
Consuming through Children

How Do Parents Choose Sport Activities for their Children?



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August 15, 2016

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1. Introduction

1.1. Introduction to the Topic

Looking at today's children, one cannot help wonder how much they resemble their parents – not only in their physical features but also in their outfits and style. Often, we feel like we see the miniature version of mothers or fathers: they wear similar clothes, shoes, and accessories. Although kids imitate their parents and with age increasingly impact their buying decision (Valkenburg and Cantor, 2001), parental influence on children's consumption decisions is undeniably significant. First, parents are the ones who pay for the products and services and most often engage in the act of purchasing. Second, it is the parents' duty to make responsible decisions on matters on which the kids lack knowledge and experience. Therefore, kids' looks reflect rather the parents' personality and taste than those of the children. Of course, the extension of parents' preferences is not limited to clothes and outfits: it is also apparent in all other products and services they purchase for their children, including food, toys, durables, health care, and sport activities.

The phenomenon of extended self is not new. Literature has long shown that we unconsciously regard our possessions as parts of ourselves (Belk, 1988); consequently, our self-concept is also reflected in the products and services we purchase. These possessions not only include objects but also the people to whom we feel attached. For parents, children are probably the most important parts of their extended self. Thus, all factors that shape parents' self-concept will eventually be reflected in their buying decisions for their children.

Even though former research has explored the concept of the extended self, little research has dealt with the buying behavior of parents who purchase goods and services for their children and the role of the extended self in these buying situations. Although research on children's consumption has only started to develop in the middle of the 1960s, recent research is increasingly focused on children's influence on their parents' buying behavior (e.g. Berey et al., 1968; Flurry & Burns, 2005; Norgaard et al., 2007) and current experiences of parents have rather been neglected. Many questions have remained unanswered. How do parents make such decisions? Which factors influence them? Which are the most relevant ones? To what extent do they treat their children as their own extended self?

Of all goods and services that parents purchase for their children, there is one that merits special attention: selecting a sport activity for the child. In the recent years, sport has been increasingly recognized as a cultural phenomenon (Hargreaves, 2014). Just like through art or music, individuals and groups of the society define and express themselves and their cultural belongingness through sport. It carries meaning, values, rituals – like any other cultural setting. Together with increasing personal wealth and health-consciousness, sports consumption has been rising tremendously in the past decades (Morgan & Summers, 2005). In 2014, the global sport industry has reached \$480-\$640 billion (Shank & Lyberger, 2014). Sport culture goes hand-in-hand with the greater concern about health, which has also created huge industry for health and fitness services in the past decade (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010).

Sports have become very popular among the young population, as well. People start to engage in sport activities from a very young age: usually, after entering primary school (Sud et al., 2013). However, selecting the type of sport is rarely the decision of the child, who – at this age, around 6-7 – might not know about many sports and, especially, not the long-term consequences. Such a choice might determine the child's life, health, and needs in the long run, thus, it is highly important that a conscious decision is made. In particular, in the field of sports, parents might want to 'live through their kids' and achieve their own unfulfilled ambitions (Brummelman et al., 2013), thus, the extended self plays an important role.

The child-centered and financially expensive parenting behavior of the 20th century has created an extremely attractive industry for marketers (Greenhalgh, 1998). Just in the United States, the youth sports economy is estimated at \$5 billion, while the whole industry surpasses \$500 billion globally (Hyman, 2015; Shank & Lyberger, 2014). Given such a significant market, sport marketers (e.g. sport equipment manufacturers or retailers) and sport organizations need to understand the decision-making of people as much as possible. By identifying the factors that influence parents' decisions, marketers will be able to better position their products/services and reach the parents more effectively.

Since sports have become an integral part of people's cultural identity, the phenomenon needs to be studied within the framework of Consumer Culture Theory (CCT). The objective of the study is to explore which factors influence parents' buying behavior for their children, especially, in choice of sport activities for their children. It aims to study the phenomenon from a social and cultural perspective and investigate how the self-concept the parent appears in the decision.

1.2. Key Concepts

The following key concepts need to be defined in order to understand the study comprehensively.

Martens et al. (2004) defined children's consumption as "[the way they] *learn to consume, the lifestyles of their parents, the way that their parents reflexively engage with memories of their own childhood and parental readings of material culture*".

Self-concept is the "*totality of the individual's thoughts and feeling having reference to himself as an object*" (Rosenberg, 1979. p.7). Burns (1979) explains that self-concept involves three dimensions. The actual self is how a person perceives herself/himself; the ideal self is how a person would like to see herself/himself, and the social self is how a person thinks the society sees him or her. Importantly, consumers' personality can be defined through the products and services they use (Tucker, 1961). The concept of the self is relevant for the study as in order to reveal whether parents extend their preferences/personality/self on their children, these preferences need to be determined.

As mentioned before, our sense of self also includes other people and objects, developing our extended self. "*Knowingly or unknowingly, intentionally or unintentionally, we regard our possessions as parts of ourselves*" (Belk, 1988, p.139). Parents unconsciously see their children as part of their self, thus, when purchasing goods or services for them, their preferences will be reflected in those buying decisions.

Finally, the study will investigate which contextual factors influence parents' buying behavior and how they do it. According to Kotler & Armstrong (2010), there are four major characteristics that influence consumer buying behavior: cultural, social, personal, and psychological characteristics.

1.3. Research Questions

The research will cover the following research questions:

1. Which factors influence parents' buying behavior for their children, especially when choosing a sport activity for them?
2. How do these factors impact parents' decision?
3. How does parents' self-concept appear in these buying decisions?

1.4. Intended Contributions

As there is little existing research on the topic, the study will help extend the academic literature. As mentioned before, many recent studies deal with the influencing power of children on their parents, but it is important to understand the parents' side, as well. The study will explore how cultural and social factors impact parental buying behavior and the role of the extended self in these buying situations. Unlike any former research, this study will examine one particular buying situation in depth: sports activities. The qualitative research will enable to gain comprehensive knowledge about the phenomenon.

From a marketing perspective, the study aims to help develop more effective marketing strategies for companies or sports clubs promoting sports activities for children and reach the primary consumers, parents. By understanding the factors that influence parents, marketers will be able to better position products and services and develop a successful marketing mix.

1.5. The Structure of the Study

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 provides the theoretical framework of the study, presenting the literature review and the conceptual model. Here, the concepts of the extended self and contextual factors affecting consumer buying behavior are discussed in depth. Chapter 3 describes the methodology used for collecting data, evaluating the results, and analyzing the findings. The final section presents the conclusions of the study and suggestions for future research.

2. Theoretical Framework

The following chapter discusses the theory and academic literature lying behind parental buying behavior. Since the study is conducted in the field of Consumer Culture Theory (CCT), the theoretical framework first gives an overview of this research tradition. After this, the history of consumer research on children is summarized, presenting research focusing on parents as consumers for their children, children as influencers, and children as consumers. Following this, I review the contextual factors influencing parents' buying behavior, with a focus on self concept. In connection with self concept, I discuss academic research on the extended self. The subsequent paragraph covers existing literature on parental influences on children's involvement in sports. Finally, I summarize the literature review and formulate a conceptual model for the research topic.

2.1. Consumer Culture Theory

Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) serves as the basis of the study, thus, it is important to explain how the topic fits into this field of research. CCT embraces a group of theoretical approaches that study the relations between consumers' behavior, markets, and cultural-social settings and investigate contextual, symbolic, and experience-based aspects of consumption. The most frequently studied domains are consumption and possession practices, especially, their hedonic, aesthetic, and ritualistic dimensions (Arnould & Thompson, 2005). Although all of these "sub-theories" deal with cultural complexity, they are very heterogeneous in nature – just as cultures are. Arnould and Thompson (2005) also argue that CCT primarily contributes to theory building in four areas: consumer identity projects, marketplace cultures, sociohistoric patterning of consumption, and mass-mediated marketplace ideologies and consumers' interpretive strategies. *Consumer identity projects* look into how consumers make use of market-related resources to develop a coherent, and at the same time, complex and diversified self-identity (e.g. Belk, 1988). *Research in marketplace* cultures reflects how cultural communities are built through consumption practices (e.g. McCracken, 1986; Coulter et al., 2003). The sociohistoric patterning of consumption concerns the structural and institutional forces shaping consumption patterns (e.g. Allen, 2002). Finally, *mass-mediated marketplace ideologies* and *consumers' interpretive strategies* focus on how commercial media shape consumer culture ideologies and meanings (e.g. Dawson, 2003; Askegaard, 2015).

Practices of parental purchasing and sport selection may be relevant to any of these theoretical interests. In case of this research, however, consumer identity is of key importance, as it investigates which social and cultural forces exert upon the self-concept of parents and how this self-concept is extended on children in the selection of sport activity.

As CCT explores neglected experimental, social, and cultural areas of consumption in context (Belk, 1987a; 1987b; Holbrook & Hirschman 1982), CCT-related practices need to be studied right where they occur: in the field rather than in the laboratory. In addition, in order to generate deeper understanding of the phenomena and reveal underlying theories, CCT usually employs qualitative research methods. I will discuss the qualitative research techniques in more details in section 3.1.

2.2. Consumer Research on Children

Researchers in the field of CCT often study children's consumption. However, not even 100 years ago, the term 'children's consumption' did not even exist – marketing was directly aimed at mothers, rather than children. Only in the 1930s started sellers to see children as separate consumers due to the transformation of their social value and the development of department stores (Humphery, 1998; Williams, 1982; Cook, 2004). Despite this, academic research on children's consumer culture has not begun until the middle of the 20th century (Guest, 1955; Reisman & Roseborough, 1955; Cook, 2009). From the 1960s on, several publications about the importance of treating children as separate consumers emerged and helped advertisers more effectively reach them (Cook 2007). Researchers investigated children's influence on parents' purchasing decisions (Berey & Pollay, 1968, Wells & LoSciuto, 1966), as well as the family and media influences on adolescent consumer learning (Ward & Wackman, 1971).

