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PHYSICAL ACTIVITY IN THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF CHILDREN

Exploring how intergenerational transfer of habitus
frame boys and girls opportunity to generate and
negotiate physical activity within their everyday life.

Master's thesis in Sport Science

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ABSTRACT

Several indicators of social background and gender expectations are found to have an important impact on children's physical activity patterns, yet few studies have explored intergenerational transfer of habitus through the use of triangulation of methods. The aim of this study is to explore how intergenerational transfer of habitus frames children's opportunity to generate and negotiate physical activity in their everyday life. This is done by examining the relationship between children's physical activity patterns and: parental capital, parental perception of gender appropriate sport, gender expectations, children's housing, and children's own experience with sports and physical activity in their everyday life. The empirical material is drawn from a one-year fieldwork conducted at a public elementary school located in Metro Manila, the Philippines, where I worked as a voluntary physical education teacher. A triangulation of methods has been utilized. Methods introduced consist of participatory observation of 385 pupils in grade 4 at the particular school, questionnaires given out to parents and children taking part in the study and in-depth interviews with 18 children.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Exploring how indicators of social background affect children's physical activity patterns has been the focus of several scholars (Bourdieu, 1989; Collins, 2004; Dagkas & Stathi, 2007; Eijck & Mommaas, 2004; Friberg, 2005; Macintyre, 2000; Macdonald & Wright, 2003; Macdonald & Wright, 2003; Birchwood, Roberts, & Pollock, 2008). Earlier research has repeatedly found indicators of social class to be positive predictors of sport participation and accessibility to sport facilities (Dagkas & Stathi, 2007; Macdonald & Wright, 2003). While research focuses on social background factor and overall physical activity level are more diverse (Sallis, Prochaska, & Taylor, 2000; Voss, Hosking, Metcalf, Jeffery, & Wilkin, 2008). Despite the significant amount of attention given to how social background factors such as social class, living situation and gender expectation's impact children's leisure time in the research literature, few have utilized triangulation of methods to get an insight into the multiple dimensions that impact children's physical activity patterns (with Hume, Salmon & Ball, 2005 being one of the exceptions). In the Filipino setting the Western forms of physical education, sports and recreation was for many decades an enjoyment reserved for the higher-class families. However, according to (Sutaria, 1981) there has been a change of attitude in the Filipino population over the last three decades and increased focus is now directed at the overall national benefits of physical activity for people from all parts of the society. Regardless of the efforts there are still class-based differences in the quality of physical education introduced, largely based on the divide between public and private elementary schools. By focusing on children in public schools in urban areas one automatically excludes part of the society, namely the higher and wealthiest classes. These are the ones who can afford private education for their children, to buy estates with gates and security systems, and those who can buy first-class service and privacy in private clubs, including those for sport and physical activity. For reasons of interest, I will not consider them further here; instead I focus on the children in public schools ranging from middle class to low class and the wide variation that exist within these groups of children. As pointed out by Wearing & Wearing (1990 cited in Wright, Macdonald & Groom, 2003:17) theorization of children's leisure time activities and physical activity pattern's has moved beyond the simplistic assumption of 'free choice' and 'free time'. To understand what affects physical activity pattern's among children research needs to take into account the existing structural relation of power, class and gender.

1.1 Aim and objectives

This research project is based on a one-year fieldwork carried out among children at a public elementary school located in Quezon City, Metro Manila. I worked as a voluntary physical education teacher at the chosen elementary school throughout the period of fieldwork. This study aims to contribute to the analysis of how social background affects children's physical activity patterns by focusing on how intergenerational transfer of habitus frame boys and girls opportunity to generate and negotiate physical activity within their everyday life. The objective is to utilize quantitative and qualitative analysis to determine different factors that becomes important to take into consideration when exploring children's physical activities and to explore children's activities in everyday life in Metro Manila. Given how much is unknown about how gender and social class affects children's physical patterns in the Philippines, multiple methods are applied in this study to examine a wide array of background variables that might have an impact. By exploring children's experiences I attempt to delineate their physical activity patterns as cultural practices within a framework that recognize gender and social class relations within the Filipino society. The basis of this thesis is the research question:

'How does intergenerational transfer of habitus frame boys and girls opportunity to generate and negotiate physical activity within their everyday life?'

Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's (1989; 2000) theoretical perspectives on social class, reproduction of inequality and gender differences, the main concepts in focus within the term '*intergenerational transfer of habitus*' are cultural conditions structuring the children's everyday life such as: position within social space; parental cultural, economical and social capital; doxa and gender expectation.

1.2 Methodological and theoretical clarification

This research project takes under consideration both the level and nature of children's physical activity patterns as well as the context in which the activity take place (where, when and with whom). Physical activity *level* is measured by utilizing questionnaires. However, as highlighted by Wright et al., (2003) research focused just on quantitative research methods, by leaving out the everyday life experiences, leave the significance of physical activity in the lives of children unanswered. Thus qualitative methods were needed to explore the cultural conditions of the children in varied social context, their experiences within these lived conditions and how it affects the children's physical activity patterns. Even though

background factors are explored to understand the patterns found in physical activity participation, the main objective is to understand physical activity from the point of view of the children in relation to other the cultural conditions structuring their life. Utilization of multiple methods opens up for both quantitatively analysis of the affect of background factors such as gender, economic and cultural capital as well as qualitative analysis of the significance of activities in children's everyday life and how the children themselves experience the activities they choose to take part in.

Physical activity pattern is referred to as the overall physical activity that the children take part in. Quantitatively, the children have reported it as days per week physical active. Qualitatively, physical activity patterns are explored through questions on which activity, with whom, where, when and why. To capture the diversity of activities the children take part in a distinction is made between sport, Filipino games and play-games. Sport refers to the Western competitive sports that were introduced in the Philippines during the American colonization. Filipino games refer to indigenous Filipino games such as patintero and agowan base that dates back to before the Spanish colonization (Lopez, 2005) and play-games refers to games that neither fit in the term Filipino games nor sport. Some examples of play-games are hide and seek and tagging games.

The term *gender* refers to cultural and social phenomena, a social construction seen in connection with divisions of labor, activity, and identity, which is, as highlighted by Thorne and Luria (1986), associated with but not determined by biological sex. Moreover gender roles and expectations are socially constructions that vary according to context and culture. Pierre Bourdieu's (1989) theoretical terms such as habitus, economic-, cultural and social capital is used as theoretical goggles all through the research process. Thus the paper is framed by his understanding of social interaction and power relations existing in the society. Moreover, Barrie Thorn's (1993) understanding of gendered play has been a great help in reflections around interaction between boys and girls as well as how different gendered 'labels' are used to control 'deviating' behavior.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

To begin with, chapter 2 '*Contextualizing the research project*' draws with a large pencil the overall picture of social class, education and a brief introduction of cultural history of sport in the Philippines. This chapter provides us with the broader context in which the children live. Leading on to chapter 3 '*Theory and earlier research*' which sets out the overall theoretical framework focusing on Bourdieu's understanding of the different forms of capital and gender

relations, which provides the underlying structure for the rest of the thesis. Empirics are moreover introduced to highlight earlier findings within the field of interest. Chapter 4, 5 and 6 are methodological chapters outlining ways in which the research was conducted. Chapter 5 '*Quantitative methods*' also introduce an underlying chapter presenting results of the quantitative analysis. Qualitative analysis is incorporated into to chapter 7 '*Intergenerational transfer of habitus and gender expectations*', concerning the overall analysis and discussion. While children's physical activity patterns in relation to livelihood situation and gender are explored through the lived experience of the children in the second half of chapter 7, the first half of the chapter is concerned with setting out the broader context relating to parental economical and cultural capital and how it affects the children's physical activity patterns. Finally, the concluding chapter '*Constructing gendered play in social space*' draws out more of the salient themes and findings underlying the thesis, and will assess their implications in relation to further research.

2. CONTEXTUALIZING THE RESEARCH PROJECT

The Republic of the Philippines is according to the World Bank (2009) ranked as a middle-income country. The nation state is situated in Southeast Asia and consists of more than 7000 islands (Landey, 2004) arranged into three groups of islands: Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao. More than 90 percent of the population are Christians, the majority belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. Projection of the Filipino population of 2010 was 94.01 million people (NSO, 2011) and is expected to reach 108.5 million by 2015 (Landey, 2004). The National Capital Region, also called Metro Manila, was measured to have a population of 11.6 million in 2007 (NSO, 2011). Metro Manila consists of 16 cities. Quezon City is the most populace city and is constituted by 142 barangays. A barangay in the Filipino legal system constitutes the basic local governmental unit. The large number of people and islands and the history of colonialism have made the Philippines a multi-linguistic and multi-ethnic country (Landey, 2004) with over 100 different individual languages. With the introduction of the 1987 Philippine Constitution, Filipino and English became the official languages. Filipino is largely composed of the native language Tagalog spoken in the region surrounding Metro Manila and is now the official language spoken in schools.

2.1 Poverty and social class in the Philippines

Reproduction of poverty and social class differences is still increasing in the Philippines, whereby Cabral (2010) reports an increasing number of ‘poor and uneducated Filipinos’. Poverty is today predominant in rural areas of the Philippines as well as in urban slum areas. According to the 2009 Family income and expenditure survey (NSO, 2011) the average generated income of a Filipino family is approximately 206 thousand pesos¹ annually. While, in what has been referred to as ‘the bottom 30 percent income group’, the families earn an average of 62 thousand pesos annually. These lower 30 percent can according to the Philippines national statistics office be defined as poor (NSO, 2011). Their monthly earnings amount to approximately 5,200 pesos in average while the upper 70 percent has an average of 22,300 pesos per month (NSO, 2011). Moreover NSO’s statistics show that poor families often spend more money than they earn in that they spend an average of 64 thousand pesos annually, while the average savings of the upper 70 percent is 44 thousand pesos in a year. Looking at food expenditure we can see that the low-income group (30 percent lowest) spend

¹ 1000 PHP amounts to 125 NOK/22.9 USD (Coinmill, 22-06-2011)

60 percent of their income on food, while higher income-groups spend an average of 42.6 percent of the expenditure.

Looking at the parental sampling in this study we can see that the reported economical capital range from 42.7 percent that earns less 5000 pesos monthly, 34.6 percent earn approximately 5000-10 000 pesos per month, 13.6 percent earns between 10 000 - 15 000 pesos and only 9.2 percent earns 15 000 pesos or more. Comparing with the Philippines statistical definition ‘the lower 30 percent with an average of 5200 pesos a month’ defined as poor are respondents qualifying within this definition over-represented. One Reason for this is that the parental sample is composed of parents with children in public elementary schools. Another reason is that economical capital variable in this study is based on *one* reported income, thus either maternal or paternal income².

Exploring the living situation of the children in the sample shows that 32 percent are living in squatter areas/informal settlements, 12 percent in *kwarto-kwarto* (room-room) in which usually consists of a room rented by a family, 19 percent lives in apartments, 26 percent in owned house and 13 percent in other forms of housing. What often is found to make it possible to differentiate poor families from rich in Metro Manila is living situation. Many countries with increasing urbanization have a ‘problem’ with development of informal settlements or what in the Philippines is called ‘squatter areas’. These informal settlements are often associated with slum areas in urban cities. The rapid growth of the population and lack of proper community planning often lead to various problems associated with living situation for poorer families, such as poor waste management, lack of electricity, flooding with heavy rain and inadequate sanitation. What Lou Antolihao (2004:1) refers to as the urbanization of poverty leading to ‘massive unemployment and proliferation of slums’, is affecting the everyday life of a large percentage of the children participating in this research project.

Urban poor often make their living in the so-called informal sector (Lindstrand, Bergstrøm, Rosling, Rubenson, Stenson, & Tylleskar, 2010). In the case of urban poor in the Philippines this includes jobs such as street vendor, car attendants, cafeteria sellers (a small cafeteria often located in the streets selling warm food) and tricycle drivers. The informal sector is here understood as “economic activity beyond governmental regulation and taxation” (Lindstrand et al., 2010:pp). Looking at the respondents in this project we can see that 29 percent of children’s father reports working as tricycle drivers, or private car/truck/jeepney drivers, and 22 percent as construction workers or other forms of unskilled work. While 17

² The construction and operationalization of the variable is described in the quantitative chapter 5.3

percent of the mothers work as street vendors, cooks or sweepers, and 46 percent as house wife. This type of jobs offers little possibility for social mobility and escape from poverty. Also important is the reporting of fulltime or part time work, in which 36 percent of fathers and 30 percent of mothers report that they work part time. Because of the lack of job opportunities many are forced to take short contract work such as construction workers, but is left out of work when the building is finished. This leaves a very unpredictable income and people move in and out of severe poverty depending on the job opportunity. Moreover, earlier studies on slum settlements have shown that the density of population often found in slum areas is characterized by “extensive interpersonal relationships of familiarity and mutual help” (Antolihao, 2004:15). Thus even though families may earn more money than they would use in a day-to-day basis, large families and strong connection with other relatives makes it hard to save up money. This lack of saving possibility is also shown by NSO (2011) statistics on family income and spending, whereas poor families in average spend more in one year than they accumulate. However, this network of relatives and significant others is also a security strategy and makes up an important part of social capital often observed in poor communities.

2.2 Education

Most public elementary schools in Metro Manila have half-day-class in an attempt to accommodate the large population of young children with the limited number of schools and teachers (Porio, 1994). Hence children in elementary school have 6 hours long school day 5 days a week and they have to pass 6 grades to move on to high school. In 2002 The Department of Education (DepEd) revised the national curriculum and introduced a new curriculum composition. The Philippines Basic Education Curriculum (BEC) used to be composed of eight subject: English, Filipino, science, mathematics, Physical Education, Health and Music (PEHM), values Education, social studies as well as home economics. Whereas subjects in the new BEC are now reduced to five core subjects, namely English, Filipino, science, mathematics and makabayan. Elementary makabayan is an umbrella subjects composed of social studies, home economics, music, art, health education and physical education (PE). A governmental Committee researching the national curriculum before the implementation of the new BEC argued that elementary curriculum in the Philippines was overcrowded with too many subjects to study (Crisostome, 2002). Hence, one of the solutions was to reduce the core courses to five instead of eight. It is important to note that private schools were not required to follow the new changes. This meant that for public

elementary schools that following subjects were introduced in Makabayan for grade 4, 5 and 6: social studies; geography, history and civic; home economics and livelihood education; and music, art and physical education (MAPE) (Cueto, 2002). Moreover good manners and right conduct are integrated within all learning areas. The allotted time given to each subjects depend on the credit given in units, whereas one unit constitutes 40 minutes. Filipino, English and Science are each allotted 1.5 units and is therefore given one hour per day for 4 days. The Makabayan subjects are in all given 4 units per day. Thus the allotted time for MAPE in the BEC is 240 minutes per week. The development of the national BEC, decision of subjects offered, credit points and time allotments are the responsibility of the DepEd. However, while guidelines are given from national level, the implementation is left to the individual schoolteachers. By evaluating what is available they determine the recourses to be used, teacher strategies etc. Hence, schools have the opportunity to modify the curriculum to fit local resources, facilities and needs. This way they make sure that the BEC responds to their concerns.

