.