From the 1990s, literature on children's consumer culture began to rapidly expand (Cook, 2009) by publications for instance, by Cook (2004), Cross (2004), or Seiter (1993). These studies generally mainly explore the consumer socialization of children (Ward, 1974; Valkenburg & Cantor (2001) and their consumer behavior at different life stages.

Although the children represent the end consumers in this study (they participate in sport activities), the main focus is on parents and their purchasing behavior on behalf of their children. In order to examine parents selecting sport activities for their children, I need to discuss first which factors influence buyer behavior in general.

2.3. Parental Involvement in Children's Sport

2.3.1. Parental involvement in the decision making

Many studies have been written about parental the involvement in youth sport and its implications for children's sporting enjoyment and development (Knight et al., 2016); however, little existing literature focuses on the role of parents in the sport selection process. Those few studies show that parents are the main initiators of involving their children in sports activities (Baxter-Jones and Maffulli, 2003; Dixon et al. 2008, Wheeler, 2012). Family is the first and most lasting influence on children's sports' involvements. (Lau et al., 2004). While some researchers claim that parents allow children to choose between a wide range of option (Cote, 1999), other argue that only parents decide on the sports their children should engage in (Green & Chalip, 1998). Howard and Madrigal (1990) investigated whether the child or parent makes the sport participation decision. They found that mothers "*play[ed] a dominant role in shaping the participation decisions of their children. It appears that mothers actively screen or qualify the program opportunity before allowing the child to become involved in the final stage of the purchase decision*" (p. 244). Closely linked to parental involvement is sports, literature suggests that parents who more involved in the decision making (meaning how much effort they make in differentiating between alternatives) are more like to be more involved in the youth sport context since "*higher levels of purchase decision involvement will lead to higher levels of commitment to the product or service purchased*" (Green, Chalip, 1998, p. 96).

2.3.2. Factors influencing parental involvement

Although no study has explored the influences on parental sport selection, a recent study investigated the individual and environmental factors that impact parental sports involvement (Knight et al., 2016). Knight and her colleagues found that parents' involvement was influenced by (1) the youth sport context, (2) other parents and coaches, (3) concerns regarding own behavior, (4) knowledge and experience of sport, (5) previous experience as a sport parent, and (6) goals, expectations, and beliefs for child's sport.

2.3.3. Factors influencing parental sport selection

A study by Nakhodin et al. (2015) reveals that parents' choice in sports activities is motivated by three factors. They want sports to become their children's career (12%); to occupy their

free time and form character, moral and volitional qualities (48%), and to improve their health (40%). Furthermore, Yaprak and Unlu (2010) found in Turkey that parents with different socio-economic and cultural level prefer different sports activities for their children. Parents in higher socio-economic classes and with university/college degree preferred mainly basketball and tennis, parents in lower social class and lower education level preferred soccer, volleyball, or football. Moreover, parents also make sports selection decision based on safety issues surrounding certain sports activities – more than 25 percent of parents discourage their children from engaging in rugby, football and soccer due to safety reasons (Boufous et al., 2004). A recent study by Wheeler (2012) gives an explanation to this in a study investigating the significance of family culture in sports participation. The researcher states that parents hold certain beliefs and behaviors in relation to sports, which they transmit to their children through a set of parental strategies and practices. The study also concludes that parents' sporting backgrounds are dominant in the sport selection process since either want “*their children to experience things that they never did [...] [or] wished to afford their children similar experiences.*” (p. 248).

2.3. Contextual Factors Influencing Buyer Behavior

In this paragraph, I review the contextual factors that impact buying behavior. Kotler & Armstrong (2010) identify four major characteristics that impact consumer buyer behavior: cultural, social, personal, and psychological characteristics. Research of Engel et al. (1978) and Solomon et al. (2012) suggest similar classification. The factors within these four groups are summarized in Table 1. This general framework may be applied to any type of buying situation, thus, to “sports activity purchase”, too. Although I will conduct the research based on these contextual factors, by the nature of qualitative research, additional influencing factors might emerge that are not covered here.

Table 1: Factors influencing consumer buying behavior

Cultural	Social	Psychological	Personal
Culture	Reference groups	Motivation	Age and life cycle stage
Subculture	Family	Perception	Occupation
Social class	Roles and status	Learning	Economic situation
		Beliefs and attitudes	Lifestyle
			Personality and self-concept

2.3.1. Cultural Factors

Culture is defined as “*the shared knowledge and schemes created by a set of people for perceiving, interpreting, expressing, and responding to the social realities around them*” (Lederach, 1995, p.9). Within each culture, there are smaller groups, consisting of people with shared values based on life experiences and situations, as well as social classes that are ordered divisions of the society (Kotler & Armstrong, 2010). Culture not only impacts preferences, but also the way consumers make decisions (Aaker and Sengupta, 2000).

2.3.2. Social Factors

Social characteristics involve reference groups, family, and roles and status. For instance, Childers and Rao (1992) find that family exerts a strong influence on consumer decisions through intergenerational influences. In particular, intrafamily communications can impact brands preference, loyalty, and price-sensitivity (Rao et al, 1991).

2.3.3. Psychological Factors

Motivation, perception, learning, and beliefs and attitudes are psychological factors that influence consumption behavior.

2.3.4. Personal Factors

Lastly, personal factors include age and life cycle stage, occupation, economic situation, life-cycle, personality, and self-concept. Many goods and services are age-related: e.g. breakfast cereals marketer segment their market based on age. Similarly, depending on the economic

situation of a person, choices of products might be limited. The study focuses, in particular, on how the self-concept of parents appears in the buying decision, thus, the following paragraph provides the theoretical background on self-concept. Tsao and Chang's (2010) study found a positive relationship between hedonic buying motive and three of the big five traits: openness to experience, extraversion, and neuroticism.

2.4. The Concept of Self

The definition of self-concept widely varies in academic literature. Since early studies, self-concept has been presented as a multi-dimensional concept (Hamm and Cundiff, 1969; Hughes and Guerrero, 1971; Guttman, 1973), meaning that individuals define themselves in the context of various social situations (Sirgy, 1980). Accordingly, it is often referred to as the *"totality of the individual's thoughts and feelings having reference to himself as an object"* (Rosenberg, 1979, p.7). In this paper, "self", "self-concept", "sense of self", and "identity" will be used as synonyms. Researchers distinguish three dimensions of self-concept: the actual self (what the consumer appears to be), the ideal self (what the consumer aspires to be), and the social self (what the consumer appears to be to the society) (Burns, 1979; Rosenberg, 1979; Aaker, 1999; Gould, 1991; Graeff, 1996; Sirgy, 1982, 1986; Sutherland et al., 2004, Parker, 2009).

Marketing literature has long discussed the relationship between self-concept and purchase decisions (Birdwell, 1968; Dolich, 1969; Grubb and Hupp, 1968; Hamm and Cundiff, 1969; Grubb and Grathwohl, 1967; Ross, 1971, Landon, 1974). Furthermore, Belk (1988) and Dolich (1969) have found that consumers prefer brands, which symbolize their actual or ideal personality traits. It is important to emphasize that self-concept does not only reflect the behavior of consumer, it also impacts the behavior (Markus & Wurf, 1987).

Like any other aspects of personality, self-concept changes over the life-cycle (Demo, 1992). Therefore, a child has a very different sense of self from that of an adult. Infants do not develop a self-schema until 12-15 months: they are not able to act intentionally or distinguish themselves from others. (Harter, 1983). Just after maturity are they able to develop an internal physical image of themselves (Lewis & Brooks-Gunn, 1979). At this stage of life, parents are extremely influential in forming their self-schema (Demo, 1992). Between the age of 2 and 4, children believe that others understand their thoughts and feelings, but are not able to make a difference between their own thoughts and feelings and those of others. (Piaget, 1962). At the

age of 5 and 6, children develop their core self-concept. In addition to categorical self-descriptions – such as name, gender, or favorite activity – (Keller et al., 1978), they expand their social environment (Suls & Mullen, 1982). However, not until the age of 7 or 8 are they able to understand social comparisons or judge their own actions. Later, children learn self-evaluation. At this stage, peers' influence grows, while parents influence lessens. Self-concept during adolescence is dominated by inner thoughts, feelings, attitudes, desires, beliefs, fears, and expectations (Damon & Hart 1982, Rosenberg 1979, 1986). This is the time, when self-esteem and body image develops (Simmons et al., 1979), and adolescents become more independent from their parents (Montemayor, 1983). Finally, in adulthood, people have more complex sense of self and stronger self-worth, as well as increasing self-evaluation (Demo, 1992) (Khare & Handa, 2009).

To understand parents' buying decisions, it is not enough to consider their core self but also their possessions and everything else that reflects their identity.

2.5. The Extended Self

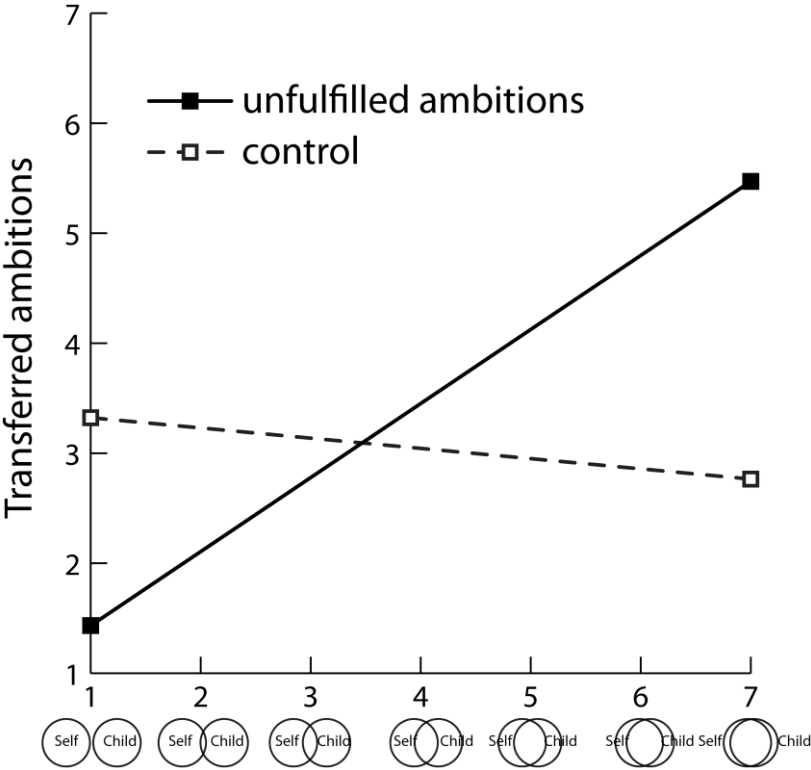
The concept of the extended self was introduced by Belk in 1988. He argued that a people's sense of self is not only made up of their core self (body, internal processes, ideas, and experiences) but also other persons, places, group possessions and things to which they feel attached – in other words, their extended self. The extended self can be categorized in four levels: individual, family, community, and group level (Belk, 1988).