According to 2003 Functional Literacy, Education and Mass Media Survey (FLEMMS), approximately one in ten of the Filipino population between 10 and 64 years old cannot read and write or are basically illiterate (NSO, 2005). Functionally literate person is in the survey FLEMMS surveys defined as “one who can read, write and compute or one who can read write, compute and comprehend”. FLEMMS moreover show that females have higher literacy rates than males (90.4 percent vs. 86.6 percent). Metro Manila has the highest basic literacy rate with 97 percent. Taking income level into account the survey show that seven out of ten (10-64 years olds) who are poor are functionally literate compared to nine out of 10 among the ‘non-poor’ (NSO, 2005). The field of education attainment is one area that Filipino women are almost equal to the Filipino men. The education system guarantees free education up to secondary level, however some expenditure are not included such as uniforms, transportation, snacks, lunch and school utensils.

Looking at highest started and/or graduated educational attainment in 2003 Metro Manila (population of 8 948 000), NSOs statistics show that 4.9 percent had no education, 24.4 percent had attained elementary school, 36.6 percent had high school and 33 percent college level (NSO, 2005). Comparing these findings with the parents who took part in this research project, we can see that paternal education range from 2.3 percent with no education at all, 14.7 percent with elementary school education, 39.5 percent with high school education and 43.5 percent with college or university education. Maternal education showed similar result, whereas 0.9 percent had no education, 14.4 percent elementary school, 38.6 percent

high school and 46 percent college or university education. Women had somewhat higher rates in college and university education and lower rates in no education at all. This findings support earlier findings that Filipino women have higher school attendance and higher education rate than the Filipino men. Taking into account that these are parents with children in public elementary school, the parents in this study are somewhat over-represented in the group with higher education than earlier statistics over the general Metro Manila population from 2003 (NSO, 2005). However, one must keep in mind that this sample is not representative for the overall population and that this study was conducted six years later.

Moreover, just to get a picture of how cultural capital is distributed based on social class measures³ ABCDE we can see that: 37.5 percent⁴ of the fathers living in social class E report that they have college and/or university education, in social class D the percentage of higher education is 30.8 percent, ranging from 55.1 to 58.1 percent living in social class C and 66.7 percent in social class E. As with maternal education, 38.1 percent in social class E report having higher education, 30.4 percent in social class D, ranging from 54.0 to 66.7 percent in social class C and 66.7 percent in social class B.

2.3 A brief introduction to the cultural history of sport in the Philippines

In the recent years several historians have examined the construction of gender discourses (Illo, 1996), nature and role of sport in the colonization period (Antolihao, 2009; Gems, 2004; 2006; Guttmann, 1994; Lopez, 2005). When studying sport and physical activity in earlier colonized countries the focus of these studies has often been on which, how and why sports have been introduced. These studies give insight into how sports were used to acculturate “the primitive natives”, but to better understand the distinction between traditional games and new western sport one must also look at both the culture before, during and after colonization. Even though the Philippines was under colonial rule for over three and a half centuries, the Filipino culture stayed distinct from their colonial rulers’ culture. The Philippines is well known for its ability to both adopt and adapt to the cultural imposed upon them. Adopting what they find useful and modifying other parts of the imposed culture to fit their own, leaving the Philippines with a ‘negotiated hybrid culture’ with its own ideas, beliefs and practices (Gems, 2004).

³ The ABCDE measure used is based on a local and widely used ABCDE Market Research System developed to measure the socioeconomic (SES) statue of household in the Philippines (Arroyo, 1990 cited in Gutierrez & Shoemaker, 2008). These measures are explained further in the chapter ‘Operationalization of variables’.

⁴ See appendix 6 depicting the crosstab cultural capital and ABCDE measures

Explanations of some of the native Filipino games appeared early on print in the works of chronicles and travelers from the West (Lopez, 2005). These writings consist mostly of random gathering and explanations of some activities while studying the “primitive” people, and are mostly written by Spanish or American writers and thereby filled with writings of “the colonizer writing about the colonized” (Lopez, 2005; 9). The games chosen to be published often consisted of the games that the foreigners found bizarre and moreover the games that would sell the picture of the Filipino people as primitive savages that needed to be saved for their own good (Lopez, 2005). However, chroniclers indicate that early Filipinos engaged in physical activities long before the Spanish arrived. They had their own sport, dances, games and rituals which were often found in connection with social gatherings and festive occasions (Sutaria, 1981). Filipinos finally started studying their own games with the article “A history of Physical Education in the Philippines” written by G. Sueva and published in 1919 and with the help of Mellie L. Lopez (2005) many of the traditional Filipino games are now well documented both with description and historic analysis.

The culture of the Philippines is heavily affected by numbers of conquest wars. After being colonized by the Spaniards from 1521 – 1898, the Philippines were transferred from Spain to the United States with the Treaty of Paris in 1898, which served as the end of the Spanish-American War. Through the Spanish and American colonization implementation of new governmental structures and rules resulted in increased paternalistic structures, norms and policies. Moreover a new notion of ‘racially’ superior and inferior among the social groups in the Philippines emerged with the arrival of the Spaniards and was reinforced by the Americans (McFerson, 2002). This created a believed difference in status among the Filipino population, benefitting the people with somatic images closer to the Western ‘body shape’ and ‘color’. This notion of ‘beauty’ has as highlighted by Illo (1996) and McFerson (2002) become deeply embedded in the Filipino society.

Several indigenous physical activities were banned through the Spanish colonialization, leading to traditional physical activity performed in religious dances. Moreover, the introduction of Roman Catholicism by the Spaniards imposed a very different concept of womanhood, where the women’s position became subservient to men (Illo, 1996). As found in many patriarchal societies, women status now derived from her role as a mother and wife in relations to men. With the introduction of industrial capitalism the Filipino elite eagerly adopted the ideas of women as housewife and in charge of care giving (Illo, 1996). Nonetheless, women in rural areas and among urban poor were still active in economical work, often through farming and factory work.

With entry of the Americans a more liberal ideology was introduced both concerning gender (Illo, 1996) and physical activity (Guttman, 1994) and an Americanization and modernization of both competitive sports and perspectives on gender evolved. One of the major structural changes was equal elementary schooling opportunity for males and females.

Modern competitive sport is not a native Asian phenomenon. It came in the nineteenth century from the West, initially with missionaries, and following after by Asian students returning from Europe and the United States (Hong, 2005). Several Western competitive sports were introduced to the Filipinos by the Americans and served as an important tool in 'controlling the indigenous people'. Interestingly, the contemporary concepts of health, physical education and recreation in the Philippines can be traced back to the American colonialization (Sutaria, 1981). Basketball is a relatively new game, being that the first game played was in December 1891 in a school gymnasium in Massachusetts (Guttman, 1994). Basketball reached China, India and Japan through American missionaries before it reached Europe. By 1913 an American by the name of Elwood S. Brown had been very efficient in introducing basketball for the Filipino people, and in February 1913 the first 'Far Eastern Championships Games' were held in Manila. Brown was the (YMCA) physical director in the Philippines at this time and served from (1910-1918). Brown saw, according to Guttman (1994:102) these games as an excellent venue to "bring together three traditionally hostile people in a spirit of unaccustomed mutual respect". Thus sport became a tool with the aim of bringing "Asia into the modern world (as defined by the Anglos), and to assimilate Filipino tribes into focused nationalism against foreign opponents" (Gems, 2004:8). Being one of the first Asian countries that adapted basketball, Filipinos were victorious in international basketball competitions. Basketball is still one of the most popular sports in the Philippines today. Another popular sport in the Philippines also introduced in the same time period is boxing (Gems, 2004). With the help of excellent boxing athletes such as Manny Pacquiao, boxing is today one of the major sports consumed in the Philippines.

With the help of Brown both basketball and volleyball spread within the education system (Gems, 2004). As a result sports were early introduced for boys and girls in school during the early 1910s. Interestingly, introducing sport for girls in early age served a specific purpose, not only was the objective to increase the girls health, but moreover to develop good behavior that they would pass on to their children later on. However, few girls participated outside the required physical education (Gems, 2004). The introduction of basketball for girls was for many conservative Filipino's a mismatch with their understanding of proper female

behavior leading to the discouragement of women's basketball, whereas indoor baseball (softball) and volleyball were seen as more appropriate sports for girls and women.

In 1987 the Department of Youth and Sports Development was created in recognition of the role of physical fitness and sports in the national development, progress and discipline (Sutaria, 1981). As a result of this the 'National Fitness and Sports Development Program' was implemented which started and became the responsibility of the individual community/barangay. With the aim of encouraging physical activity and sports among the Filipino population in parts of the society it was important to implement the program at the basic local governmental units.

Even though basketball still is the most popular sport in the Philippines (Antolihao, 2009), the growth of nationalism seen in the Philippines the last decade has added new life into the interest of traditional Filipino games (Lopez, 2005). This can be understood as an attempt to reach for the indigenous Filipino culture and make a break with the colonized mindset. This trend is also reflected in the implementation of Makabayan in elementary school, which focuses on Filipino history and tradition, through the teaching of social science, home economics, music, art, health and physical education.

3. THEORY AND EARLIER RESEARCH

In his book 'Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste', Pierre Bourdieu (1989) portraits, through extensive analysis on social conditions of the aesthetic disposition, how different forms of cultural taste, including sport and physical activity, are practices within deep social and cultural struggles. Bourdieu was not interested in sport *per se*, but his focus was on how differences in individuals' accumulation of capital found in society affect people's taste for leisure time activities such as sports. Consumption and taste can be seen as tools in maintaining, strengthening or sometimes challenging social boundaries within a social field.

Bourdieu (1998) emphasize that objects are never objective, in that they are never independent of the interest and taste of the individuals who acknowledge them. All products and objects are only given meaning through the person whom perceives them. To research individuals' physical activity patterns, their choice and taste of activities has to be understood in light of social class and, with this, individual or group's disposition and scheme of perception. As the aim of this thesis is to explore how children generate and negotiate physical activity by investigating the relationship between different physical activity patterns among children and how it vary according to gender, social and economic conditions of production, this chapter will further take a deeper dive into the Bourdieu's different terms used to explain social inequality. The chapter describes: firstly economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital; secondly, social field and space and how it affects human behavior; thirdly internalized dispositions and schemes of behavior and taste, often referred to as habitus; and fourthly social construction of gender.

3. 1 Reproduction of social inequality

The three different forms of capital are at the basis of Bourdieu's theory on social inequality. Bourdieu in general defines capital as "limited resources of which groups and individuals compete to obtain" (Aakvaag, 2008:151). Because different sources of capital are limited they also become sources of power. Capital is what makes it possible for individuals and groups to exchange and obtain perks in society. The limitation of the different forms of capital and its unequal allocation between groups in the society becomes roots of domination. People that have the highest amount of valued capital within a field struggles to make sure that the value of the capital are kept high, so that they can keep the dominating power that lies within the different forms of capital. Social actors invest in their already accumulated capital in the hope

of accumulate more (Aakvaag, 2008). In this sense, accumulated capital becomes a way of storing social energy. Bourdieu emphasizes the tendency of capital to produce or reproduce itself in identical or expanded forms to make sure prolonged existence. As power written into things objectivity and the immanent structures in society, capital restricts what is or is not possible for individuals (Bourdieu, 2006).

Through experiences, education, intergenerational transition of capital, individuals accumulate different forms and volume of capital. Economical and cultural capital is often connected to the parents' volume of capital, not the children *per se*. The reason for this is that children, because of their age and structures within the society, are not social agents who have accumulated any volume of capital on their own, but their parent's volume of capital are believed to be transferred to the children through primary socialization throughout their childhood. This transfer will further on be referred to as 'intergenerational transfer of capital' (Oreopoulos, Page, & Stevens, 2006). Thus, social mobility becomes possible first when the children enter into early adulthood, whereas they can accumulate education and their own source of income. To what degree social mobility is possible are often questioned and discussed, but is not the focus of this paper.

Social class differences found in physical activity participation have been well documented in contemporary international studies within the field of sport sociology. In the comprehensive reviewing of 108 articles on factors affecting children and adolescents physical activity, Sallis, Prochaska, & Taylor (2000) found that socioeconomically background were not related to children's or adolescent physical activity level. Moreover, parental physical activity level and participation in children's physical activity was also found to be indeterminate. However, when taking adolescents into account were factors like parental support, direct help from parents as well as siblings' physical activity level found to have a significant impact (Sallis et al., 2000). Moreover, through group interviews of children from different socioeconomical backgrounds, results found by Dagkas and Stathi (2007) shows how adolescents physical activity needs to be seen in relation to social class, home environment and economical status. Statements from students revealed how they experienced that lower socioeconomical background limited their participation compared to their higher socioeconomical counterparts and both opportunities available and family involvement of activities during weekends depended on parental socioeconomical status (Dagkas & Stathi, 2007).

3.1.1 Economic Capital

Bourdieu's understanding of economical capital does not differ a lot from the Marxist way of definition in that both theories relate to material wealth (Giulianotti, 2005). The difference found between the two definitions of capital is that Marxists focus on economical capital as the major factor affecting social agents, whereas Bourdieu expanded the term and describes three types of capital instead of just one. Marxists has been criticized for economic reduction of social patterns when it comes to analyzing different social factors affecting physical activity pattern and participation in sport (Ohl, 2000). By including cultural and social capital, Bourdieu is able to broaden the theoretical goggles that we use to research social class and its effects on sport and physical participation. Economical capital is here used in its purest form, namely families' material wealth. Researches focusing on economical income and physical activity level have found contrasting results when it comes to how intergenerational economical capital affect children's physical activity level. Even though Voss et al. (2007) found, through quantitative measures of children's physical activity, no significant relationship between parental income level and children's average activity level or time spent in high-intensity activities, they did find significant difference in parental income level and time spend in out-of-school organized leisure time activities. Whereas children from low-income families attended fewer sessions of structured leisure time activities seen in relation to children with high parental income (Voss et al., 2007). However, Gordon-Larsen, McMurray, & Popkin (2000) found, through quantitative measures of adolescence physical activity level, that family income was associated with both physical activity level as well as physical inactivity, whereas adolescents with higher family income had an increased likelihood of higher physical activity level and lower likelihood of being inactive. While Raudsepp and Viira (2000), through examination of several backgrounds factor in related to physical activities among adolescents, found a significant correlation between social class and physical activity where economic status was inversely related with the activity level of children.