For parents, children are dominant part of their extended self, meaning that parents might unconsciously think of their kids as part of themselves (James, 1980; Isaacs, 1933; Allport, 1943; Prelinger, 1959; Aron & Aron, 1986; Belk, 2000). Thus, anything they buy for their children will incorporate their own self-concept. The study will focus on the “family level” of the extended self since it investigates how parents' self-concept appears in buying decisions for their children.

Furthermore, Belk (1988) claims that self-extension may be created through control and result in vicarious consumption. He continues that „*the greater the control we exercise, the more closely allied with self the object should become*” (Belk, 1998, p. 140). This suggests that more controlling behavior of parents results in stronger self-extension and vicarious consumption, which may also appear in their sports selection decision.

The idea that parents may want to fulfill their own unfulfilled ambitions through their children, has been long discussed in the field of psychology. In 1914, Freud argued that “*the child shall fulfill those wishful dreams ... which they [parents] never carried out*” (p. 91). A study conducted by Brummelman et al. (2013) first provided experimental evidence that parents are most likely to transfer their unfulfilled ambitions on their children, if they highly include them in their self (also illustrated by Figure 1). As unsuccessful sport careers often result in unfulfilled ambitions and dreams for people, this phenomenon might be particularly relevant in the case of sport activities.

Figure 1: Transferred ambitions as a function of unfulfilled ambitions and inclusion of child in the self (Brummelman et al., 2013)

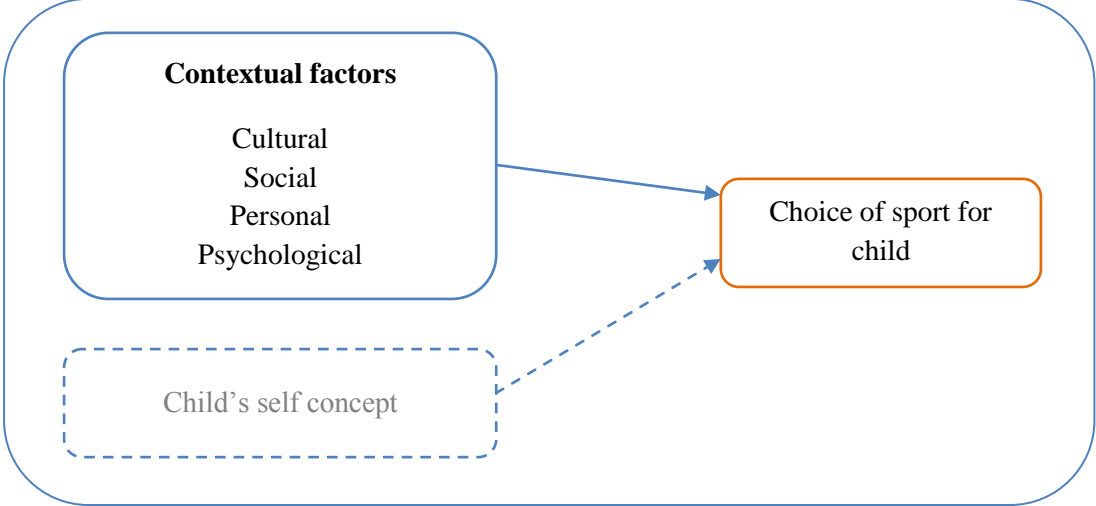


2.6. Conceptual Model

The conceptual model is illustrated by Figure 1 below. The research will primarily focus on the upper part of the model, as this covers the influence of parents and the influence of contextual factors on parents. Contextual factors shape the parent’s self-concept, which will influence his/her buying decision for the child. In this case, the buying decision is narrowed down to sport selection. Even though the study focuses on the parent’s decision, it is also

important to demonstrate where children are placed in the model, since the qualitative research may reveal crucial information about them, too.

Figure 2: Conceptual model



3. Methodology

This section outlines the design of the research. First, it presents qualitative research and the reasons for using this design for the study. Next, it summarizes the method types of qualitative research, discussing the selected method, in-depth interviewing, in detail. The chapter, furthermore, addresses data collection and sampling; and finally, the criteria suitable for the evaluation of the research.

3.1. Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is a type of scientific research that aims to provide insights on a complex phenomenon, usually, from the perspective of a smaller sample. It is typically used for describing variations, relationships, individual experiences, and group norms. This approach is, in particular, effective when the researcher seeks to obtain culturally specific information about the values, opinions, behaviors, and social contexts of particular populations (Mack et al., 2005). In other words, it explores the phenomenon as experienced by individuals themselves, in their natural context (Malterud, 2001). Therefore, qualitative studies generate rich, textual data on a small number of individuals (Patton, 1990). In contrary to quantitative research, a qualitative work does not presume to know in advance which variables are relevant for the study and the limitation of these variables. Instead, it allows researchers to adapt to the learning as they study the social context and treat the variables in a flexible manner. For instance, if one way of questioning does not reveal relevant information, they change it; if the predicted patterns do not emerge, they can develop the theory; or if they do not reach one group, they can try another (Lamont & White, 2008).

Parents' sports choices can be studied using both quantitative and qualitative methods. As parents' consumption behavior and purchasing decisions regarding sports activities are rooted partly in their lived experiences, a focus on the description of these experiences is needed. Therefore, the qualitative approach is considered most appropriate method to reveal how different contextual factors influence their sport selection decision and how their incorporate their self-concept in the decision.

3.2. Research Method: In-Depth Interviewing

Qualitative research uses semi-structured or unstructured methods, such as participant observations (ethnography), in-depth interviews, and focus groups (projective techniques) (Mack et al., 2005; Malhotra & Birks, 2007). *Participant observations* are effective for collecting data on self-occurring phenomena in their natural context, while *in-depth interviews* are used to reveal information about individuals' personal histories, perspectives, and experiences, especially, in the case of sensitive topics. Researchers prefer *focus groups* when they seek to obtain data on a cultural norm and develop a broad overview of issues of concern to the cultural groups represented (Mack et al., 2005). Since this study seeks to understand a particular consumption behavior by learning about parents' background, in-depth interviewing fits the most.

According to Mears' (2012) definition, "*in-depth interviews are purposeful interactions in which an investigator attempts to learn what the other person knows about a topic, to discover and record what that person has experienced, what he or she thinks and feels about, and what significance and meaning it might have*" (p. 170). One of the main advantages of interviews is that they reveal detailed information about a certain topic. Due to their loose structure, the interviewer is able to ask for any further specification and explanation if needed. Responses are associated to an individual instead of a group of people. The interviews should take place in a relaxed atmosphere, which encourages participants to share even sensitive information with the researcher. As the research will not conduct the interviews in a group, there is no social pressure on respondents to withhold any information. Again, this encourages them to freely exchange of information with the interviewer. Interviews are easy to set up and coordinate. Unlike focus groups, respondents do not need to be present at the same time. At the same time, in-depth interviewing has a number of disadvantages. Due to the less structured data, results are not generalizable and are difficult to interpret. Furthermore, the small (limited) number of participants and interviewer's active role may lead to biased results. However, a skilful and well-trained interviewer can reduce that risk. Depending on the sample size, the data collection may be highly time-consuming (although not as much as conducting an ethnography) (Malhotra & Birks, 2007; Boyce & Neale, 2006).

3.3. Sampling Design

3.3.1. Sampling Techniques

The researcher will collect data from a subset or sample of the population. Mack et al. (2005) describe three types of sampling techniques that are commonly used in qualitative studies: purposive sampling, quota sampling, and snowball sampling. Purposive sampling and quota sampling both select participants based on predetermined criteria. While purposive sample sizes are based on theoretical saturation, quota sampling is more specific with the number and characteristics of participants. In snowball sampling, a chain of potential participants is identified: one research participant refers another, then that participant refers the next one. This strategy proves especially useful when the group of interest is difficult to find or access. This study will use a combination of purposive sampling and snowball sampling with a fixed sample size. The selection criteria for participants are defined by the characteristics of their children. Participants need to be parents of children between the age of 6 and 13, who recently entered primary school and got engaged in some kind of sport activity. According to American psychologists, most of the children enter sports at this age (Bačanac, 2007).

3.3.2. Sample size

As mentioned before, qualitative research collects data on a small number of individuals. However, determining the exact sample size is a matter of personal judgment and experience (Sandelowski, 1995). According to Marshall et al. (2013), three methods can be used to justify the sample size: (1) following recommendations of qualitative methodologists, (2) citing sample sizes used in studies with similar research problems and designs, or (3) internal justification. Crouch and McKenzie (2006) argue that less than 20 cases in interview-based qualitative research assist the researcher in association with the respondents and enhance the validity of the research. Other researchers suggest that that data collection needs to continue until redundancy in responses is reached (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Given the limit on time and resources available, the sample size needs to be as small as possible but large enough to ensure the trustworthiness of the study and the richness in information. Therefore, the sample size will be set between ten and twelve interviews.

3.3.3. The sample

The analysis was based on 10 individual semi-structured interviews conducted with parents aged between 35 and 47. The participants were seven mothers and four fathers. Their children ranged in age from 8 to 12 and recently started doing sports. The characteristics of the parents and their children are presented in detail Appendix C. Parents defined themselves as middle or upper-middle class by income and lived in either Budapest or Rotterdam. Respondents were either of Hungarian and Dutch nationality.