3.1.2 Cultural Capital

Cultural capital refers to capital gained from one's upbringing and education. Accumulated capital can take forms of cultural resources like artistic and educational knowledge (Giulianotti, 2005). The amount of accumulated cultural capital varies by social class and serves as a marker of social differences, whereas it moreover legitimizes the existing differences. All forms of capital have some functional similarity with economical capital in that some families and individual have more than others, moreover an individual can save up

on capital energy through socialization and years of education (Prieur & Sestoft, 2006). This way cultural capital becomes another factor that defines the difference and distance found within the social hierarchy.

Cultural capital can exist as bodily forms (*habitus*), it can be institutionalized and it can be objectified. In bodily form it exist as mental and bodily dispositions, like way of speech, how we dress and move, as well as our knowledge and taste. These bodily dispositions are relatively dependent on the state of the power struggle found among the fraction of the dominant class and among the social classes, struggling for ‘monopolistic definition of the legitimate body and the legitimate uses of the body’ (Bourdieu 1993:123). Children must be understood as social agents located within these fields of struggles, hence, their background and the primary socialization they meet in childhood affects what forms of disposition they internalize, which again affect their behavior and choices. Thus, physical activity patterns among children must be seen in the relation to parent-child relationship and child rearing. Social class is found to impact parental practice of child-rearing (Vincent & Ball, 2007). Hence, children from different positions within the social space might experience different forms of childrearing throughout their childhood. According to Kohn (1969) can some of the social class differences be explained by how occupational roles affect adult’s attitude and values in which impact parental childrearing patterns.

Differentiating between maternal and paternal cultural capital are widely used in research with the aim of exploring parental health related child-care practices and child-mortality rates in developing countries (Mosley & Chen, 1985; Ware, 1984; Sandiford, Cassel, Montenegro, & Sanches, 1995). To distinguish between paternal and maternal cultural capital is often perceived to be important in societies with a relatively clear divide in gender expectation when it comes to child-care practices. The mother-child relationship and maternal responsibilities in child-care practices are often important in securing children’s health, and increased maternal education is often found to be significant predictors of decrease in child mortality rates and increased health in children (Lindstrand, et al., 2010; Sandiford, Cassel, Montenegro, & Sanches, 1995; Ware, 1984). Moreover has higher level of maternal education been found to be significantly associated with increased likelihood of having high level of physical activity measured in intensity of activity (Gordon-Larsen, McMurray, & Popkin, 2000). In order to acknowledge the possible difference in impact of parental cultural capital, a differentiation between paternal and maternal cultural capital will be utilized in the analysis.

Several qualitative studies have also been conducted with the objective of examining how social class is linked with physical activity among adolescents (Macdonald & Wright,

2003; Macdonald, Rodget, Abbott, Ziviani & Jones 2005; Dagkas & Stathi, 2007). Macdonald et al. (2005) argues that parents from higher socioeconimcal status see physical activity as a everyday 'task' affecting families daily routine and transportation arrangements. Physical activity is in this sense worked into the routine and consumption patterns within the familie (Macdonald & Wright, 2003). Parental strategies and its effects on children's leisure time is also the focus of a study conducted by Vincent and Ball (2007) where they found social distinction between social class and child-care strategies. In their study they found middle class families emphazising proper leisure time activities that would ensure their children's developement into proper social citizens, whereby working class parents perseption of child developement was influenced by an idea of natural growth. Children were believed to grow and thrive as long as they were provided with love, food and safety (Vincent & Ball, 2007).

Socialization becomes a highly affective and natural process of intergenerational transfer of cultural capital that starts in early childhood. This process runs almost automatically, in which the family does not have to make any effort to affect the process (Priour & Sestoft, 2006). The child will accumulate capital through normal communication with his and her elders, through eating together, play with her relatives and friends, watch TV and just follow the daily routine of the family. These daily routines become highly affective practices of intergenerational transfer of habitus, whereby different habitus is naturally internalized and passed on from one generation to the next. Socialization within the family is the first socialization entity most children meets and the amount of cultural capital accumulated in this process will affect the child throughout childhood. Hence, what form and amount of capital accumulated in early childhood reflects the parents and grandparents history, education and social position.

3.1.3 Social Capital

Social capital must be understood as a tool used to increase or maintain ones position within a certain field. In other words, if one is to understand social capital as a resource used as means to an end and not as an end in itself (as with all forms of capital), social capital embodies no right or wrong until one makes judgment about the ends itself. Social capital has been defined in various ways and can be referred to as "sociability, social networks and social support, trust, reciprocity, and community and civic engagement" (Morrow, 1999:1). However, the value or amount of social capital one has accumulated depends on the benefits one can gather from it in the future.

This thesis is based on both Coleman and Bourdieu's interpretation of the concept. Coleman's work is often focused on the relationship between education attainment, family and local community life (Blackshaw & Long, 2005). While Coleman's (1988) definition of social capital emphasizes rational individual actions, Bourdieu's definitions of social capital takes into account both individual agency and structural determinants in an attempt to dissolve the opposition between the two (Blackshaw & Long, 2005). Bourdieu's interpretation of social capital refers to a person's social networks, this might be friends, family, people they know through work, and wider circles of network that the person is surrounded by (Giulianotti, 2005). The power structures within social capital are based on material and symbolic exchanges that take place within networks. Moreover, the volume of accumulated social capital depends on the size of the individual's network or acquaintances that can be mobilized, and the volume of capital that the individual holds through each of these connections (Bourdieu, 2006). Social capital is resources found within certain fields and needs to be analyzed and understood linked with the member's habitus and within the social field of interest. It is their exclusivity within these different fields that makes them valuable. As mentioned earlier, the value of resources found within different networks exists precisely because others are excluded (DeFilippis, 2001 cited in Blackshaw & Long, 2005).

Having repeatedly attempted to draw attention to the benefits to be derived by individuals from the social interaction and exchange represented through social capital Wacquant and Wilson (1993 cited in Briggs, 1998) found what they called "devalued social capital" among residents of extreme poor communities in Chicago. In their research they highlight that social capital is more than the amount of people you know, how close you feel to them, or what exchanges you enter into together, but moreover where your contacts are in the social structure. They found lower rates of organizational involvement and fewer employed social contacts in the poor communities. Urban poor housing are generally less well placed and often located together in separated neighborhoods. As Blackshaw & Long argues might these geographically constrains make it difficult to establish "bridging of networks through daily activities and their leisure pursuits" (Blackshaw & Long, 2005: 253). In the field of sport this needs to be seen in connection with sport facilities and available structured physical activity in different communities.

Social capital *within the family*, on the other hand, can be created by the relationship between the child and his or her parents, often including the child's relationship with other adult family members of the same household. Colman description of the concept is:

Social capital within the family that gives the child access to the adult's human capital depends

both on the physical presence of adults in the family and on the attention given by the adults to the child. The physical absence of adults may be described as a structural deficiency in family social capital (1988: 111).

Furthermore, Coleman use number of siblings in the family as an indication of amount of social capital among children. The more children in one family, the more diluted the amount of attention from parents to the individual child (Morrow, 1999). Which further can affect the educational outcome, the child's self-esteem, and feeling of being noticed. However as Morrow (1999) points out, this ignores siblings' interaction with each other. Children's social capital can to a large degree also consist of friends within the peer-group, peers they meet in out-of-school activities, part-time work or other people they meet in activities within their community. These peer group relations are found to be particularly important in choices of activities as the child moves into adolescence (Friberg, 2005).

3.2 Social space and fields

Bourdieu use two main terms to describe the objective social structures affecting human behavior; social space and social field. Both terms are based on his theory on the different forms of capital. Social space refers to the society as whole and consists of a two-dimensional space with two axes: the vertical axis and horizontal axis. The vertical axis displays the total sum of a person's capital within the society, while the horizontal axis indicates the relative composition of capital. A person located high up in the social hierarchy would have a high sum total of capital, as the people located at the bottom would have a low sum of total capital (Aakvaag, 2008: 153). The horizontal axes, on the other hand, indicate what kind of capital the person has. The hierarchic relationship between what kinds of capital a person has attained, the amount of capital and what position he or she has in social space is essentially relational. Social space is a relational structure in a sense that each position is defined by its relationship to other positions in the society, rather than the individuals' subjective qualities (Giulianotti, 2005). Together these axes constitute the hierarchic structure of the objective social positions based on amount of capital (Aakvaag, 2008) and are, according to Bourdieu, the base of all inequalities found between social classes.

Social fields are semi-autonomous field, arenas or institutions with its own specific history within social space (Aakvaag, 2008). These fields can be conceived as "field of forces" in which the individual's positions are at stake. Each field has its own highly valued capital form for which groups struggle (Ohl, 2000). Whereas the political field has its politics as their highly valued capital, the academic field is based on the capital of knowledge. And seen in case of sport value can be put on performance, physical health, knowledge, interest or

consumption. However, sport can also be used to increase one's capital. One example is the dream of many young men living in squatter areas, namely the possibility of being recruited as a basketball player in the Filipino commercial league or being granted a sport-scholarship at a private university.

Moreover, the positions in these social fields, as in the social room, are based on a hierarchic relational construction. By which a social field is hierarchic structured means that there exist an order where one position is viewed as higher than the other, but this hierarchic order does not make any sense without looking at the relationship between high and low. There will be no dominance without someone to dominate, as there exists no high class without a lower class, and the value and power of the dominant class is not greater than the difference between these oppositions. The struggle for capital in a specific field is what constitutes the base of the field of force or in other words the struggle to either enhance one position or maintaining status quo. Hence both social space and field make up the boundaries for individual freedom and self-expression.

An inquiry into the history of sport and physical activity participation are important tools to understand contemporary patterns of participation and power relations that exists within the social field. As introduced in the contextualization chapter several scholars have focused on the history of American colonialism and sport in the Philippines (Antolihao, 2009; Gems, 2004; 2006; Guttman, 1994; Lopez, 2005). They argue that the introduction of organized physical activity and sport served as mechanism for social control, but also activities serving as an arena for 'integrating force among disparate groups' (Gems, 2006:20). Through adaptation the Western sport was combined with existing Filipino practices and has formed a negotiated hybrid of sporting cultures in the Philippines (Gems, 2004).

3.3 Social construction of habitus

Bourdieu used a variety of wordings to explain the term habitus, a classic definition is "a set of basic, deeply internalized master-patterns which govern and regulate mental processes without being consciously apprehended and controlled" (Bourdieu, 1984 cited in Ohl, 2000; 148). Internalized patterns are social constituted systems that provide individuals with "class dependent, predisposed ways of relating to categorizing both familiar and novel situations" (Brubaker, 1985 cited in Schilling, 1994: 129). These patterns in social interaction, also called "logics of practice", are learned through socialization and are not uniforms across social classes, but they are patterns according to the combination of economic-, cultural- and social capital that an individual has or acquires (White & Wilson, 1999). Much of the philosophy in

Bourdieu's theory on field, habitus and capital can be captured in the term *relational* in that it accords primacy to relations (Bourdieu, 1998). The habitus is what constitutes the connection between structure and behavior, moreover structure and choice. In this case, the connection of the contextual difference of family, the habitus and practice (children's physical choices/pattern's) are factors Bourdieu (1999) believed to make it possible for a researcher to establish an intelligible and necessary relationship between practice and the situation.

The different dispositions constituting the individual habitus become internalized through the experience children meet throughout childhood. Thus individual's dispositions in forms of taste, thoughts, and bodily postures are not naturally given, but rather results of social constructions. It is the view of social construction of children's behavior, taste and choices that lets us explore how children from different position within the social room might develop different activity patterns. Through socialization the children internalize norms, expectation and rules found within the society and the quality and experience in this process constitute the cultural capital the children develop. Socialization can be defined as "...a life-long process of learning whereby the individual acquires the accepted beliefs, values, sentiments, norms, and behavior of his group and society" (Medina, 2001: 58). Moreover, through socialization processes the individual develops into functioning member of a group and the larger society in all, by teaching children the values, customs, and beliefs of a particular group. This way a group habitus may be transmitted from one generation to another.

The embodiment of similar dispositions and conditions among people positioned at approximately the same position within social space is what makes it possible to distinguish and explain certain behavior found within different classes. The closer people are located in social space the more in common they will have in relation to habitus. These schemes and behavior patterns that constitute habitus are what create classes into real groups with common practices and judgments (Ohl, 2000).

Bourdieu's (1989) framework of how to analyze social class through different volume of capital indicate how middle and upper class people tend to be attracted to more costly physical activities. As art, music, academics and other highly valued culture goods are also most sports often consistent with the preferences of the upper class (Wilson, 2002). Moreover are there found difference in the perception and emphasis on physical activity across social class. Where citizens of the lower classes, often referred to as the working class, has been found to express a more mechanical understanding of the body (Schillinger, 1993). According to Bourdieu (1989), physical activity patterns and other forms of leisure activities are often

structured around dichotomies between the refined and vulgar, public and commercial, active and passive, and the complex and the simple. The upper class, individuals with high income and education, differentiate themselves from the lower class by participating in activities often regarded as more complex, prestigious and more refined activities (Eijck & Mommaas, 2004). In this hierarchic structure of activity patterns, people of high on income and education placing them in constantly strive for legitimate forms of activities, while individuals with lower income and education are restricted by their lack of capital and therefore “making a virtue of necessity” by celebrating popular forms of physical activity (Bourdieu, 1989). These popular forms of activity have often been referred to as ‘prole’ sport, and is the name often given to those sports associated with the lower classes (Wilson, 2002). Prole derives from word proletariat, which refers to the lowest classes in the society. These forms of sport are often associated with virtues like vulgarity and simplicity. The paradox of social class and sport participation are found in connection to these prole sports. Where on the one hand, the higher an individual’s social class, the more likely is it that he or she is involved in sport. But on the other hand, the higher social class the likelihood of participating in certain kinds of sports often associated with lower social classes decreases (Wilson, 2002). As Wilson (2002:5) points out, prole sports are created because they are “inconsistent with or antithetical to upper class preferences”.

3.4 Social construction of gender

While earlier theory introduced has been focusing on social class and social construction of habitus this chapter draws up on social construction of gender. In his book *‘Masculine dominance’* Bourdieu (2000), explores which historic mechanism is responsible for de-history-zing, naturalization and perpetuation of gender structures and classification of feminine and masculine characteristics. Thus, to understand how we perceive gender today we have to explore the social construction of gender in history and how gender difference have been naturalized through institutions. The paradox is, as highlighted by Bourdieu (2000), to explore this we have to distance ourselves from the constructed discourses that we have internalized and use to understand the world around us. To be able to deconstruct these discourses one has to deconstruct the silent ‘dominating knowledge’ or doxa that construct our ideas surrounding gender. This is based on the belief that gender divide often observed is not a natural given part in society rather differences found is culturally constructed socialized into bodily forms. By internalizing these ideas and practices they come to constitute part of a person habitus.

In every social field there exists dominating doxa, which are often considered to be common knowledge and imbedded into the cultural in the field (Bourdieu, 2000). This dominating doxa and the practices that follow are often seen as universal and natural. Children meet these doxa as behavior expectation in several domains such as at home, in school, in organized play and among peers and friends. Social norms about young girls' and boys' behavior tend to be conservative in the Filipino society. According to gender research the patriarchic structures of the Filipino society brings about relatively clearly separated sexual standards (Liwag, de la Cruz, & Macapagal, 1999; Gutierrez & Shoemaker, 2008; Medina, 2001). Femininity is often connected with being modest, refined and demure, while traits often associated with masculinity is strong, muscular, and healthy (Liwag et al., 1999). According to Gonzales and Hollnsteiner (1976 cited in Illo, 1995) women's work is 'destined' to be structured for and in the home. Men's work on the other hand covers task performed outside the household. These ideas of proper gender behavior have moreover been found to impact parental child-rearing strategies for boys and girls as gender expectation is transferred to younger generation. Through chores, assignments and instructions as well as parental encouragement concerning types of games and physical activities boys and girls can play (Illo, 1995). According to Mendez and Jocano (1979a cited in Liwag et al., 1999), there are clear differences between the freedom and restriction boys and girls are given. Girls are to larger degree restricted to the home where they are expected to contribute in managing the household. Gender differences are also found when exploring children's, responsibilities at home. Porio et al. (1994) found that both boys and girls are expected to clean, wash dishes and cook. While girls are more often found to do laundry and take care of younger children and boys are more often assigned to fetching water and other activities that requires strength.

The paradoxical submission of the feminine inferior of the masculine often found in patriarchic societies can be understood by exploring Bourdieu's term symbolic violence. Symbolic violence can be defined as a mild form of violence that function as an invisible form of violence that operates unnoticeable for its victims (Bourdieu, 2000). It is a violence that often exists in communication and hides it's true face in common sense and the naturalization of gender separation and divisions. It creates a form of hierarchy and dualism between masculinity/femininity and man/women in which we make judgment on what is perceived to be gender appropriate behavior, space and characteristics. Bourdieu (2000) moreover highlights how these differences and dualisms find their place in homogenous antagonism such as high/low, hard/soft, public/private, and active/passive. These differences play out in relation to each other and leads to the perception that these hierarchic and dualistic

characteristics play its part in a social relationship that maintain and reproduce each other. The strength and naturalization of the masculine power becomes visible in that the 'order of things' that is highly masculine dominated needs no justification (Bourdieu, 2000).

Thus through the process of reproducing the masculine dominance constructed throughout history of practice 'the body' has to be understood as a social construction. Through social processes 'the body' is constructed as gendered realities in which our thoughts surrounding the distinction between biological sex and gender differences becomes grounded in a chain of causation that limits our understanding of how these differences are based on social structures and practices rather than natural given truths (Bourdieu, 2000). Moi (1991 cited in Skeggs, 1997:9) highlights that from being born into a specific position of gender and class individuals occupies certain 'associated social positions' such as woman, man, boy, girl, poor or rich. Moreover Skeggs (1997) emphasize that by our social background we inherit ways of understanding these social positions. Thus children inherit ways of understanding what it means to be a girl or boy, and the appropriate behavior that follows. Sport and physical activity as a social field, focusing on bodily movement and skills, becomes a social arena where masculinity in forms of dominating characteristics is constructed, reproduced and commented up on (Fundberg, 2005). Children as well as adults are social agents who actively take part in this ongoing process of gender constructions. Through children's choice of activities and playmates they are actively taking part in constructing gender identities that they would like to be associated with.

Exploring the 'feminine habitus' Bourdieu (2000:72) argues that social conditions for women's public presentation contributes to making women's experience of their body a question of a body seen in connection to 'the others'. By objectifying the female body, gender structures constituted by masculine dominated dichotomies such as big/small, thick/thin, strong/weak, creates relational schemes of understanding the body, in which the composure of a female body often lose out in comparison to the male body. In that these oppositions often found to be attributed differently to men and women constitute our understanding of gender differences creates a hierarchic structure of gender characteristics. The masculine dominance, which constitutes women as symbolic objects, keeps women in a situation of constant insecurity of their own body and creates what Bourdieu (2000) refers to as symbolic dependence. Women that break out of these underlying structures of discipline are found to be perceived to be unfeminine, leaving women in a 'double binding' position: if they behave like men they risk losing their feminine attributions, and if they behave like 'women' they are perceived to be unfit for some positions or practices (Bourdieu, 2000:76).

Bourdieu (2000) reflections of the hegemonic structures in society have been used by several scholars to explore gender difference within the field of sport (Thorpe, 2009; Hovden, 2000;2006). Hegemonic masculine structures in a society reflect how men are given more advantages compared to women, and reflect an idealized perspective of men (Fund berg, 2005). A large body of earlier studies within sport sociology has focused on reproduction of masculinity in different sporting arenas. Hovden (2000; 2006) argues that the current hegemonic masculine culture found among sport organizations are hidden through normalization and are presented as gender-neutral entities. This normalization of power disparity masks practices and patterns of masculinity, power and leadership. Conceptions of masculinity in sport are argued to be structured according to dualistic understanding of sport (Laberge & Albert, 1999) often resulting in gender stereotypical and sexist comments. Research on children's participation in sports and physical activity have also contributed to a growing body of literature documenting gendered differences in participation (Fundberg, 2005; Trost, et al., 2002; Vilhjalmsson & Kristjansdottir, 2003). Earlier research indicates that boys are more physical active than girls (Ingebrigtsen & Aspvik, 2008; Molnar et al., 2004; Trost, et al., 2002) and that they have higher enrollment in organized sport clubs (Vilhjalmsson & Kristjansdottir, 2003). Thus research persistently shows that girls have a disadvantage in relation to physical activity and sport participation.

4. METHODOLOGICAL TRIANGULATION

This research project is based on ethnographic fieldwork stretch out over a period of twelve months. The production of knowledge in this thesis is a result of utilization of triangulation of research tools. Methodological triangulation involves a research design where two or more research methods are used to gather data within one study. This approach attempts to improve validity by combining various methodological techniques (Gorard & Taylor, 2004). Triangulation of methods in this paper are utilized by integrating fieldwork and surveys, thus utilizing both qualitative as well as quantitative research techniques to answer the research question at hand. These methods have been advocated by several social scientists (Jick, 1979; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). The use of triangulation in social studies often rests on the perception that weaknesses found in on method will be compensated by the ‘counterbalancing’ strengths of another method (Jick, 1979: 604).

Quantitative and qualitative research approaches are often understood to represents two different sets of individual habits and frames of mind, whereas they observe two different aspects of the same reality and, as emphasized by McCracken (1988), they could never substitute each other. However, this is not to say that they cannot be combined. The two research approaches are here introduced as two different tools used to reach a common goal. I argue that it is this ‘division of labor’ that makes triangulation an asset in research. Hence, by combining numbers and correlations with the everyday life experiences of the informants I hope to draw a better picture of the children activity patterns than what could have been done with utilizing only one research approach.

Factors affecting children physical activity patterns are multiple and complex. Based on earlier research several alternatives of techniques have been used to explore factors affect children’s physical activity patterns, such as: (a) An analysis of the history of sport, (b) Looking of the overall structures of the society, (c) Ask the children directly or ask someone that interacts with the children, such as teacher, trainers and parents, (d) Observe systematically the persons behavior, (e) use surveys to measure how different independent factors affect children’s physical activity level, (f) measure children’s activity level through instruments designed to measure physical activity. Each of these techniques has its strengths and weaknesses. In my case I found several methods useful, but for different reasons and with slightly different research questions asked. The quantitative section focuses on drawing a picture of these children’s social background and through multiple regression analysis look at how certain variables affects the children’s physical activity level, where several variables in

the questionnaires are theoretically chosen for this purpose. While the qualitative sections explores children's own experiences and perspectives and their overall physical activity patterns through observation and interviews.

Thus by combining quantitative and qualitative methods this paper attempts to, through holistic interpretation, explore how intergeneration transfer of habitus frame children's opportunity to generate and negotiate physical activity in their everyday life. The data collected incorporates multiple viewpoints and approaches: both surveys of children and parents, children's experiences and perception of physical activity in everyday life gathered through semi-structured interviews, and observation of children's play. The methods utilized were wide-ranging and found to tap into a variety of dimensions of how children's family background affected their physical activity patterns. A timetable over methods used is shown in appendix 1.

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) differentiate between two ways of utilizing triangulation. One way of triangulation is using different sources of information. By collecting data from different sources on the same subject the researcher is able to check "the interference drawn from one source of the data by collecting data from others" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). An example of this in this research project is the measures of social class. Through the child-questionnaire the children have reported their social class measured by material wealth and living situation⁵ and their perception of poverty. Another measure of children's social class is measured in the parental questionnaire in which parents have reported their cultural and economical capital. This triangulation of sources was introduced as tools to both explore children's experience of social class and poverty as well as their 'actual' class and level of poverty measured by parental education and economy. Another form of triangulation utilized is the introduction of different research methods in different phases of the fieldwork (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). One of the benefits of utilizing different methods throughout the fieldwork was that I could discuss the data that appeared with the participants. This form of triangulation proved to a great asset in the interviews with children. In the interviews we could discuss children's experience with physical activity with bringing up actual episodes during the physical education lessons. By introducing episodes that were familiar to them and that happened the day before, it was easier for them to reflect around the interaction that I observed. As highlighted by Hammersley & Atkinson (2007:183) this type of triangulation of methods is very time consuming and, not only does it serve as a validity

⁵ The measures are further described in the quantitative methods chapter.

check of knowledge produced, it also gives a more in depth description and analysis of the "social meaning involved in the setting".

Research is never conducted in vacuum by the researcher and knowledge produced during fieldwork is always a result of interaction with multiple actors. This research, being based on a twelve months ethnographic study, multiple actors have affected and contributed extensively in the construction of knowledge introduced in this thesis. As highlighted by Corker and Davis (2002) in their ethnographic study of disability, I found it increasingly important to introduce multiple methods and a multi-voiced account for the knowledge production. My degree of involvement in the project and the numbers of different roles I played made me aware of my lack of local knowledge in the field of physical activity in this specific context, and more importantly, how the knowledge that I brought with me into the field affected the way I looked at children's play and activity. With this in mind using multiple methods and voices became an important tool in listening to the different agents surrounding the children and children themselves. As well as a tool that by dispersing my authority as a researcher (Davis 2000 cited in Corker & Davis 2002), the use of multiple methods helped both getting a 'broader' and more 'in-depth' understanding of the construction of gender and class and how it affected children's physical activity patterns. To introduce the multiple actors who constitutes the basis of data, knowledge and 'voices' presented in this thesis I have chosen to include a table with information on who the different actors are and how they have been able to contribute to the final research product. However, it is important to highlight that the final interpretation of the written material is conducted by me, seen in connection with my experiences in the field, the information given by the participants, and the theory chosen to help me identify the underlying premises and make sense of the information.

Table 1 Multiple voices introduced in the material

Actors	Their voices and how they have taken part in construction of the data
The children	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Child questionnaire (382)• Interviewee (18)• Field conversation• Observed behavior• Observers: their reaction to me, my behavior as well as the activities I introduced.
Parents	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Parental questionnaire (265)• Field conversations
Teacher	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Field conversation• Researcher voice: Their observation and analysis of me, my behavior & the children• Practitioners voice
Translator /co-interviewer	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Observer of the children• Co-PE teacher during the sport lessons• Discussion partner• My Filipino voice in the interviews, with a flavor of her own voice.
Transcribers	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Their transcriptions and translation of the children's voices in the interviews
Me	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Main coordinator• Observer / Observed• Interviewer• Analyzer/Analyzed• The voice of theory & Empirics• PE teacher

As depicted by table 1, this research project is based on various research methods and multiple voices introduced by several participants. Unfortunately, due to space limitations, only a selection of empirical insights will be offered in the analyzing chapter.

5. QUANTITATIVE METHODS

Over a period of six months, two surveys were conducted with the objective of exploring how children's living situation, their experience with sports, their self-esteem in different areas, parental economic- and cultural capital, and parental perception of physical activity impacts children's physical activity level. The first survey was conducted with all grade 4 pupils at the selected elementary school and another with their parents. The statistical program used to conduct analysis and tests is PASW Statistics. Moreover, Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression (further on referred to as linear regression) has been utilized to analyse which independent variables affect the dependent variable of interest.