3.4. Data Collection

Respondent were recruited from six different sports clubs and were invited complete an interview in person. The interviews took place in a relaxed environment and covered open-ended questions, with one participant at a time. The length of the interviews varied between 40 minutes and 1.5 hour. The semi-structured interview followed a thorough interview guide (Appendix B); however, respondents were asked additional questions and to elaborate on certain topics if needed. The language of the interviews was either Hungarian (with Hungarian respondents) or English (with Dutch respondents). During the interviews, notes were also taken if a particular behavior was observed. The conversations were recorded, transcribed and the Hungarian ones translated to English. Except for one interview, only one of the parents of a family participated due to the availability of the parents. However, it was assumed that parents who were recruited at the sports club took a more active part in the child's sports life, therefore was more suitable for the study.

3.5. Evaluative criteria

Both Agar (1981) and Horsburgh (2003) state that qualitative methods are often accused of lacking scientific credibility as opposed to quantitative research. The latter finds that “*application of quantitative conceptualizations of reliability and validity is inappropriate in evaluation of qualitative research... [however] academically rigorous criteria, which are appropriate for evaluation of qualitative research, exist and are available for use by practitioners and researchers*” (Horsburgh, 2003, p.312). As suggested by the author, the research will be evaluated based on a set of criteria, identified mainly by Popay et al. (1998):

1. The study needs to illuminate the *subjective meaning* of participants' behaviour. As all analysis and interpretation is based on the participants' accounts, the report

needs to show how their behaviours are interpreted and understood (Popay et al., 1998).

2. *Participants validation* (returning the data or findings to participants for comment) might not always be appropriate since participants' own substantive situations might differ from the generalized results (Sandelowski, 1993).
3. There should be an *adequate description of the social context* in which the participants are situated to understand on how the context affects their actions (Popay et al., 1998).
4. *Lay knowledge* needs to be of equal importance to other expert knowledge (Popay et al., 1998).
5. The researcher has to ensure that the sample is able to provide meaningful and relevant information on the topic investigated (*purposeful sampling*) (Popay et al., 1998).
6. The research design needs to be *flexible*, so that the researcher can adapt to the various circumstances if necessary (Popay et al., 1998).
7. Qualitative studies seek situational rather than demographic representativeness. However the *potential of generalizability* of the findings to other individuals/groups/populations needs to be assessed (Popay et al., 1998).

Guba (1981) proposes a different approach to judge the trustworthiness of qualitative research. He lists the following criteria to concern:

1. *Truth value* determines how confident the researcher is in the "truth" of the findings of a particular inquiry for the respondents with respect to the context.
2. *Applicability* is the degree to which the findings of a particular inquiry may be applicable in other contexts/respondents.
3. *Consistency* evaluates whether the findings of the inquiry would be the same if the study was replicated with similar contexts or subjects.
4. *Neutrality* is the freedom from biases, motivations, interests, and perspectives in the research procedures and results.

3.6. Measuring Self-Concept

In addition to the in-depth interviewing, the researcher will measure the strength of parents' self-concept by a scale constructed by Malhotra in "A Scale to Measure Self-Concepts, Person

Concepts, and Product Concepts” (1981). The researcher will ask parents to rate either their actual and ideal self-concept on the scale, then to rate one or more sports on the same scale. This will provide further insight into how similar or different parents regard the selected sports activity to themselves.

3.7. Data coding

There were several steps undertaken in the analysis of the interviews. The collected data was analyzed based on the framework provided by Malhotra & Birks (2007). First, the interviews were recorded, transcribed and in some cases translated to English. All these transcripts were gathered into one place. Second, the transcripts were coded. Coding is defined as the process of assigning “*a descriptive or conceptual label to excerpts of raw data*” (Gale et al., 2013, p.1). Since not all of the information mentioned in the interviews was relevant for the research, data had to be reduced. The coding process started with thoroughly reading and re-reading the transcripts until the researcher was familiarized with the interviews. After that, marginal notes of descriptive words were added to the documents. These notes were organized into segments according to iterative, emerging topics that contributed to the research questions. Narrow segments were organized into larger categories which provided that framework of the analysis. The codes are summarized in a coding book.

Below, there is an example of the coding:

“*I used to play tennis competitively* (1.), so *I wanted him to play tennis, too* (2.)”. (Mother 2, Int.3)

1.: Childhood experience

2.: Parental control

Finally, the coded data is displayed – summarized and explained in sections, supported by quotes from the interviews. The findings of the study also need to be compared to existing academic literature in order to verify the conclusions.

4. Findings

In this chapter, the findings of the research will be presented. The chapter is structured according to the conceptual model and the coding book. First, an overview is given on how parents perceive children doing sports in general. Second, the contextual – social, cultural, psychological, and personal – factors influencing buying behavior will be discussed. These sub-chapters are divided into further parts that provide details on which specific elements proved to be the most influential on the decision-making of the parents.

The table in Appendix C summarizes basic information about the interviews and the respondents. In total, eleven parents (seven mothers and four fathers) participated in the study.

4.1. Parents' perception of children's sport participation

The first subchapter gives an insight into parents' perceptions of children's general sports participation. Parents proved to be the main initiators of children's involvement in sports activities. From the age of 2, children were already taught basic sport skills, such as cycling or kicking, throwing, and catching the ball. Throughout kindergarten, parents also took them to swimming classes in order to keep them safe around water. In most cases, however, they considered swimming as an essential life skill that everybody needs to learn rather than a 'real' sports activity. Swimming, running, and cycling were perceived as a recreational activity that the family would do together in their free time. Parents enrolled their children in sport activities usually at the beginning of primary school since according to many of them there were too few opportunities for younger children.

"Most sport activities start at the age 6." (Mother 5, Int. 8)

"I don't think there are a lot of opportunities for little children. Maybe, from the age of 6." (Mother 6, Int. 9)

All of the parents perceived sports positively and felt that they may have a beneficial effect on the physical, mental, and cognitive development of their children. Specifically, they believed that sports activities improved their children's health as well as social skills and provided them with an additional social context outside the school, where they learn to work together with others.

“Sports are very important for the health – to develop the body and the motor skills. And also the social part – to learn the different roles, be a team player and stay in control.” (Father 3, Int. 6)

They explained that it was important that their children start doing sports at a young age since *“they learn social and emotional skills better at this age”* (Father 4, Int. 7). Furthermore, they hoped that attending sports practices would occupy their children’s free time, protect them from bad influences, and keep them out of trouble, while they are not able to watch over them after school. In particular, parents feared that children would spend their all of their free time playing video games if sports did not keep them busy.

“They go to school and study but they still have time to do many things I would not want them to do. For instance, sitting in front of the computer the entire day/night is such a thing. Sports keep children busy.” (Mother 7, Int. 10)

“I think that doing sports is a useful way of spending time in the age of video games. I see that the all the time it takes away from their free time is from video games, not from valuable playing time.” (Mother 1, Int. 1)

“I believe they need to spend their time with useful things and not just hang around.” (Mother 6, Int. 9)

Parents proved to be highly involved in their children’s sports. Some of them only supported their children by paying for the sports activities, taking them to practices, and encouraging them, while others also took part in the parents association at the sports club and coached them at competitions.

The next subchapter discusses the main factors that influence parents’ sport selection.

4.2. Personal factors – Parental sacrifice

The first factor that impacted parents’ decision focused rather on the parents than on the children. Interviewing parents revealed that parents were concerned about what they personally had to sacrifice or commit to for the sake of their children’s sports participation. Respondents shared concerns about the inconvenience (location of the sports club, comfort, and competitive nature of the sports activity) the sports activities caused them and the costs involved.

4.2.1. Convenience

Location of sports club. All of the parents interviewed had a full-time job and lived a busy life style. Besides work and family commitments, they were also responsible for taking the children to school and practices as they did not let them travel alone at such a young age. Parents claimed that they found it difficult to adjust their schedules to the practices; therefore, they preferred the location of the practices to be as close to their home or to the school as possible. As a result, the majority of them considered only those activities that were available nearby. The location of the practices was often mentioned as the number one aspect in narrowing down the options of sport activities for the children.

“The primary consideration was the location.” (Father 2, Int. 5)

“We wanted him to do sports and showed him sports that were available nearby.”
(Father 1, Int. 2)

“And of course, the location is close to us. This was also an aspect for me.”
(Mother 2, Int. 3)

“This [sports club] was the nearest one to where we live.” (Mother 5, Int. 8)

“We live next to the Danube, so if they want to stop with aerobics and look for another sports activity, I would happily enroll them in kayaking or canoeing. It would be one of the top choices.” (Mother 1, Int. 1)

Comfort. Others ruled out certain sport activities because they considered the physical environment of the practices uncomfortable for them. This was an aspect mainly for parents who stayed at the practices and waited for their kids there. As an example, when Mother 5 was asked why her children did not continue with swimming, she said:

“I hated sitting in the pool because it is too hot inside”. (Mother 5, Int. 8)

Furthermore, some parents with more than one child enrolled their younger children in the same sport activity as their older ones because it was more convenient for them to take them to the same place. This implies that these parents did not individualize the sport selection for their younger their children.

“Anna [younger child] just came to the practices with us [with older brother] because I couldn’t leave her at home, and after some time, she joined the practices.” (Mother 6, Int. 9)

“When my daughter was three, she wanted to do some kind of gymnastics because she was too young for swimming and skiing. So we started aerobics and enrolled my son as well so that he wouldn’t be bored while she’s at the practice”. (Mother 1, Int. 1)

Competitive nature of sports activity. The study showed that parents formed very contrasting opinions on competitive sports regarding their own interest. Many of them disapproved competitive sports since they felt they did not affect only the lives of children but also the lives of parents. Parents explained that competitive sports activities would require additional sacrifice from them in terms of time and money as well as put pressure on them.