5.1 Sampling procedures

The final data matrix is constituted by information given by children and their parents in grade four at a public elementary school in Quezon City (Metro Manila). The selection of sample is based on a 'convenient based sampling procedures', whereas access to school, the children's age, and the principal and teacher's guidance and acceptance were considered throughout the sampling process. The data is not representative on a national level and the results will only be used to draw a picture of the contextual situation of the children at this particular grade and school. 383 grade four students answered the child-questionnaires⁶, whereas 48.7 percent were girls and 51.3 percent boys. A second questionnaire (parental questionnaire, appendix 2) was given out to the children's parents or guardians to determine the family's socioeconomic background, their education/income and the parents/guardians' perception of the importance of sport and physical activity for children. Of the 383 children answering 'the child-questionnaire', 262 (61%) of the parents/guardians answered 'the parental questionnaire'. To make sure that there were no social class biases in answering the parental questionnaire a correlation analysis was run on the social class variable (ABCDE) in the children questionnaire and a variable called delivered/not delivered in the parental questionnaire. The analysis showed very weak correlation values (0.046) and the correlation was not significant. Hence, even though the answered rate of parents is lower than their children there were no social class biases affecting the answer rate. Together, these two questionnaires constitute the final data matrix. The children's age range between 8 and 16 years old, with the average being 10 (9.63). In the Filipino education system children are not

⁶ Full version of child-questionnaire is shown in appendix 2

allowed to excel to higher grades unless they have acquired the necessary skills to pass the grade they are in, thus several children with low grades will have to take the same grade over again. Moreover, some children drop out of school during the semester, often because of economical constrains.

The quantitative methods introduced for the children was highly monitored and standardized. The survey took place during school-time in the classroom while children were seated at their desks. The questionnaire was read out loud in Tagalog by a translator and children were given time to answer before the next question were raised. Answering the questionnaire took approximately one hour and the researcher and translator replaced the teacher in this time period in order to monitor and assist the children in filling out a questionnaire. Introduction were given in Tagalog before the actual process started and it was emphasized that the researcher were interested in the children's point of view and that there were no right or wrong answers. This emphasis was made to avoid making the children perceive the questionnaire as a test. Moreover the children were informed that participation in the research was voluntary and that the knowledge gathered would be kept strictly confidential. This process was introduced for six out the eight sections. For section seven and eight were different processes introduced based on experience from a pilot testing of an earlier version of the questionnaire. In section seven the survey process were introduced in groups of four children at the time. The level of noise and confusion observed among many of the students in section seven lead me to change the process. In section eight the teacher wanted to conduct the survey herself. Thus the same process as explained for the six sections was introduced, with the only difference being that the teacher instead of the translator and me introduced the survey.

The children taking part in the child questionnaire were all given a parental-questionnaire to bring back to their parents. The front page of the questionnaire outlined a short description of the sport project implemented at the school and the research with the children. This gave me the opportunity to give information to the parents, and ask them if they were willing to answer the questionnaire. The information letter gave me the opportunity to ask for parental consent to interview their child.

5.2 Construction of questionnaires

Two questionnaires were constructed with the aim of exploring children's physical activity patterns and it is affected by parental accumulation of capital and their perception of physical activity. Both the child- and parental questionnaire were constructed and translated with the

help and co-operation of my connections within the local ARO-HBA Research Group located in Metro Manila.

5.2.1 Child Questionnaire

The child questionnaire was developed with the aim of exploring how gender differences, living situation, social class, subjective perception of poverty, earlier sport experience and their self-esteem affects their physical activity level. The questionnaire starts off with questions focusing on the background information of the children such as age, gender, family composition, and living situation. To measure children's social background two groups of questions were introduced: 'subjective perception of poverty' and 'ABCDE' measures of social class. Social class and the different capital forms might be even further blurred by doing research with children taking into consideration that what we in fact measure is intergenerational transfer of capital rather than the children's capital per se. Hence, subjective perception of poverty was chosen because of the age and maturity of the children. Rosenberg and Pearlin (1978) argues that subjective measures of poverty take into consideration children's experience of poverty within their frame of reference. Poverty level is not only an objective measure based on average income and distribution of goods, but also subjective perception of poverty. Thus, it is not necessarily the objective measures of parental income or cultural capital that are most effective in measuring how social background affect children's physical activity, but the perception of family situation in comparison with others. Subjective perception of poverty is measured by asking children to compare their family situation with their classmates, neighbors and relatives.

The ABCDE measure used is based on a local and widely used ABCDE Market Research System developed to measure the socioeconomic (SES) statue of household in the Philippines (Arroyo, 1990 cited in Gutierrez & Shoemaker, 2008). The measure classifies households into five socio-economic classes (A, B, C, D and E) according to their type of dwelling, whereas ABC reflects the rich and middle class, the poor class D and the poorest class E (Arroyo, 1990 cited in Sandoval, Mangahas & Guerrero, 1998). According to Gutierrez & Shoemaker (2008:65) the ABCDE measures "reflects the Filipino cultural classification of one's economic status as mahirap (poor), katamtaman (moderate or middle), or mayaman (rich)".

The questionnaire then moves over to questions focusing on experience in sport and physical activity level. Selected questions on physical activity level are based on a survey directed at youth that was introduced in a Norwegian province in 2004 (for more information

see Ingebrigtsen, 2004). Finally the questionnaire ends with a selection of scales introduced in the self-description questionnaire (SDQ) developed by Herbert W. Marsh. The SDQ measures are instruments designed to measure self-confidence for children and youth (March, 1990), and similar self-confidence measures has been successfully utilized in several countries (Klomsten, 2006; Klomsten, Marsh & Skaakvik, 2005; Marsh et al., 2007). The SDQ scales utilized in the analysis measures social capital (an index constituted by selected questions from peer relations and parents relations scale)⁷. The presentation of the SDQ statements at the end of the child-questionnaire were structured with the help of teacher at school to make it as easy as possible for the children to answer.

5.2.2 Parental Questionnaire

With the objective of exploring how parental economical and cultural capital and their perception of physical activity affects children's physical activity level, the parental questionnaire focuses on the maternal and paternal educational attainment and income level as well as their perception of physical activity. In exploring the theoretical and practical existence of groups with the question 'What make social class?' Bourdieu (1987) reflects around the alternatives of understanding the existence of social class:

“...it is possible to deny the existence of classes as homogeneous sets of economically and socially differentiated individuals objectively constituting into groups, and to assert at the same time the existence of a space of differences based on a principle of economics and social differentiation” (Bourdieu, 1987:3).

This is possible by, as argued by Bourdieu, exploring the 'relational or structural mode', which identifies 'the groups' through relationships in social space. By constructing this space social scientists are able to explore the patterns of differentiation that might exist between social groups. By employing Bourdieu's understanding of social space and cultural and economical class, measures were created by the parents' reports on maternal and paternal monthly income and educational level. To explore how parental cultural capital affects the children's physical activity level, measures on economical and maternal and paternal education level has been brought into the analysis and constitutes the cultural capital measures. Economical capital is introduced with one variable measuring parental monthly income. Parental capital has been important in choosing child-participants for the interviews where parental economical and cultural capital measures and the variable ABCDE have been

⁷ For more information on the original structures of the scales and the construction of the index, see appendix 4 and 5.

the starting points in the sampling process. Thus, by constructing these analytical tools measuring social class made it possible to explore how different forms of accumulated capital affect the physical activity level and patterns.

5.3 Operationalization of variables

The amount of time physically active is assessed by a multiple-choice question with five alternatives in the children's questionnaire and constitutes the dependent variable *Physical Activity Level*. The question reads: *How many days in a week do you play or do sports so that you breathe hard and sweat a lot?* The first alternative is a completely sedentary physical activity status, and the statement reads: None at all and is encoded as 0. The second alternative involves being physical active one day a week (1). The third alternative reads: Two or three days (2). The fourth: four or five days a week (3), while the fifth alternative reads: More than five days a week (4). The variable can be understood to be 'in between' ordinal and interval variables, however, in order to conduct statistical analysis the variables will be understood as variables on 'interval level of measurement' (Ringdal, 2001). Furthermore, as well as measuring physical activity level by days a week physical active, the question specifies as certain intensity level by introducing criteria's of '*so that you breathe hard and sweat a lot*'. This measure has successfully been introduced in earlier research with youth (Ingebrigtsen, 2004).

Eleven independent variables are included in the analysis. The variables can be divided into background factors such as gender and living situation (ABCDE), children's subjective perception of poverty level, intergenerational transfer of cultural- and economical capital, social capital, and parental perception on gender appropriate sports. Brief comments will be made on operationalizations of the different variables further on and descriptive statistics of variables are introduced in table 2 in 'results chapter' below. For more information see appendix 4.

Gender is categorized (encoded) as male (0) or female (1).

Living situation and material wealth are measured through the variable ABCDE and is a variable recommended and improved to fit public school children by the local ARO-HBA Research Group. The question reads: *In your own assessment, which best describes your family?* The measuring tool is developed further to incorporate seven answering alternatives instead of the original five introduced by Arroyo (1990 cited in Sandoval, Mangahas & Guerrero, 1998). This restructuring was found necessary to make it more sensitive to differences found in urban public school children's' living situation. An example of

statements constituting one of the alternative answers is alternative E: *Living in slum areas or barong-barong. Parents work part time or sometimes not at all. Do not have enough to eat full meals every day.*⁸ The variable ABCDE has been dummy coded into a dichotomous variable in the analysis, whereas D and E constitute low social class (0) and ABC high (1) dividing the sample into approximately 50 percent in each category.

Subjective perception of poverty was introduced with three questions in the questionnaire. However only the question of poverty level compared to your classmates was shown to be significant and thus used further on in the analysis. The question reads: *Comparing yourself and your family situation with others, which of the following statements apply to you? I'm better off than my classmates. I'm in about the same situation with my classmates or I'm worse of then my classmates.* The variable has been dummy coded and 'worse of' functions as the reference group in the analysis.

The two parental cultural (both maternal and paternal) capital variables are reported as education accumulated and are both ordinal variables. Options for the respondents were: *No education (0), Grade school (1), High school (2) and College/university (3).*

Parental economical capital is measured by categorizing monthly income into brackets. The variable range from 0-5 and the options are: *5000 or less PHP, 5000- 10 000 Php, 10 000 – 15 000 PHP, 15 000 PHP – 20 000 PHP, 20 000 – 25 000 PHP and 25 000 or more PHP.* Respondents were asked to report paternal as well as maternal income. Because of low response rate on parental economical capital (134 respondent on maternal monthly income and 160 on paternal income) a new variable of income level was created with basis in paternal income level whereas this was given and mothers monthly income when paternal income was missing. This increased the number of respondents in the final regression model from 43 to 117. There were several considerations and analysis explored before creating this variable. As shown by appendix 7 there were no significant difference between the distributions between the income variables. Moreover there was no significant difference between income distributions between households that reports one or two incomes. Thus I argue that since the analysis shows no significant difference between the maternal and paternal monthly income and that by creating the new economical capital variable significantly increase the N of the final variable it can be used without distorting the actual level of income reported.

⁸ See child-questionnaire question 11 in appendix 2 for more information on the statements constituting the variable.

Parental perception of inappropriate physical activity for girls and boys are two variables that were introduced as statements in the parental questionnaire. The two variables reads: *Some physical activities are not appropriate for girls* and *Some physical activities are not appropriate for boys*. Whereas the respondent tick of either *Strongly disagree* (1), *Disagree* (2), *Neutral* (3), *Agree* (4) or *Strongly agree* (5). The respondents were further on asked to write down some physical activities that they found inappropriate if they ticked off agree or strongly agree on one or both statements.

Both factor analysis and reliability analysis were conducted in the construction of the social class index and are described in appendix 5. The index is based on Herbert March SDQ measuring tool (1990) and is created by combining 9 individual variables, each variable consist of a statement. Two examples of statements constituting the social capital index are *I have a lot of friend* and *My parents are easy to talk to*. Answer alternatives for all statements making up the index were: False (1), Mostly false (2), Sometimes false/sometimes true (3), Mostly true (4) and True (5).

The requirements of linear distribution have been analyzed by utilizing a range of analytical tools⁹ recommended by Eikmo and Clausen (1997) and the final model introduced in this paper were found suitable for analyzing variables affecting the physical activity level of the respondents.

⁹ See appendix 8 for the results of the requirements tests of linear regression

5.4 Results

The quantitative data is further on explored by utilizing descriptive statistics, crosstabs as well as bivariate- and multiple regression analysis.

5.4.1 Descriptive statistics

Table 2 Descriptive Statistics¹⁰ of all variables

Variables	N (%)	Valid Percent	Mean/Median	Standard Deviation
Physical Activity Level*	381 (99.7)	0=8.9 1=40.4 2=29.4 3=7.9 4=13.4	1.8/2.0	1.150
Gender	382 (99.9)	0=51.3 1=48.7		
Social Class (ABCDE)**	375 (98.2)	0=50.7 1=49.3		
Subjective Poverty Level **	374 (97.7)			
<i>Lower</i> <i>(Reference category)</i>		0=86.1 1=13.9		
<i>Same</i>		0=46.8 1=53.2		
<i>Higher</i>		0=67.1 1=32.9		
Cultural Capital				
<i>Mothers Education</i>	215 (56.3)	0=0.9 1=14.4 2=38.6 3=46.0	2.3/2.0	0.746
<i>Fathers Education</i>	177 (46.3)	0=2.3 1=14.7 2=39.5 3=43.5	2.4/2.0	0.785
Economical Capital	228 (59.7)	0=42.7 1=34.6 2=13.6 3=4.8 4=3.5 5=0.9	1.94/2	1.113
Social Capital Index***	339 (88.7)		36.8/37.0	4.814
Experience in sport	381 (99.7)	0=13.1 1=86.6		
Parental Perception of Inappropriate Physical Activity				
<i>For Boys</i>	244 (63.9)	0=5.7 1=24.6 2=32.0 3=31.6 4=6.1	3.1/3.0	1.017
<i>For Girls</i>	250 (65.4)	0=6.0 1=20.0 2=31.6 3=33.6 4=8.8	3.2/3.0	1.047

*Dependent variable, ** Dummy coded, *** Index

¹⁰ For more information on the coding process of the independent variables, look at appendix 4 and appendix 5 for the construction of the indexes

Descriptive statistics of physical activity show that 9 percent of the children reported to be inactive, 40.4 percent answered that they were active one day a week, 29.4 percent that they were active two-three days a week, 7.9 percent that they were active three-five days a week and 13.4 percent more than five days a week. As shown by table 2 the average physical activity level among the children is 1.8 (approximately two-three days a week). Standard deviation values of 1.15 show relatively high dispersion of responses. The dependent variable is somewhat left-sided, however within the accepted margin of error in normal distribution of dependent variables¹¹.

Out of the 382 respondents constituting the quantitative data matrix 51.3 percent are boys and 48.7 percent girls. Moreover are the sampling divided approximately 50/50 by the dummy coded social class variable based on the ABCDE social class measure. Thus, 50.7 percent of the sample belongs to the social class category D and E, and live in either squatter areas or in kwarto-kwarto (small housing units often consisted of one room), while 49.3 percent belongs to the social class category C or B (none of the children reported being social class A) and lives in other housing facilities such as rented apartment or owned house.