“The question is what the parent is willing to sacrifice. I hear that they have to invest in very expensive [bicycle] equipment at a young age and it is also inconvenient to take the kids to practice and competitions.” (Mother 1, Int. 1)

“I think competitive sports put pressure on the parents as well who are not always ready to take this on. Driving the kids only to school is easier than driving them to school, trainings and competitions.” (Mother 7, Int. 10)

“The same thing is true for [swimming and athletics] competitions – you have to be there all day long, just to see them perform just one small thing. I prefer doing something to waiting for a long time.” (Mother 5, Int. 8)

Contrastingly, others preferred competitive sports over recreational ones because they form a more valuable relationship between the coach and the child. As Mother 1 explained, doing competitive sports requires more dedication from both the coach and the child as the coach is not only motivated by financial initiatives but potential success and accomplishment. Moreover, it reduces the likelihood that the child will switch to another sport activity since he is driven by a sense of duty. This also serves the convenience of the parent.

4.2.2. Costs

Since all of the parents seemed to be financially well situated – owned a house, a car, and categorized themselves under the middle class or upper middle class – many of them stated that costs had no or little influence on their decision or were only a secondary aspect. When rating the costs of different sports activities, it turned out that parents, who did not care about the costs, enrolled their children in sports activities that they perceived as cheap or moderately cheap. This suggests that they were indifferent about the costs aspect because the chosen sport

was cheap of the first place. Some respondents admitted that they excluded very expensive sports activities from their consideration set because they could not have been able to afford them – at least not at a competitive level. Sports typically rated as expensive or very expensive were golf, tennis, skiing, ice skating, cycling and horse riding.

“Costs influenced our decision in a way that we would not have been able to afford golf, horse riding, or tennis at a competitive level – even though both of our children learnt horse riding. But in general, it is not a problem to pay for their sport activities.” (Mother 7, Int. 10)

“Costs weren’t an aspect. Of course, if it had been very costly, we would have thought about it; but in this case, it was not an aspect.” (Father 1, Int. 2)

“I really like snowboarding and wish we could go every year. But we cannot afford that financially.” (Mother 3, Int. 4)

There were other parents who explicitly stated added that they did not want to pay for an expensive sport activity while their kids were so young because it ‘was not worth it’. They either thought that they would obtain the same benefits from cheaper sports or if their children do not turn out to be successful later, they would just waste money.

“Not that we couldn’t afford it but we didn’t want to pay for too expensive sports. I consider it unnecessary to invest so much in tennis or cycling. It is not worth it.” (Mother 1, Int. 1)

“The problem [with tennis] is the costs. The coach also said that it is not really worth investing in at such a young age, only around 14-18. Later, you can better see who is really talented and whether you are able or willing to spend so much money on it.” (Mother 2, Int. 3)

The influencing power of costs also depended on whether the children engaged in other extracurricular activities or not, such as music playing. This suggests that parents consider the sum of the costs of all extracurricular activities, not the costs of sports separately.

“Since I think that playing an instrument is also important, I don’t want them to do an expensive sport.” (Mother 5, Int. 8)

4.3. Cultural Influences

Since the sample was quite homogenous and all parents had a similar cultural background, it was hard to draw conclusions from the study on how culture affects parents' decision making. All parents were quite knowledgeable about national sports but the long-term history and success of these sports did not impact their decision making.

Socio-economic class. Since all parents in the sample identified themselves as middle or upper-middle class, differences between social classes cannot be analyzed. All of the respondents had an academic degree, lived in a house or large flat and owned at least one car. When parents were asked about which sports they thought were typical for their social class, they mentioned 'elite' sports, such as golf, tennis, or polo, but very few of them actually enrolled their children in these sports activities. However, when parents were asked to rate the costs of 12 different type of sports activities – including the sports activities they chose for their children – on a scale of 1 to 5 (where 1 indicates 'very cheap' and 5 indicates 'very expensive'), patterns showed that they did not chose sports activities that they perceived to be very cheap or very expensive. Instead, they felt that the costs associated with the selected sports activity are somewhere in the middle. This suggests that middle class respondents chose sports according to their social class – they clearly set themselves apart from the lower and higher social classes – the very cheap and very expensive sports. Accordingly, the only respondent who classified her family as upper-middle class perceived the chosen sport as more expensive (tennis, fencing, skiing).

During the interviews, it was observed that respondent associated certain sports activities with lower-class people and talked about them contemptuously. At the same time, they praised sports that are associated with educated, upper-class people.

“[Boxing] is more about the physical strength than the strategy.” (Father 1, Int. 2)

“I think [football] is quite vulgar and common, played by primitive people”. “For some reason I think tennis is very elegant. I cannot say why. Maybe because it is an intelligent sport.” (Mother 7, Int. 10)

4.4. Social Influences

4.4.1. Reference groups

Family. In some cases, family members appeared to have influence on the consideration set of the parents since children often tried out the same sports as their cousins, aunts, or uncles.

“How did you come up with the idea to try judo?” (Interviewer) “My nephew has done judo for a couple of years”. (Mother 5, Int. 8)

“I was used to it [horse riding] because my sister has always been horse riding; she was a real ‘horse girl’. She also took me a few times with her. She is now really proud of my daughter that she is horse riding.” (Father 4, Int. 7)

Parents explained that most often they talked about the sports activities of their children with family members. They felt more knowledgeable about sports activities that family members were doing and considered them a highly reliable source of information. At the same time, some parents stated that the sport activities of family members influenced rather the children than them. For instance, children were often inspired by their cousins who did sports competitively.

“Our cousins were swimming at a top-level. That must have been a bit enviable for my children.” (Mother 6, Int. 9)

“One of our cousins played volleyball at a high level, so for her [my daughter], this might have been an inspiration to start volleyball.” (Father 3, Int. 6)

Other reference groups. Other reference groups than family were rarely mentioned during the interviews. Occasionally, parents discussed the sports activities of their children with other parents at the sports club or at school. These parents not only directly recommended certain sports activities but also proved to be a rich source of information about the location, the costs, the coaches of the practices.

“The father of one of their [children’s] classmates recommended aerobics.”
(Mother 2, Int. 3)

“In team sports, costs are more dispersed. My boss’ son plays football 4 to 5 times a week and he pays only EUR20 a month.” (Mother 1, Int. 1)

Reference groups also played an important role in shaping parents’ beliefs of different sports activities. This was in particular true in case of sports that parents were not knowledgeable

about. Reference groups often negatively influenced parents' opinion about sports activities and discouraged them from enrolling their children in them.

"I don't like football. I knew some football players back in university and did not have good experiences with them. There is a lot of shouting and swearing." (Mother 3, Int. 4)

4.4.2. Media

Parents indicated the media (mainly, television and the Internet) as the main source of information about sports and health. There were some parents who often watched football or athletics on TV, others only watched bigger sporting events, such as the Olympic Games. On average, parents watched sport programs at least once a week.

"I usually read about sports on the Internet or watch them on TV. We love the Tour de France and other cycling competitions and also tennis. And the Olympics, of course." (Mother 3, Int. 4)

Besides providing information, media shaped the beliefs and attitude of parents towards sports activities. For example, a father admitted that his beliefs about the effect of different sports activities on the development of children come from the television.

"There is a program I watch every day and a professor talks about things like this once a week." (Father 4, Int. 7)

Media coverage also impacted which sports activities entered parents' consideration set and how much they knew about certain sports activities. For instance, while parents seemed to be very knowledgeable about football and ball sports, they knew less about sports aerobics.

4.5. Psychological influences

4.5.1 Beliefs and goals

Parents were asked to elaborate on what they had thought about and expected from the chosen sport activity before their children started practicing it. Furthermore, their opinion on 12 other sport activities was asked. Responses indicated that parents' decision was heavily impacted by parenting goals they set in relation to their children's sports participation. These goals were based on beliefs associated with various sports activities. For instance, the majority of the

parents perceived combat sports as too aggressive; therefore, they thought enrolling their children in boxing would have a negative impact on their behavioral development.

“I don't like aggressive sports. Even though many of the combat sports are for self-defense, I can always see the aggression in their eyes and think that the goal is to hurt each other.” (Father 3, Int. 6)

The beliefs were particularly strong if they had arisen from parents' own sporting experiences.

“I thought swimming was a healthy and good thing to do. I also learnt swimming by taking swimming classes for a couple of years. My husband also used to swim and play water polo, so we were very much aware that it was healthy and good for the spine.” (Mother 6, Int. 9)

Four non-exclusive parenting goals in relation to children's sports were identified based on the interviews. Parents aimed to select a sports activity that would (1) develop their children's personality in a desired way, (2) improve certain aspects of their health, (3) provide them with a sense of achievement, and (4) transmit experiences.

4.5.1.1. Positive personality development

Life skills. Parents believed that the chosen sports would teach their children certain life skills, on which later the children will be able to capitalize in their professional and private life. According to this, they differentiated sports activities based on with which life skill these activities provide their children and selected sports activities through which they felt that their children would be able to acquire those skills.

“It is not the competition that motivates us – rather belonging to a community where he can learn values such as perseverance, will-power, diligence, and team spirit. In handball, you can all find that”. (Father 1, Int. 2)

“These life skills she learns through volleyball will be important when she grows up. It is a good practice for improving mental skills.” (Father 3, Int. 6)

Out of these skills, social skills seemed to be the most important for most parents. Those parents who tried to find a sports activity where their children can improve their social skills, often enrolled their children in team sports where the social context dominates.

“Aerobics is building a community. They do not only have friends from school but also from the trainings”. “It is important to me that the kids are surrounded by many.” (Mother 1, Int. 1)

“We thought it was important to play a team sport to develop her social skills, to learn motivate others in the team, and to learn about losing and winning with other people”. (Father 3, Int. 6)

“We live a very busy life because of working, studying, and spending time with the family. So, there is little time to socialize with friends. I hoped that volleyball will provide her with an additional social context besides school since it is a team sport”. “When I go to her practices or tournaments, I also see the social aspects during the game and that coaches encourage social behavior. I like that.” (Father 4, Int. 7)

The research showed that parents expected that these skills will assist their children in being successful in their future professional life. They believed that the skills they perceived to be important in their current job can be acquired through the selected sports activity.