Exploring subjective perception of poverty we can see that 13.9 percent answers that they feel poorer than their classmates, while 53.2 percent experiencing being in the same position as their classmates and 32.9 reports feeling better off than their classmates. This variable is dummy coded whereas the children reporting feeling poorer than their classmates are the reference category.

The three capital variables are divided into two categories, namely cultural and economical capital. In the parental questionnaire 215 of parents reported maternal educational level whereas 0.9 percent does not have any education, 14.4 percent have attained grade school, 38.6 percent high school and 46 percent have college or university level of education. The mean education level of maternal education is 2.3, while median educational level is high school education. Of the 177 respondents reporting parental educational level, 2.3 percent have no education, 14.7 have attained grade school, 39.5 percent have went to high school, while 43.5 percent have college or university level of education. The mean education level of paternal education is slightly higher than maternal educational level with 2.4, however median educational level is the same. Father's educational level is the variable with the least number of respondents. This relatively low number of respondents creates a problem of system

¹¹ See appendix 8 for an histogram outlining normal distribution of the dependent variable

missing in the final regression model whereas the analysis is based on a total of 117 respondents. A possibility would be to do the same as with economical capital variable. However, since both cultural capital variables are significant predictors and they indicate reversed impact on children's physical activity level, both were found needed in the final regression model.

The median parental income is 5000 – 10 000 pesos per month. 42.7 percent earns 5000 pesos or less per month¹², 34.6 percent earns between 5000 and 10 000 pesos, 13.6 percent earns 10 000 – 15 000 pesos while only 9.2 percent earns more than 15 000 pesos.

Parental view of inappropriate physical activity shows similar distribution for boys and girls. Whereas the highest percentage agrees with the existing of inappropriate sports (36.7 percent for boys and 42.4 percent for girls), 32 percent for boys and 31 percent for girls are neutral to the statement, while 30.3 percent of the parents disagree to the statement when it comes to boys, 26 percent disagree when it is a girl. Exploring children's experience in sports as well as parental perception of gender appropriate sports through the two crosstabs depicted in table 3 and 4 indicates clear gender differences when it comes to both parents view of gender appropriate physical activities and children's preferences as well as experience in sports.

¹² 1000 PHP amounts to 125 NOK/22.9 USD (Coinmill, 22-06-2011)

Table 3: Crosstab of physical activities mentioned as inappropriate in the parental questionnaire, divided by gender.

Physical Activities	Girls	Boys
Martial Art	27	
Basketball	15	1
Carry heavy	11	2
Soccer	10	
Depends on Age/Health	4	1
Not rough sport	2	
Track and field	2	
Swimming	1	1
Cycling	1	
Construction	1	
Sipa (Filipino Sport)	1	
Dance		5
Cook and Laundry		3
Girl Games		3
Ballet		2
Gymnastic		2
Volleyball		2
Badminton		1
Jumping Rope		1
Fight		1
Total	75	25

Table 3 represents the physical activities mentioned by parents to be inappropriate for girls and boys. Although a high percentage of the parents answer the question on whether or not there exist activities inappropriate physical activities for girls/boys, only 75 people mentioned particular activities inappropriate for girls and 25 mentioned sports for boys. The results indicate that parents thought dance, to cook food and do the laundry and to participate in ‘girls games’ was inappropriate behavior for boys. While for girls the most frequent mentioned activities was taking part in martial arts, basketball, carry heavy and soccer.

Table 4 Crosstab of most popular sports and sports children have experience with, divided by gender.

		Popular Sports	Sport Experience	
Boys	Basketball	148	82	
	Swimming	114	39	
	Badminton	90	33	
	Martial Art	56	11	
	Soccer	49	21	
	Track & Field			
	Baseball	28	3	
	Volleyball	27	8	
	Dance	16	5	
	Bowling	13	5	
	Bowling	1	1	
Total		542 ¹³	208	
Girls	Badminton	160	102	
	Swimming	138	35	
	Volleyball	67	12	
	Dance	65	22	
	Martial Art	34	5	
	Soccer	15	5	
	Track & Field			
	Field	15	3	
	Basketball	14	4	
	Total		508	188

The descriptive statistics in table 2 shows that 86.6 percent of the children’s report having earlier experience in sport. This indicates that majority of the children have participated in one or more sports activities. This was an interesting finding explored further in the interviews. Table 4 show that boys, if they were given the choice, would join in sport activities equal to the once they have earlier experience with. Whereas the top three sports for boys are basketball, swimming and badminton. The girls on the other hand report that badminton, swimming and dance is the top three sports they have experience in, however when looking at which sport they would choose volleyball appear on third. Interesting findings are that both badminton and swimming is among top three in both experience and popularity, independent on gender. Moreover, basketball is the top sport among boys, while it ranks very low among girls especially when it comes to experience with the game.

¹³ The total is higher than the total number of children in the original sample because the children could choose the ‘maximum of three sports’ they would like participating in and which they had earlier experience in.

5.4.2 Regression analysis

Introducing bivariate regression analysis in table 5 allows for a statistical exploration of potential predictor of children’s physical activity level. Significant relations are explored with each of the individual independent variable against children’s physical activity level.

Table 5 Bivariate regression analysis with ‘physical activity level’ as dependent variable.

Variables	B	Std.Error	T-value	Sig.
Gender (Male)	-0.245	0.117	-2.086	0.000
Social Class (ABCDE)	0.153	0.119	1.286	0.199
Subjective Poverty Level *	0.246	0.090	2.735	0.007
Cultural Capital				
<i>Maternal Education</i>	0.021	0.106	0.197	0.844
<i>Paternal Education</i>	0.026	0.110	0.241	0.810
Economical Capital	-0.027	0.093	-0.293	0.770
Social Capital Index	0.040	0.013	3.172	0.002
Experience in Sport	0.434	0.175	2.480	0.014
Parental Perception of Inappropriate Physical Activity				
<i>For Boys</i>	-0.023	0.071	-0.330	0.742
<i>For Girls</i>	-0.019	0.069	-0.281	0.779

* Run as ordinal variable in bivariat regression analysis but dummy coded as shown in table 4 in the final regression model

Bivariate analysis demonstrate that four independent variables have significant linear correlation with the children’s physical activity level, these are; gender, children’s subjective feeling of poverty compared to their classmates, children’s social capital measured through peer and parental relationship, and the children’s earlier experience in sports.

Gender is significantly predicting physical activity, indicating that boys taking part of the study are more physical active than the girls.

The dummycodet social class ‘ABCDE’ measure is not a significant predictor of the children’s physical activity level. This indicates that there is no significant difference in physical activity level among children low on material wealth living in squatters or kwarto-kwarto and children high on material wealth living in apartment and owned house. ABCDE measures are common in measuring social class in the Philippines and will be analyzed in the final regression model.

Children’s own perception of poverty is a significant predictor, indicating that children feeling ‘better of’ than their classmates have higher physical activity level. The variable is used as an ordinal variable in bivariate analysis but is dummycodet and used as a nominal variable in the final regression model.

Neither of the two variables measuring maternal and paternal cultural nor the economical capital variable shows any significant coherence in the bivariate analysis. Cultural and economical capital are important components in explore intergenerational transfer of habitus. Thus, the impact of the three variables will be explored and controlled against the impact of the other independent variables in the final regression model.

Social Capital is shown to be a significant predictor of children’s physical activity level. Indicating that children with high positive perception of their relationship with peers and parents are more active than children who have lower social capital.

Earlier experience sport is shown to be a significant positive predictor of physical activity level among the children.

The two variables exploring how parental perception of inappropriate physical activity for girls and for boys are not significant predictors of children’s physical activity level. However, the two variables will be analyzed in the final regression to explore how parental views on physical activity affect the children’s physical activity level controlled for the other independent variables.

Table 6 Final regression model with ‘physical activity level’ as dependent variable (N=117)

Variables	B	Std.Error	Beta	T-value	Sig.
Constant	-1.010	0.973		-1.039	.301
Gender	-0.204	0.195	-0.091	-1.046	.298
Social Class ABCDE	0.168	0.210	0.075	0.800	.426
Subjective Poverty Level					
<i>Same</i>	0.160	0.142	0.142	1.127	.262
<i>Higher</i>	0.320	0.099	0.411	3.228	.002
Cultural Capital					
<i>Mothers Education</i>	-0.437	0.183	-0.260	-2.391	.019
<i>Fathers Education</i>	0.322	0.170	0.208	1.897	.061
Economical Capital	0.028	0.091	0.028	0.311	.756
Social Capital Index	0.046	0.021	0.197	2.262	.026
Experience in sport	0.513	0.288	0.153	1.781	.078
Parental Perception of Inappropriate physical activity					
<i>For Boys</i>	-0.312	0.138	-0.262	-2.260	.026
<i>For Girls</i>	0.354	0.137	0.311	2.586	.011

Df=11, F-test = 3.425, Sig=0.000, R²= 0.524, R2 adjusted=0.264

Gender is not a significant predictor of physical activity level when controlled for the effect of the other independent variables. Thus there is no difference between boys and girls physical activity level.

Social class measured by the ABCDE variable show no difference between the physical activity level among children living in from low social class DE living in squatters area and kwarto-kwarto compared to children from social class ABC living in owned house and apartments.

Children's subjective perception of poverty compared with their classmates is a significant perception of physical activity level among the children. Children that perceive themselves to be 'better off' than their classmates have higher physical activity level than the children reporting to be 'worse off' than their classmates. However, there is no significant difference among children who perceive themselves to be in 'the same position' as their classmates compared to those reporting to be 'worse off'.

Maternal cultural capital is a significant negative predictor of physical activity level. The physical activity level of the children decreases with 0.437 for each increase in educational level of the mother. Thus, with increased maternal cultural capital children's physical activity level decrease. Maternal cultural capital is one of the variables highest explanation value indicated by beta values. Paternal cultural capital is not a significant predictor of physical activity level. However, with significance values of 0.61 I argue that the negative coherence between paternal cultural capital and children's physical activity level indicates a tendency.

Economical capital is not a significant predictor of children's physical activity level.

Social capital is still a significant positive predictor of physical activity level when controlled for other independent variables. Demonstrating that children's positive perception of peers and parental relations has a positive effect on their physical activity level.

Children's earlier experience in sport is not a significant predictor of physical activity level.

Parental perception of inappropriate physical activities for boys and girls are both significant predictors of physical activity level. Interestingly, high agreement with the statement that there exists inappropriate physical activity for boys indicates decrease in children's physical activity level. However, high agreement to the statement that there exist physical activities inappropriate for girls indicates an increase of children's physical activity.

Summing up the salient finding: There is no significant difference found in physical activity level between boys and girls nor between children from low social class (DE) and children from high social class (ABC). Parental economical capital does not impact their physical activity level. The only social class measures significantly impacting children's physical activity are children's own perception of poverty and maternal cultural capital.

Maternal education measure indicates that with increased accumulation of maternal cultural capital the children's physical activity decreases. Children's earlier experience in sport does not impact their physical activity level. Parental perception of inappropriate physical activity is a significant predictor of physical activity, predicting decrease in physical activity when relating to inappropriate physical activity for boys and increase in physical activity when relating to inappropriate physical activity for girls.

6. QUALITATIVE METHODS

In doing ethnographic research the methodological aim is to utilize methods that allow the researcher to explore everyday life experiences of people, often taking part in their life situation and by listening to their perspective and experiences. Thus, the term ethnographical research is also connected to qualitative research methods often utilized to explore a social phenomenon. Interview and observation has gradually become the most important method that researchers use to explore different forms of qualitative research questions and is now the most widely applied research tools in qualitative research (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997). The qualitative data in this project is based on observation of all children in grade four at the particular public elementary school and a purposive sample of 18 children for in-depth semi-structured interviews.

6.1 Researchers Pre-position

Every environment confronts its visitor with a wide range of inputs and images. As a visitor in a foreign culture you are in a constant phase of trying to digest all inputs, while simultaneously reacting to the stimuli at hand. As a cognitive control mechanism your mind wish to put all impressions into already existing categories acquired through earlier experiences. This mechanism helps you process the images that you are confronted with into more recognizable and understandable images and moreover let's you create a perception of the impressions you are confronted with. Without critical evaluation of these first impressions you are in danger of letting the impressions create a life on their own as stereotypes and prejudices that distorts future observations and judgment. It is therefore important to exact self-criticism to avoid some of the personal biases that might affect the validity of the research. The goal is to turn the disciplinary tools often used within research back onto oneself. This way social scientists can extricate biases produced by social background and location in the field from their work (Giulianotti, 2005). According McCracken (1988) scholars working in foreign cultures have an advantage over those who work within their own culture in that everything they meet is new and mysterious, creating a critical distance to what the researcher observes. However, as highlighted by Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) researcher might experience a problem of overcoming the barrier that this distance creates. A 'knowledge' that I had acquired through years of working in after school programs, as a handball trainer for children and my own childhood spent largely by playing handball in my leisure time, had left me with some ideas of what organized sport meant. However through

the interviews it became clear that I knew little about what organized sports meant for these children in the context they live in. To overcome the barrier observation and field conversation with children and adults became important. Thus, not only passively observing what went on, but also asking questions when there was something I did not understand and my ignorance was often explained by others as my ‘Western way of thought’. Interestingly, through my meeting with a new culture and way of life I also needed to reflect around the notion of ‘pitying poverty’. The objective of this thesis is not to explore the ‘hazards’ of everyday life of children in squatter area, or to make judgment on different child practices, rather the aim is to look at how children generate and negotiate play, games and sports activities within the cultural conditions structuring their everyday life. Thus the challenge is to neither judge nor romanticize poverty, rather, trying to make justice to the experiences that the children express.

6.2 Entering into the field – communication and negotiation of the researcher role

“The shortest way between A and B is not a straight line but a spiral”.

The citation above is one used often by my Filipino contact and summaries my (lack of) experience in the initial phase of research in a foreign culture. My first week of research, this also being my first week in the Philippines, was largely governed by communication: how to communicate well, what to communicate and not at least what to communicate to whom. As for all field researchers, one of the first challenges was the entry into the field of interest. In my case, the field of interest was physical activity patterns among Filipino public school children, thus I needed to come in contact with a public elementary school that would accommodate me and give me an entrance to their everyday activities.