“Later, in different areas of life – both in private life and work – cooperation, asserting interest, and accommodation are very important. Even if you work alone and just go out to eat with others. And this you can learn the best through a team sport.” (Father 1, Int. 2)

Coach. Parents also felt that the coach as a mentor would have an impact on the personality development of their children, thus, the behavior and personality of the coach was a relevant aspect in the decision making process. Many of the parents had not met the coach before they enrolled their children in a sports activity. Those who did either heard about the coach from a family member or met the coach while visiting a trial class. They aimed to choose a trainer whose coaching attitude was similar to their parenting style or who had similar moral values, which would contribute to the mental development of the children.

“The personality of the coach has essentially influenced our decision. She is a young woman with three kids, so she can interact with and motivate children very well”. “The judo coaching is very similar to our parenting style. A lot more similar than that of ball games, where players lack all discipline and talk back to their coach. We require rules and more discipline”. (Father 2, Int. 5)

“There was an opportunity to play hand ball at a qualified coach, who started to ‘recruit’ kids for trainings in a very playful way. So, in the end it was the sense of community, the playfulness, and the positive atmosphere that pulled them into this sport.” (Father 1, Int. 2)

Other parents added that the goal was to find coach who would in a way substitute them as a parent when they cannot be present or when the children rebel against them in their teenage years.

“The main question was who is going to coach them and what values that person represents. In football, children are raised in a very different way, which I do not like at all. But Eva [coach] has a very serious moral attitude; therefore, she was the most optimal for us”. “Since they [children] were little, my motivation for enrolling them in sports has not been that it would make them top athletes but that it would help me pull through their teenage years. So that when they reject me as a parent, they will be surrounded by people that show similar values as I do”.
(Mother 1, Int. 1)

In some cases, the dissatisfaction with the coaches was one of the reasons why parents switched to a completely different sport activity – not just a different sport club.

“We switched [from swimming to aerobics] also because we did not like the attitude of the trainers. You know like all other swimming coaches... They are not the most intelligent ones.” (Mother 7, Int. 10)

Analyzing the above statement it can be assumed that parents do not always judge the coaches individually but have pre-established opinions on types of sports coaches, as well, which may also influence their decision.

4.5.1.2. Health

The research has also found that participants’ decisions were motivated by which health benefits they wanted to gain through the sports activity. In this category, parents’ goal was to find a sports activity that would improve children’s health or develop their body in a desired way.

“We wanted it to improve their posture. There is an inherited spinal problem running in the family and the doctor said that gymnastics, combat sports or swimming might help with that.” (Mother 1, Int. 1)

“She [daughter] was thin and already had a good figure but wasn’t strong enough. With aerobics she gains just the right amount of muscles.” (Mother 2, Int. 3)

Not only did take parents into consideration which health benefits the sports activity provided but also which harmful effects they believed the activity had on their children’s health. This mean that this decision was based on which health impact the parents wanted to avoid.

“At the same time gymnasts are right at the limit of human capability. I often doubt that it is healthy for their body.” (Father 1, Int. 2)

“I also think it [athletics] is not really healthy. They are overstretching themselves. They are not busy with getting healthy but getting strong, which is not good for the body.” (Mother 5, Int. 8)

“Gymnastics is very challenging and the risk of an injury is very high. I don’t think it is healthy as most other sports are. In the long-term I think it can have many disadvantages.” (Mother 7, Int. 10)

Furthermore, some parents shared concerns regarding the highly competitive nature of certain sports because of their impact on children. Respondents argued that competitive are too physically demanding and may negatively affect children’s health.

“I don’t want him to become a professional gymnast, just to compete at school level. I don’t want him to damage his body.” (Mother 3, Int. 4)

4.5.1.3. Achievement

The interviews also revealed that parents aimed to choose a sport activity for their children where they can have a sense of achievement. However, they explicitly stated that they did not want their children to engage in competitive sports that are too demanding in terms of time and commitment.

“I had Olympic athletes in my class (swimmers) and saw how top-class sports ruined their childhood. I don’t want that for my children.” (Father 2, Int. 5)

“I think everybody has to be able to swim, but those who do it on a competitive level dedicate their lives to it. I saw this with my daughter; she was very talented

and was told to have trainings 9 times a week, even though she was only 9. So we did not accept this. The lives of competitive swimmers are very much determined by the sport". "Aerobics is not an Olympic sport, so you do not have to dedicate your entire life to it." (Mother 7, Int. 10)

Even though some parents were against competitive sports, they still opted for a sports activity where they believed their children can be successful. They explained that being unsuccessful would upset the children and most likely discourage them from pursuing the activity.

"It is not about the success, but avoiding constant failure which would cause them to lose their patience and make them feel like they are working for nothing. They are fighting so hard that they need to be rewarded." (Mother 1, Int. 1)

In general, parents assumed from their children's physical and mental abilities which sports activity would have the most potential for them. Only one of the fathers asked for expert advice to find out which sports activity would best fit his son's physique.

"Since my kids are not tall, it [basketball] wasn't even an option." "Adel [daughter] is definitely a gymnast-type – she is thin; she has this ballet body type." "I chose a tactical sport for him [son] because he is a tactical thinker. He is good in math and can definitely apply this tactical thinking in sports." (Mother 2, Int. 3)

"I could see that his body wouldn't fit to ball sports. He is not very tall but muscular, thus, I found gymnastics would best fit to his physique." (Mother 3, Int. 4)

"She is quite good at motivating others and usually takes the role of the leader. Therefore, a team sport very much fits her." (Father 3, Int. 6)

Some parents turned out to give socially desirable answers on the topic success. For example, while the father who took his son to experts to find out which sports activity would suit him best claimed that the goal was not to make his children successful athletes.

"We took him [son] to an open day to the University of Physical Education, where doctors and experts examined his body, bones, muscles and physique to figure out at which sports he may become the most successful." (Father 2, Int. 5)

It can be concluded that these parents do not necessarily want their children to be professional athletes but want to provide them with opportunity to be successful by selecting a sports activity that best fits their body.

4.5.1.4. Childhood experiences

The last goal that parents set was to transmit their childhood sport experiences to their children. Parent's sporting backgrounds also influenced sport participation decisions in general. Those parents who grow up with sports automatically enrolled their children in sports activities, since they thought it was an essential part of their life.

"I was also raised in the way that doing sports was mandatory." (Mother 1, Int. 1)

"I grew up with sports, so it is natural to me that my daughter will do sports, too." (Father 4, Int. 7)

Even though a few respondents did not have any family culture for sport participation, they told that their spouse did, meaning that in every family at least one of the parents had a relevant sporting background. The following statements indicate that a person's childhood sporting experiences does not only influence the children but also other members of a family.

"My husband is a sports fanatic; he has been doing sports since his childhood. It is a substantial part of his life, so it also belongs to my life. So it was no question that they had to do sports." (Mother 7, Int. 10)

"I did not do any sports as a child. I missed [regularity] as a child. My parents were not really interested in how we spent our time because they worked a lot. I am not saying that we just hung around but sports and music were not important to them. For my husband's parents these things were very important, so he did both sports and music. Now, we both live a very sporty lifestyle." (Mother 6, Int. 9)

The sporting background of the parents also influenced the way they selected sports activities for their children. Some parents enrolled their children in sports activities in which they used to engage as kids. They wanted their children to gain similar experiences to their own childhood experiences.

"I used to play tennis competitively and I think it is a very good sport, so I wanted him to play tennis, too". "I wanted the tennis and the skiing. You know because of my own experiences." (Mother 2, Int. 3)

Others wanted their children to experience things that they did not do in their childhood.

“I have never tried ball sport or combat sports basically anything else than athletics because I both grew up in the countryside, where there were no other opportunities. It wasn't important to our parents. We didn't even go to swimming pool with the school – only when we were in high school. For our kids, it is different. We try to offer them as many opportunities as possible.” (Mother 4, Int. 5)

4.5.2 Parenting style and self-extension

The interviews revealed that even at a young age (8 to 12), children play a big role in the decision making process. Not only did parents take into consideration which sports their children would enjoy or would fit their physical characteristics, but in some cases, they also let them make the decision. From the interviews, it could be concluded that children's involvement in the decision-making process was determined by how much influence their parents allowed them to exert. In other words, the level of children's involvement in the final stage of the decision making-process depended on the parenting style that the parents used. As discussed in the literature review, parents may employ three different types of parenting styles in youth sport: controlling, autonomy-supportive, and mixed parenting style. In the research, examples for controlling and autonomy-supportive parenting styles were found; thus, the influence of children's will be analyzed based on these two parenting styles.

Furthermore, the research revealed important relationship between parental self-extension through control and parental sport selection. Belk (1988) makes three important conclusions: first, parents consider their children as part of their self or as their possession; second, the more control people exercise over their possessions, the stronger the link between their sense of self and the possession becomes; and third, self-extension may occur through vicarious consumption. As a result, parental self-extension may be measured by the amount of control they exert over their children, and sport selection may be studied from the perspective of self-extension.

4.5.2.1. Controlling parenting style

In the first category, parents were highly involved in their children's life in general and in sports, and did not let them participate in daily decision making. Controlling parents let little

room for arguments and employed a one-way communication with their children. This quote, for instance, suggests a controlling parenting style:

“My husband and I are quite strict. I think you need to be clear about the rules, especially, at this age. For example, right now, kids are all about ripped jeans. But we won’t let them have it. And that’s it.” (Mother 1, Int. 1)

Influence of children. Controlling parents also dominated the decision making in sports. These parents chose the sport activity based without asking their children what they wanted to do. This means children of controlling parents were not or little involved in the sports selection.

“I also played tennis, that’s why I am trying to push them in that direction.”
(Mother 2, Int. 3)

“Who made the decision?” (Interviewer) *“Me. At least, my husband never said he [son] shouldn’t do it [gymnastics].”* *“I believe I made a good decision.”* (Mother 3, Int. 4)

“In case of my son, I made the decision”. *“I wanted him to do a team sport, so I thought we should start with soccer.”* (Mother 5, Int. 8)

As a result of the one-way communication, controlling parents did not want to receive any feedback from their children. Regardless of whether the children enjoyed the sports activity or not, they kept pushing them.