My arrival in the Philippines had been planned for several months before my departure from Norway. So when I first arrived in Manila meetings with different schools were already set in motion and all I had to do the first few days was to try to keep up. For my second day of stay in the Philippines, a meeting with the principal at a public elementary school located in Quezon City was set up. In preparation for the meeting my contact in the Philippines and I discussed what to say, what to highlight, what to downplay etc. The goal of the meeting was to get the principal interested in the project and to see this as a beneficiary for the school. A short summary of my daily log helps to depict my first meeting with the school and teachers:

“...I was, beforehand, told not to make any promises, but if I was asked for anything in particular to answer: “we will see what we can do about that”. The agreement was that my Filipina friend would

stand for most of the talking and the reason given for this was that my Western way of doing business might seem too rough and insolent. My friend had already spoken with the principal and the tone between them was friendly and promising. When we arrived I was met in the door with a hug from the principal and was led to the table where the meeting would be held. Most of the conversation was in Tagalog, so my contribution to the conversation was limited to speak when spoken to. My friend started with a story depicting me as this gentle soul who travelled all the way to the Philippines to help out the Filipino children. The project as a part of my master thesis was mentioned, but played down to minimal information. As far as me helping out the school, there where little doubt that the principal saw the opportunity to use me as a pro-bono teacher taking charge of part of the physical education for some of the sections and maybe also help the school out economically. The principal grabbed the opportunity and promised to accommodate me in any way I needed. After 20 minutes, the teacher from grade 4 where called in to the office and the principal introduced my project and me, and informed them of what was to come next. Once again, my contribution to the meeting where limited to smiling and answer the questions that was asked in English. The meeting ended with the principal telling the entire group of teacher to be as accommodating as possible, and help me with whatever I needed” (date 17.06.09).

With this meeting I had achieved my objectives and my entry to the field was secured. But to what cost? After the meeting I was left with an ambivalent feeling. Large parts of the conversation with the teacher evolved around the observation that I was to conduct in their classrooms. Even though the teachers agreed to the observation it was easy to observe that they were not completely comfortable with the situation, however the power displayed at the meeting gave them no opportunity to resist. And as it turned out, this situation would haunt me for several months. Through this meeting I was alienated from the teachers and put in a role that could jeopardize my research. There were several factors affecting my observation in the initial phase of my research. As I experienced throughout my observation weeks, my first problem was that the teacher were afraid of doing mistakes inside the classroom while I was there. Moreover, their perception of my connection to the principal was affecting our communication and limiting it to a “safe zone”. Access to the field was granted but I could not reach the information I needed. As pointed out by Stordahl (1991, cited in Paulgaard, 1997) all researcher who conducts field research as a research method must try to find his or her position within the social context of interest. This is often not effortless process; rather it requires the researcher to take an active part in guiding the impression of interaction. By exploring the relationship that had developed between the teacher and myself I was able to take more control over my role within the teacher group. Many of the teachers believed that my presence in the classroom were to take place so I could observe and make judgments on the teachers work. Naturally this created an unwanted situation, and I had to use a lot of time and energy on my communication with the teacher, making sure that they understood that the

objectives for the observation were to observe and understand the children better, not to judge their performance as teachers. To solve the unwanted situation I had to try to reposition myself within the teacher group. The tactical move of minimizing the information of my research backfired and I soon found out that I had to move out of the role given to me, and create a role that would open up for an dialog with the teachers. By taking a more active part in controlling the situation and the information given I was able to create my own role in the setting. This gave me the opportunity to tap into the teachers' knowledge and experience by using them as 'sparring partners', sharing life stories and family background, asking for advice and thus creating a more favorable platform of openness, friendly discussions and cooperation. A breakthrough in my relationship with the teachers appeared when I introduced a Filipina friend of mine that helped out in the sport program and functioned as a translator during the introduction of the questionnaires and the interviews. Thus, as the principal and my Filipino contacts served as gatekeepers with 'the powers to open or block access into the field' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995 cited in Nilsen and Rogers 2005:345), my Filipina friend served as an important 'sponsor' (Nilsen & Rogers, 2005) that supported and vouched for both me as person and the research activity introduced.

6.3 Observation

Observation method used in this project is divided into two phases. The two different phases follows the development of the research project. The first phase consisted of the unstructured observation used in the initial stage of the fieldwork. The second phase started with the introduction of the sports program introduced in the children's physical education lessons (PE) and where governed by the use of participatory observation.

6.3.1 Unstructured Observation

Unstructured observation method is often connected to Weber's methodological ideal. In Weber's theory the individuals should be studied as subjects, which includes an interpretation of the subjects meaning universe that can only be observed and understood from within the context that the subjects live in (Ritzer, 2008). The main goal in this initial phase was to get an overview of the context and observe the everyday life of the children within the school setting. Moreover, the objective was to understand the subjects and the situation on their own premises. There were several questions I wanted to find an answer to; how does a normal school day look like for these children? How are the children divided into different sections? What form of pedagogy governs the teacher – pupil relations? How, how often, where do they

have Physical Education? The idea was to leave the narrowing theoretical glasses on the sideline, in hope of keeping my mind open for what I observed inside the classroom.

The unstructured observation lasted for approximately three weeks where I followed different section in grade 4 every school day. This period consisted of observation inside the classroom and conversations with the teachers and children. The children in grade 4 were divided into morning sessions and afternoon sessions. There were 385 pupils in grade 4, with an average of 47 pupils in each of the eight sections. The department of education in the Philippines (DepEd) has set a limit of 50 pupils in one section to safe guard the children's learning and the workload of the teachers. For the morning sessions the children started school at 6 am and end at noon. The day was primarily governed by the student seated in the classroom listening to the teacher and copying lessons written on the blackboard or on illustration boards. The pedagogical methods used were based on traditional teaching where the teacher is the one with all the knowledge and the active agents during the lessons. The hierarchic power structure between the teacher and his or her pupils were strong whereas the pupils were the inactive participants in this interaction. During the observation I was given a seat in the back of the classroom. In the beginning my presence distracted the children and more eyes were directed at me than the teacher in front of the blackboard. However, after a week of observation the children got used to me sitting in the back and waited with their questions until after the lesson was over. After two weeks of observation the children had yet to have PE as a part of their schedule. After talking to the teacher in charge of PE in the morning sessions we agreed that I could come and observe section two in PE the upcoming Monday on the third week of observation. When I arrived the school on time for our appointment all the children were painting as a part of MAPE lesson. The teacher explained that she had forgotten our appointment but that she would round off the art lesson so they could have PE. The citation below is from my field notes from the observation.

The teacher announced that it was time for PE and all 43 students were asked to line up in gender divided rows outside in the hall. The students cleaned their desks and made ready go outside. After approximately 7 minutes all students were lined up in nice rows, still in their school uniforms, waiting passionately for the PE teacher's signal to walk towards the pavement right outside the classroom. After walking in lines with the teacher in front, the children were again divided into four gendered divided lines with the children measuring one-arms-length from the person standing in front. When all children were standing correctly and the teacher had chosen a student to stand with her on the elevated pavement in front of everybody, the teacher was ready to start the lesson. The organization of the PE scene had now taken approximately 15 min. The teacher slowly started to introduce some hand movements giving every movement a number. By mimicking the teachers move and counting out loud the numbers, teacher and

students together did different coordinated sets of movement that further on developed to include movements of the legs. All movements were conducted by standing at the same spot allotted to them in the beginning of the lesson. After warming up with arm and leg movements the children were told to run at the spot. The teacher then moved on to divide the children into four groups all given the name of a sport. The sports were basketball, volleyball, soccer and tennis. Each group was shown one proper movement in connection to the sport chosen for their group and by calling out the group names randomly the children did the movements they had been taught. Thus after 30 minutes in total the PE lesson was over and the children again lined up by gender and walked back to classroom with the teacher in front. (Field notes, 12th of July, 2009).

6.3.2 Participatory observation

The second phase of observation started when the lessons within the sports program started. The aim of the observation in this phase was to observe whether or not gender and social class come into play when the children were introduced to different forms of Filipino games and sport activities. I had already gathered information on how the PE lessons usually were conducted and it was now, with the help of the teachers, time to implement the program. The observation method used in the phase was participatory observation. Participatory observation is a form of qualitative research method that uses observation among peoples own, natural environment (Kristiansen & Krogstrup, 1999). The term participatory observation for this context is best described as Kristiansen & Krogstrup (1999:7) defines it: “as a relatively intensive social interaction between the researcher and the subjects, he or she studies in the subjects own social environment”. Thus the researcher aims to directly observe the interaction between people while he or she tries to participate as much as possible in the interactions that being observed (Wadel, 1991). As an adult observer attempting to understand children’s physical activity culture by utilizing participatory observation I cannot pass unnoticed as a member of their group (Fine & Sanstrom, 1988). There is no doubt that by acting as a teacher while observing the children, my teacher role became blurred with my role as a researcher and as highlighted by Kellett and Ding (2004) this affected children view of my role, their interaction with me and expectation towards me. Some researcher argue that to explore children’s everyday life the researcher needs to limit the amount of power difference often found between the traditional relationship between adults and children. This is often solved by taking the role of a ‘different adult’ (Nilsen, 2000). Being a ‘different adult’ can according to Nilsen (2000) be achieved by not acting as the traditional authoritative adult by not guiding or organizing the children, rather associating yourself with the children and not with the other adults. Even though my entry into the field was as a voluntary teacher, my habitus experienced by the children, in the way I walked, dressed, talked to them and played with

them was in itself out of the ordinary. In a way I was already a novice in their eyes, not understanding their language and always asking them questions on what to them seemed silly and common sense. I found that my role as a teacher in PE and student in culture and language gave me a connection to the children that I would not have gotten without being a teacher. Being a teacher was what gave me 'a reason to be there', it gave me a comprehensible part in their everyday life, even though my behavior was strange and my presence exciting. Moreover, the approach enabled me to establish trust and confidence between myself, as a Norwegian researcher, and the children participating in the study.

The sport program introduced was largely based on the objective of introducing different Filipino games and sports in an organized setting. The children were throughout the program introduced to several Filipino games that they themselves chose; these activities consisted of agawon base, agawon bola, bathuan bola, patintero and tagutaguan. Moreover were sports activities such as badminton, soccer, volleyball, track and field and basketball introduced. In introducing several gender mixed activities, both well-know to the children and some they did not know before, I crossed the boundaries that many of the teachers perceived to be correct gendered-behavior. One reaction was from the PE teacher when we discussed a basketball lesson introduced for her pupils. After finishing my lesson I talked to the teacher and asked what she thought of the lesson. Even though she thought the lesson had went ok, she was afraid that some of the girls might get hurt while playing basketball with the boys and that she thought volleyball was a more appropriate activity for the girls. I also experienced similar response from the children in the start of the program. In the beginning all lessons started by introducing a game or sports whereas the children played the games or tried out new activities within mixed gender groups. However I soon realized that most of the girls chose to opt out of the activity as soon as the activities increased in intensity. All participation was voluntary so instead of insisting that they should participate, they were given the opportunity to chose other activities often leaving the girls to playing dance games, badminton or Chinese garter. Thus, this led me to change the structure of the lessons, whereas all children were introduced to the same basic drills in the start of the lessons and when it was time to play the actual game the children choose the game the wanted to play and also who they would to play with. This most often led to gender divided groups in ball sports and more gender-mixed groups in Filipino games.

Field notes were written both while the children were playing and after the end of lessons and while writing notes co-PE teacher was in charge of the PE lessons. The children were informed that I would take some 'time-off' during the lessons to write down my

experience with the children's play and that emphasis was made on the point that they were not graded in the lessons and they could choose on how to participate. In the beginning of the school year the children were very interested in what I wrote in my book that I brought with me every day. Children would often come over where I was seated looking in my book and asking questions and some would just come over to me while taking a break from playing. At first I wrote my notes in English however after experience the children's interest in my notes I decided to write in Norwegian so that I would not have to be limited in what I wrote. Many questions were asked on why I only sat there and wrote in my book and every time I explained that I was very interested in how the children played together and that I had to write it down so I would not forget. After a while students in my class would take control over other children that wanted to ask questions, saying: 'don't disturb Mam Teresa, she is taking notes'.

Before the first and second round interviews I directed the focus of observation towards the children taking part of the interview. This let me too narrow down the focus from whole group interaction towards how the individual child interacted in different settings. Some of my observation was further on brought up in the interviews where I asked the children what forms of activities they preferred, whom they enjoyed playing and why this was so.

6.3.3 The 'objectivity' of observation

Whether or not there is such a thing as 'objective observations' is discussions too large to begin in this paper (see Angrosino & Mays de Péres, 2003 for more information on this discussion), however, with the choice of utilizing two methods of observation some reflection is needed. Non-participatory observation, used in the initial phase of the fieldwork, was based on observation conducted in the natural environment of participations and even though my presence had some affect on the interaction observed, it was not governed by it. Thus, in regards to the objectivity of observation, non-participatory observation limits the interaction between the researcher and the researched and because of this non-participatory observation is often argued to bring about the possibility for more objective observations. In unstructured observation there is an expected distance between the observer and the observed where the researcher are standing 'outside looking in' (Kristiansen & Krogstrup, 1999). Being a foreigner in the culture I was to observe, I found it necessary to take on this researching role in the beginning of my fieldwork. The ideal was to be able to sit behind in the classroom as a 'fly on the wall', unnoticed, non-distractive, but 'all seeing'. However, my presence was

neither unnoticed nor non-distractive and to understand what I observed I felt the need to ask the teachers afterwards. Regardless of this, the method served its purpose of increasing my familiarization with the Filipino public elementary system and the everyday life in school of the children.

With the introduction of the sports program my researcher role changed and methods of observation changed with it. Observation in ethnographic research is supposed to be conducted within the natural environment of the observed (Kristiansen & Krogstrup, 1999). However, by taking on the role of a PE teacher and introducing activities in unfamiliar setting for the children, I was no longer observing the children in their natural environment. Whereas the ideal setting for participatory observation is where the researcher takes on a role within the social setting of the observed, I was actively creating dynamics and conflicts that came into being. Thus by taking an active role in organizing the setting I was to observe I also created boundaries in which children could interact. My interactive relationship with the children is not a problem in itself. As argued by Kristiansen & Krogstrup (1999) all participatory observation is governed by an interrelationship between the researcher and the researched and all observation are affected by the presence of the observer. Reflecting on the feedback of teacher and the children participating made me change the structures of the PE lessons. Thus the interesting findings was not in relation to the highly structured activities that I introduced but the conflict that they created and the children's behavior when given the choice to choose how to participate. Not only did the children's behavior give an insight to how gender came into play, but it also gave an excellent basis of knowledge used to explore gender expectations in the interviews.