“His concentration improved a lot. But he hasn’t really come to like it [tennis] very much.” (Mother 2, Int. 3)

Furthermore, it could be concluded from the interviews that controlling parents who made the sport selection decision usually made the decision alone – without involving their spouse. These parents explained that their spouse did not participate in the decision making because he was not interested in sports in general.

“My husband is not really into sports. I am the one who coordinates this [children’s sports activity].” (Mother 2, Int. 3)

“My husband has never done any sports. He never wanted to.” (Mother 5, Int. 8)

Self-extension. As the academic research suggests parents ally themselves more closely with their children if they exert more control over them. This means that parents employing

controlling parenting style highly include their children in their self. Further evidence of strong self-extension was found in the study: controlling parents kept referring to their children as ‘we’ and talked about their children’s sports activities like they were also participating at practices and competitions.

“So we [daughter and I] started aerobics and enrolled my son as well so that he wouldn’t be bored while she’s at the practice”. (Mother 1, Int. 1)

“Previously, we [daughter and I] tried rhythmic gymnastics, then synchronized swimming, tennis, and the aerobics”. “My kids are quite shy. All the power [in combat sports] is not really for us.” (Mother 2, Int. 3)

“First, we [son and I] went to another place but we have been at TF [sports club] for almost a year now.” (Mother 3, Int. 4)

Another example for parents seeing their children as part of the self was that they assigned their own characteristics to them – and emphasized these similarities as they wanted to appear as similar as possible.

“I was also like my kids – thin and cold in water.” (Mother 2, Int. 3)

Due to self-extension, parents chose sports activities for their children as they were choosing sports activities for themselves. Three relevant aspects emerged in this decision. First, they wanted their children to do the same (or similar) sports activities as they did in their childhood.

“I was doing rhythmic gymnastics and aerobics when I have younger, which is very similar to gymnastics.” (Mother 3, Int. 4)

Second, controlling parents strongly identified themselves with the chosen sports activity.

“[If I were a sports activity], I would probably be aerobics or gymnastics or something with a routine and music.” “I have been doing artistic gymnastics since I was 3 years old. [...] So pretty much, I have been competing in some sort of gymnastics my whole life.” (Mother 3, Int. 4)

Furthermore, when placing themselves and the chosen sports activity on the self-concept scales, the two scales showed similar patterns. Since the sample size was small, no statistical conclusions can be drawn from these scales. However, they appeared to be a useful tool for

visualizing the similarities between parents' actual self and the perceived self of the sports activity. Third, parents wanted their children to engage in their own favorite sports activity.

"I like soccer the most, my husband likes soccer. I wanted him to do a team sport, so I thought we should start with soccer." (Mother 5, Int. 8)

4.5.1.2. Autonomy-supporting parenting style

In the other category, parents also proved to be highly involved in their children's lives but did not pressure them to behave in a certain way. For instance, autonomy-supporting parenting was characterized by a two-way communication between parent and child where the child had a crucial role in the decision making. An example, a father explained how much autonomy her daughter has in buying and wearing clothes:

"My daughter likes to choose her clothes herself. She is very selective about what she wants to wear and it needs to be done perfectly. She carefully thinks about her decisions – she is not impulsive at all." (Father 4, Int. 7)

Influence of children. Autonomy-supporting parents also involved their children in the decision-making for sports activities. They emphasized the importance of introducing their children to different sports and giving them the opportunity to try out certain activities before making the decision. When they had the opportunity, they took their children to open days at sports clubs to find out whether they would enjoy the activity or not. Autonomy-supporting parents were divided into two-sub categories based on whether they provided full or limited autonomy support. Parents who employed full-autonomy-supporting parenting style provided complete freedom of choice to their children. When they were directly asked who chose the sport activity for their child, they told it was solely their child. Parents claimed that they only insisted on that their children do sports but did not care about what they do.

"We tried to offer him [son] the freedom a choice in a way because we did not really have any point of reference. I used to do athletics and football, but we were looking for something that he would enjoy." (Father 1, Int. 2)

"I don't care what sport they [children] do until they do something". "You have to try and find what interests them the most. Music classes were not compulsory, either. She [daughter] just wanted to try it." (Mother 6, Int. 9)

“We told them that the main thing was that they do some kind of sport – and they decide what. So, we absolutely did not influence their decision, did not want to force anything.” (Father 2, Int. 5)

“We asked our daughter what she wanted to do and took her to open days at basketball, football, hockey, and volleyball clubs. And when she tried volleyball, she said that's what she wanted. So, she was the one who made the choice.”
(Father 4, Int. 7)

Parents who used limited-autonomy-supporting parenting style carefully selected a set of options before letting their children choose out of those. This means that they took into consideration the children's wishes but only within certain limits.

“My wife and I have offered options and asked her [daughter] what she wanted to do - and she chose volleyball. But we also pushed her a little bit.” (Father 3, Int. 6)

“We have requirements and rules. Later, it will be important for them to have discipline at work. But we try not to kill it [the love for sports] with the excessive discipline and physical requirements.” (Father 2, Int. 5)

Self-extension. Since autonomy-supporting parents exercised less control on their children, the self-extension was not as prevalent as for controlling parents. They referred to their children as separate persons and did not emphasize similarities between themselves and their children. The interviews suggested that they were proud of their children for being able to make different decisions from them.

“She is very unique with her choices.” (Father 4, Int. 7)

Because autonomy-supporting parents did not include their children as strongly in their own self as controlling parents, they did not aim to select a sports activity that they identified with. In these cases, self-concept scales of parents and the selected sports activity showed different patterns. They built their decision rather upon practical considerations (such as location or convenience) than own experiences or liking.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

The final chapter of the study provides a summary and draws conclusion based on the finding. First, results are compared to existing academic literature, leading to a summary of the academic contribution of the study. After that, the practical implication of the research will be discussed and the most important limitations of the study are listed. Lastly, suggestions for future research are made.

5.1. Discussion

The study aims to provide a better understanding of parents' sport selection decision for their children. It investigated the following research questions:

1. Which factors influence parents' buying behavior for their children, especially when choosing a sport activity for them?
2. How do these factors impact parents' decision?
3. How does parents' self-concept appear in these buying decisions?

The influencing factors could be categorized into Kotler & Armstrong's (2010) framework of contextual factors influencing consumer buying behavior. Due to the homogeneous sample, however, cultural and social factors did not prove to be as dominant as psychological and personal factors. Since there has been no other research made on this topic, it will be hard to make comparisons between the findings and the existing literature.

Parents, in general, proved to be the initiators of sports activities of children, which was in line with previous literature (Baxter-Jones and Maffulli, 2003; Dixon et al. 2008, Wheeler, 2012). They enrolled their children into sports activities in order to occupy their free time and improve their moral and physical qualities. Nakhodin et al. (2015) also claims that 12% of the parents want their child to have sports as a career, however, none of the respondents mentioned this.

5.1.2. Personal Influences

Interestingly, parents' concerns for their own convenience proved to be the most prominent personal influence. 'Practical' parents based their decision mainly on how the sports activity

would impact their own life – such as the convenience, the location, the costs, or the competitive nature of the sports activity.

5.1.2. Cultural Influences

As mentioned before, the sample proved to be quite homogeneous, thus, it was not possible to compare different cultural impacts. An important finding related to the socio-economic class was that respondents selected sports activities that ‘matched’ their social class in terms of costs intelligence.

5.1.3. Social Influences

As for social influences, the most relevant reference groups were family and other parents at school. Friends were not mentioned. Family and other parents were perceived as the most reliable source of information, while the media provided them with the most information. Every parent was well-informed on sports, but also on health trends that were tightly connected to sports and healthy lifestyle. Besides providing information, media strongly shaped the beliefs and attitude of parents towards sports activities.

5.1.4. Psychological Influences

The research showed that psychological factors have the main impact on parents’ decision making. Parents had certain goals they wanted their children to achieve through sports. Based on characteristics of sports activities, they selected the sports activity that they thought would help them achieve that goal the best. These goals involved positive personality development, health improvement, achievement, and transmitting childhood experiences through sports. These results confirmed the findings of Wheeler (2012), who investigated the role of family culture in sport participation.

Finally, the role of self-extension was investigated by the research. Parents were differentiated by the parenting style they employed: controlling and autonomy-supporting parenting styles.

Two hypotheses were formed that needs to be tested through quantitative methods:

1. Controlling parents tend to decide on the sports activity of their children, while autonomy-supporting parents tend to offer full of limited freedom of choice for their children.

2. Those parents who highly include their child in their self tend to choose sports activities that they perceive to be similar to themselves; often sports activities that they used to do as children.

5.2. Managerial Implications

Although the study has mainly theoretical contributions, some managerial implication may be discussed, as well. These recommendations are relevant primarily to sports clubs and sports association that aim to attract more member and popularize a sports activity.

The first suggestions for sports clubs is based on the location aspect often mentioned by parents. Since many parents choose sports clubs because of its closeness to their home or the school, these clubs need to be visible, therefore, actively advertise in the neighborhood and in the school buildings.

Second, many parents screen different activities before enrolling their child in a sports activity. Sports clubs need to provide parents and children with the opportunity to attend open days and try out the classes. This is also important to parents, who often want to get to know the coach before making the decision.

The third suggestion for sports clubs is to provide parents with a comfortable environment while they wait for their children (e.g. establishing a café or a bar). The study revealed that an inconvenient environment may cause a parent switch to a different sports activity.

5.3. Limitations

Even though the study provided interesting insights to a little-studied phenomenon, it has certain limitation we need to paid attention to. Without accounting for these constraints, wrong conclusions may be drawn from the research. These limitations may also be seen as potential points for improvement for related, future research.

First of all, the sample is very homogeneous. Although two nationalities are represented in the study, all of the respondents are of similar social class, age, and (European) cultural background. Conducting a research among ethnic minorities may provide entirely different insights into sports selection practices of parents and shed light on influencing factors that are not even mentioned here. Not only parents are similar – due to the (partly) snowballing

sampling technique, many children come from the same sports club, thus, parents have similar experiences.

Second, as in every qualitative study, the sample size is too small to make meaningful comparisons between respondents. In-depth interviewing provides insight into the studied phenomenon and helps identify common emerging themes. However, little discussed but important topics may be neglected due to the iterative nature of the process of coding. A larger sample size would have provided a more complete picture of the sport selection process of parents.

Third, due to limited time and availability of parents, there was only one occasion where both parents could be present. This is particularly important in the case of this research as the self-concept of parents was studied. Although during the sampling those parents were selected who were more involved in the sports life of their children (e.g. took them to the practices and stayed) and were asked about their spouses in the interviews, the other parents may have had a bigger role in the decision making than it was assumed.

Fourth, the topic of parenting styles and controlling children may have triggered parents to provide socially desirable or acceptable answers. In order to avoid biased responses, indirect questioning was used during the interviews. In a few cases, these responses were detected; however, it cannot be guaranteed that all of them were filtered out.

Fifth, the researcher lacked experience and expertise in conducting interviews, which may have resulted in less effective questioning and less detailed responses.

5.4. Suggestions for Future Research

Based on the limitations detailed in the previous section, a number of recommendations may be suggested for future research.

First, the interviews should be conducted with both parents in order to fully understand the role of parents in the decision making and to reveal which parent is more dominant in this decision. Moreover, it is suggested the children of the families are also interviewed to reveal their role in the decision and the reciprocal effect they have on each other with their parents.

Second, it is recommended that a quantitative research is conducted to test the hypothesis that parents who highly include their children in their self tend to select sports activities for them

that they used to do in the childhood and/or sports activities that are similar to their own self-concept. Since the sample size was small, only a hypothesis was established but no significant conclusions drawn regarding this question. A quantitative study with a large sample size, however, may confirm this hypothesis.

Third, the researcher also suggests conducting another quantitative analysis with a large and diverse sample in order to better determine factors underlying parental sport selection decisions. This way, it would be possible to list factors and evaluate their importance and compare different groups. It would also enable to point out the differences between mothers and fathers.

Fourth, it would be interesting to see how parents with a different cultural, social, or ethnic background respond to the questions. For example, Hallmon (2016) conducted a qualitative study among Black mothers to understand their perceptions and choices regarding recreational activities for their children. Similar studies, involving other ethnic groups may also contribute constructively to academic literature.

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Appendices

Appendix A – A Scale to Measure Self-Concepts, Person Concepts, and Product Concepts

1.	Rugged	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Delicate
2.	Exciting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Calm
3.	Uncomfortable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Comfortable
4.	Dominating	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Submissive
5.	Thrifty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Indulgent
6.	Pleasant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unpleasant
7.	Contemporary	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Uncontemporary
8.	Organized	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unorganized
9.	Rational	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Emotional
10.	Youthful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mature
11.	Formal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Informal
12.	Orthodox	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Liberal
13.	Complex	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Simple
14.	Colourless	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Colourful
15.	Modest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Vain

Appendix B – Interview guide

Questions

1. Personal, demographic data

How old are you?

Are you married? Are your kids from your current spouse?

What is your educational background?

What is your profession? What position do you occupy?

Are you part of any organization/club/association? If yes, what is your position? How do you integrate these activities in your life?

What is your nationality? How patriotic are you?

Where do you live (urban/ rural area)? Where did you grow up?

What is your religion?

How many kids do you have?

What is his/her gender?

How old is he/she?

What kind of school does your child attend? Does your child go to a sport school? Does the school require students to do sports?

Does your child have any health problems that would prevent him/her from doing certain kinds of sports?

2. Child's current and past sport experience

What kind of sport does your child do? For how long? How often? How long are the practices? What level?

How and when did you first encounter with this sport or sport club? Where did you hear from it (at school, from a friend etc.)?

Did your child do any other sports before? If yes, which ones? Why did he/she stop? What were your experiences? What did you not like about it?

Before your child took up this sport, what did you think of or hear from it? What were your expectations? How much has it lived up to your expectations? What do you see differently now? Do you have positive or negative experiences so far?

In your opinion, why is it important for a child to engage in a sports activity? Why did you want your child to do sports (social pressure, talented kid, tradition in the family etc.)? Why was that important to you?

What are the reasons that a parent might have for not enrolling a child into a sports activity?

How do you think that people in general look at a child who does not engage in a sport's activity?

How would you describe a child that does not do any sport's activity?

How do you think that people in general look at a child who is not doing any sport's activity?

What aspects did you take into consideration when selecting a sport activity? What skills and qualities do you want your child to learn through this sport?

Who made the decision?

Does this sport have a tradition in the family? Do any of your friends and/or children of your friends do this sport?

How often do you talk to other people about your child's sport activity? Can you give me a rough estimate?

On what occasions would you talk about your child's sport activity? Can you take me through one such episode?

How would you describe this sport? What kind of characteristics does it have? Do you consider it a popular sport?

3. Parent's own sports experiences

Did you do sports yourself? What? For how long? At what level? When did you start? Etc.

Why would it be important for an adult to engage in a sport's activity?

What are the reasons that an adult might have for choosing not to engage in a sport's activity?

How would you describe a person who doesn't engage in any kind of sport's activity?

How do you think that people in general regard a person who does a sport's activity? How do you think that people in general regard a person who does not do a sport's activity?

What did you profit from doing sports? How did it shape your life? How much do sports define you?

Which sports do you like?

If you were a sport, which one would you be? Why? How much do you identify with this sport?

What do you think of the following sports? How would you characterize them? What feelings/emotions etc. do you associate with them?

Football, volleyball, basketball, tennis, swimming, athletics, canoeing/kayaking, skiing/snowboarding, martial arts, gymnastics, cycling

4. External influences on parents

Do you follow sports? Where? How often? Do you watch sports on TV? If yes, what? How often?

Do you watch any other health-related programs on TV? If yes, what? Do you try any that you hear from these programs?

Do you follow famous people (e.g. magazines, social media)? Do you have a favorite actor/actress/athlete?

Who is your role model? Why?

Do you follow big social events (Oscars, fashion shows, sport events etc.)?

Do you follow any trends (e.g. health trends)? How important is fashion in your life? Does your child wear fashionable clothes for sport activities?

Which values are the most important to you?

How do you spend your free time (cultural activities, family, friends etc.)? How much time can you spend with your family?

How important is your social life (spending time with friends) to you?

How important is it to spend time alone? Is self-realization/self-fulfillment important to you?

What is your nationality? Have you ever lived abroad? Do you have any important cultural influences in your life? Do you belong to an ethnic group?

Which sport(s) do you consider to be a national sport? Which sports do you think are the most popular in the country?

In which social class would you place yourself? Which sports do you think are the most representative of this social class?

How much did costs influence the sport selection? What type of costs does this sport involve?

How would you rate the costs of these sports on a scale from 1 to 5 (1= very cheap, 5= very expensive)? How would you rate the sport of your child on the same scale? (*Scale 1*)

You mentioned that you live/grew up in... Are there any typical sports in that area?

You said you were religious. How does religion have an effect on your everyday life?

You mentioned that you are married/divorced/in a relationship etc. Does your partner do sports? What kind? How often? How much was your partner involved in the decision of the sport selection?

5. Self-concept

Where would you place yourself on the following scale? Please, indicate which 3 traits describe you the best. Where would you place the sport of your child on the same scale?

Please, indicate which 3 traits describe this sport the best. (*Scale 2*)

Scale 1

	1 (=very cheap)	2 (=cheap)	3 (=average)	4 (=expensive)	5 (=very expensive)
Football					
Handball					
Basketball					
Volleyball					
Tennis					
Swimming					
Athletics					
Kayaking					
Skiing					
Boxing					
Wrestling					
Karate					
Gymnastics					
Golf					
Ice skating					
Cycling					

Scale 2

1. Rugged	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Delicate	
2. Exciting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Calm	
3. Uncomfortable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Comfortable	
4. Dominating	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Submissive	
5. Thrifty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Indulgent	
6. Pleasant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unpleasant	
7. Contemporary	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Uncontemporary	
8. Organized	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unorganized	
9. Rational	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Emotional	
10. Youthful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mature	
11. Formal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Informal	
12. Orthodox	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Liberal	
13. Complex	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Simple	
14. Colourless	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Colourful	
15. Modest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Vain	

Appendix C – Interview tables

Information about parents

<i>Interview</i>	<i>Length of interview</i>	<i>Participant</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation/Position</i>
1	0:49	Mother 1	38	Restaurant Manager
2	0:57	Father 2	48	Deputy CEO at a multinational corporation
3	1:17	Mother 2	40	Deputy Manager at bank
4	0:38	Mother 3	38	Physiotherapist and Dental Assistant
5	1:09	Father 2, Mother 4	42, 43	Mid-Level Managers at a multinational corporation
6	1:05	Father 3	47	Product Developer
7	1:15	Father 4	36	Business Manager
8	0:56	Mother 5	35	Engineer, System Specialist
9	0:54	Mother 6	40	Architect
10	1:03	Mother 7	39	Communications Trainer

Information about children

<i>Interview</i>	<i>No. of children</i>	<i>Gender and age</i>	<i>Current sports activities</i>
1	2	Daughter (10) and son (8)	Sports aerobics (both)
2	1	Son (11)	Handball
3	2	Daughter (11) and son (9)	Sports aerobics (D); tennis, football, fencing (S)
4	1	Son (8)	Gymnastics
5	2	Son (12) and daughter (9)	Judo (both); folk dancing (D); football (S)
6	1	Daughter (10)	Volleyball
7	1	Daughter (9)	Volleyball
8	2	Son (12) and daughter (8)	Football (S); volleyball (D)
9	2	Son (12) and daughter (8)	Swimming (both); folk dancing (D)
10	2	Two daughters (11 and 9)	Sports aerobics (both)