6.4 Interview

According to Kvale & Brinkmann (2009:2) a research interview is a tool based on a 'professional' conversation 'where knowledge is constructed in the inter-action between the interviewer and the interviewee'. By focusing on the interactive process of knowledge construction interviews becomes in line with the postmodern philosophy of knowledge (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Thus, information is not simply transported from one participant to the other, rather both parties participating in an interview are actively making meaning out of the questions raised producing knowledge as a result of two-way communication (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). According to Manen (1997) interviews serve two specific purposes: (1) it may be used to explore narrative data that later can be used to develop a deeper understanding of a human phenomenon, and (2) it may be used as a tool for conversation with the

interviewee about their meaning of an experience. In this project the interviews are based on both objectives. The purpose of the interviews was to introduce a research tool that lets the children word out their own experience, their perception of everyday life and physical activity pattern. Interviews also gave me the possibility to focus on the children's everyday life physical activity patterns outside school. This research method, moreover, gave me the possibility to discuss what had been observed during the physical activity lessons. For example, by introducing interesting and sometimes puzzling observations, children were able to reflect around why they thought that different activities resulted in different gendered behavior. The choice of semi-structured interview guide is linked with the expectation that the interviewee is more likely to be given opportunity for open expression of lived experiences in openly designed interview rather than in a standardized interview or questionnaire (Flick, 2006).

6.4.1 Sampling procedures

In contrast to statistical significance of random sampling, purposive sampling place importance on the theoretical significance of sampling units (Outley & Floyd, 2002). By utilizing purposive sampling procedures I was able to take into consideration my preliminary observation of the children, the children's response on the child-questionnaires, as well as parental economical and cultural capital based on the parental-questionnaires. The majority of the informants in this study consist of children in the age of 9-16, with an average age of 10.

In interviewing children several obstacles and challenges emerges and needs to be taken under consideration before conducting interviews. These children were all under age so I needed support from the school as well as the parents before conducting the interviews. Support from the principal was given in the beginning of the research process, but she was also consulted before any new research methods were taken into use. As mentioned earlier, all the children were given a parental letter with information and a questionnaire for one of the parents or guardians to fill out. On the letter of response one of the parents or guardians had to check of a box agreeing to the interviews. Of the 262 parents answering the questionnaire, 93 percent agreed to let their child be interviewed. This left me with a large group of possible informants.

The results from research methods utilized in previous phases of research left me with a large amount of data from which to choose key informants. With the aim of exploring intergenerational transfer of habitus, children chosen to participate in the interview were chosen according to parental economical and cultural capital. This left me with three groups

of children: six children with parents with high economical and cultural capital (HEC); six children with parents with high cultural capital and low economical capital (HCLC); and six children with parents with low cultural and economical capital (LEC). Each group consists of three boys and three girls. Constructing these 'objective classes' (Bourdieu, 1989:95) by dividing the children into groups according to parental capital, as much as it is created by abstract theoretical categories, created an opportunity to explore the different practices in which the children confer their different physical identities.

Based on the ethical principal of voluntary participation I also needed to get informed consent from the children chosen for the interviews. This was done by talking to them at school, explaining what an interview was, what we would be talking about during the interviews, and that all information given would be kept confidential and their answers made anonymous. They were also told that if he or she agreed to participate, that they could back out at any time. Whereas there was no problem receiving informed consent from the children, in that all children agreed to be interviewed, the problem was that several of the children not chosen for the interviews wanted to join in. This led me to conduct 'quasi-field interviews' with some of the children with the aim of creating a feeling of inclusion and participation. The quasi-field interviews were conducted in the schoolyard and increased the children's understanding of an interview context. These 'interviews' were not written down in any way and functioned more as play than anything else. Moreover, it had a positive effect on the children participating in the original interviews in that they found it more exciting to be a part when other children showed interest.

6.4.2 Interviewing children

Agents within the field of childhood sociology have for the last decade strongly argued for the empowerment of children in research, where children are approached as social actors and participants in the formation of their own childhood (Ennew et al., 2009; Alanen, 2001). Interview was in this setting seen as the most appropriate investigation tool in order to generate data on the children's own experiences. This research tool is conducted with the objective of focusing directly on these children's perception and experience of their life conditions, relationships with parents and peers, their activities and play.

Based on several studies undertaken it is safe to assume that children have good memory abilities and that they can, with the right questions, provide accurate and meaningful information (Docherty & Sandelowski, 1999; Guerrero-Manalo, 2002; Herjanic & Reich, 1982). This was also found in a study that tested the reliability of children's reporting,

conducted by Herjanic et al. (1975, cited in Herjanic & Reich, 1982) that found children aged 6 through 16 to be able to provide reliable information using interviews as a research method. In some situations I even found children to be more reliable sources of information than adult informants. Interestingly, one of the first problems I encountered was to get reasonable and consistent answers to specific questions. One of the major objectives of the initial observation phase was to understand how the school conducted physical education. However, the questions on: “how often do you have PE, where and when is it conducted and what kind of activities do you introduce” was incredibly difficult to get an answer to. The answers differed from teacher to teacher and were ranged from never to once a week, from 20 minutes per session to 45 minutes. What in the beginning made little sense to me, started to make more sense after I understood that many of the adult informants wanted to convey certain information in an attempt to create a preferable public image presented to me as their visitor. Moreover was the information I received most likely biased with the informant’s knowledge about my background in sport, both as an active participant and as a student within the field. The answer given was often found to be based on the time allocated in the curriculum and not on the actually amount of time spend on physical education. With this in mind I decided to ask the children the same questions in hope of getting more accurate information. Even though some of the children found it hard to remember that far back in time, the answers given were a better picture of what I had observed during the initial observation phase, and were also validated by similar answers from most of the students asked.

6.4.3 Structure and process of semi-structured interviews

The process of interviewing begins long before the actual face-to-face interview and an important preparation process is the development of an interview guide. Two rounds of interviews were conducted¹⁴. The first round of interviews with the eighteen children picked out started in middle of November and the interview process lasted out December. The interviews were all conducted during school hours and an agreement had been made with the teacher before the interviews. Each interview lasted approximately 45 to 60 minutes. An interview guide was written in front of each of the two interview rounds. The semi-structured interview guide outlines topics and suggestions to questions are given underneath and are defined by Kvale and Brinkmann (2009:3) as “an interview with the purpose of obtaining description of the life world of the interviewee in order to interpret the meaning of the

¹⁴ Semi – structured interview guides are shown in appendix 9 & 10

described phenomena”. The first semi-structured interview guide mentions several topical areas, such as family structure, normal day activities and exposure to sports. Most of the topics were introduced by an open question, where several additional questions were asked to help the interview subject to amplify the information shared. Several topics were theoretically chosen, while some were more explorative. An interview guide serves several functions (McCracken, 1988). First, creating an interview guide before conducting the interview helped me make sure that I covered all terrain I wanted to introduce. Secondly the interview guide did exactly what expected by the term, namely creating a path for the topics I wanted to introduce, guiding me through the whole interview. Thirdly, and what felt most important, it functioned as a security, letting me give all my attention to the interviewee’s testimony. Choosing topics based on theory helped the analyzing process where the major topics would later constitute categories in the analysis. The introduction of the second round of interviews served several purposes. (1) The second interview was largely based on the first round of interviews. This gave me the opportunity to go deeper into some of the topics mentioned in the first interview. A summary of the first interviews was done before the second round of interviews was conducted. This help out in sorting out where I was lacking information and to maximize the output of the interview. Notes were also taken before, during and after the interviews. The notes functioned as an analyzing tool that I found incredibly helpful in that this was a tool that I could use all through the process of data-collection. (2) A new topic of children’s social capital at home was also introduced. (3) The children were more secure the second round and a better dialog was emerged. The beginning of some of the interviews in the first round had largely been governed by me introducing several questions and the children answering yes, no and I don’t know. Whereas the children found it easier to elaborate their answers further on in the interview. However, the children got tired at the end and I found it better to ask if they were willing to continue the interview another day. Thus, my experience was that the second interview was easier to conduct, the children seemed more relaxed and many of them found it easier to participate in our conversation.

6.4.4 Factors affecting dynamics of communication

Interviewing subjects across cultures created a multitude of factors affecting the interview situation and human interaction. Some of the factors proven to be influential were English proficiency, social class and power relations. After spending one hour a week with the children for 3 months I had already experienced that their English was somewhat scattered and only a small group of children were fluent enough to be interviewed without an

interpreter. Throughout the sports program I reached far with body language and English, but this would not be enough to conduct the interviews. The co-PE teacher had been helping out with the sports program for about a month before the beginning of the interview process and was asked to function as an interpreter during the interviews. She had proven to have a great connection with the children and I had observed that they had accepted her as an adult person they could come to whenever they needed to talk or if they got hurt during our sessions. The teacher was Filipina and spoke fluidly Tagalog as well as she was proficient in English. She had become a close colleague at school and later on a close friend. This proved to be an asset in the translation process in that we encountered several problems in the interpretation process that we needed to work hard on to solve. One problem that we encountered was analyzing the children's answers during the interviews. A translation often made by the interpreter during the first interviews was: "What I think the boy means to say is that...". The teacher was not familiar with an interviewing situation. However, by discussing the process and aim of interviewing we manage to come up with an interpreting process that safeguarded the children's own perceptions of the topics at hand.

My experience was that the interview often went better the more fluently the child spoke English. Less translation was needed and this opened up for a better dialog. An interesting finding was that the children from well-educated parents understood and spoke better English than the children from low educated parents. This might be an result of children from high-educated families often meet more English at home, thus they are already exposed to English before they start school. Realizing this, I decided to open up for the teacher to ask small follow up question without consulting me (like: why is that? Could you to tell more about this?). She would also explain if the child did not understand the question. The co-operation improved after a couple of interviews, nevertheless, as will be discuss later, reading through the transcribed texts showed that there were still some communication problems.

An interview situation will always be effected by a disparity in power balance. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) highlights how inteviews are conversations with structure and purpos, whereas the directions are given by the researcher who are in charge. Even though 'inter-views' (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009) are interchange of knowledge whereas an alternation happens between the knowers and the known, are the participants never equal. A conversation based on predetermined questions and topics, where one askes all the questions and the 'respondents' is the one giving the information, creates a one-way dialogue and an asymmetrical power relations between the researcher and the informants (Kvale &

Brinkmann, 2009). The power disparity may lead to the informants leaving out information, but also respond the way he or she believes the researcher wants. My lack of experience with interview and specifically interviewing children, often resulted in not given the children time enough to answer the questions before another question or refreshing of the question were introduced. After reading through the first transcribed texts, both the translator and I discussed how we could improve the dynamics of the interview.

External factors such as venue for the interview, the chair arrangements and the prevention of disturbing sounds and interruptions are also important to consider when conducting interviews. The venue for the interview depended on facilities available and the time of day. During the morning sessions we were able to utilize a small library at the school premises. This gave us a quiet zone without interruption from others. However, the library was closed in the afternoon the library, leaving us to conduct the interviews in the cantina or outside in the shade. Neither of the places were ideal, however, we were able to adapt and interview went well even though the transcribers sometimes had a hard time to distinguish the voice of the children from the background noise.

6.4.5 Process of Transcribing: from spoken source to written text

Each interview was conducted with use of a digital tape recorder. With the introduction of the interviews the function of the digital recorder was explained and every child was asked if it was ok that I recorded the interview. The recorder gave me the opportunity to relax, knowing the recorder would record all that I might miss. The recorded audios were also later shown to become an important tool in validating the knowledge constructed throughout the interviews. According to Kvale & Brinkmann (2009) one of the initial analytical processes begins with transcribing an interview from spoken source to written text. The nature and time limits of the first and second round of interviews, together with the languages barrier, led me to employ three transcribers to help out in this process. The transcribers were employed at a local research company and I was lucky to hire them for work in their spare time. The first languages of the transcribers were Filipino, however all were more than sufficient in both spoken and written English. Before delivering over the audiotape all transcribers were informed of their obligations of professional confidentiality. I had already transcribed the pilot interview and used this as a guiding text for the transcribers to follow, with the guidelines of transcribing the children's statements as directly as possible and if there were any questions of translation to ask guidance from the other two transcribers. They were also told to transcribe all Filipino statements in to English. Leaving me with a transcribed text

consisting of both Filipino and English statements. Reading the transcribed text made it clear that in many situations the translator has changed my question slightly when translating for the children, leaving the children to answer slightly different questions than what I originally asked. This explained some of the confusion that sometimes appeared during the interviews. Moreover, was there a tendency for the translator to shorten down the children's answers, leaving me with less information that the children actually gave. After the interviews with the eighteen children I was left with two sets of transcribed text per informant of approximately 20 pages each. For each transcribed text I wrote a summary and in the end I was left with one summary for each informant. These were my guiding texts during the analyzing process. However, the analyzing process consisted of a constant move between the summaries and the original transcribed texts.

6.5 Stages of Analysis

Analyzing is in ethnographic research not a single stage in a research process, rather reflection, interpretation and analyzing follows you from definition of a research question, field of interest, what social phenomenon you want to explore and all the way to the final write up process (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). The construction of methodological tools such as questionnaires, observation form and interview guide are all a result of movement back and forth between ideas, theory, data and experience within the field, this method is also present in structuring and analyzing the written material. Hermeneutical interpretation of an interview involves a continuous movement back-and-forth between part of the interview and the whole (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009), and a movement between empirics, theoretical concepts and previous literature (McCraken, 1988; Nilsen, 2005). A hermeneutic analysis of an interview often starts with an overall vague understanding of the knowledge constructed (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Then, by moving into closer look at parts of the interview, exploring statements in its own terms while ignoring its relationship with other aspects of the text (McCraken, 1988), a new understanding of the overall knowledge can appear. Exploring the children's contributions in the interviews gave great insight into certain factors that affected their time to play and their overall physical activity patterns. These factors or themes that appeared were explored on their own, to shed light on the overall information gathered. This form of exploration opens up for a greater understanding of the different themes introduced as well as exploring similarities and differences found in the how informants reflects around their experiences.

After ten months of research I was left with one Spss file with the quantitative data, field notes, two audio files per interviewee and an average of 20 pages transcribed text for each interview. First, information from questionnaire, interviews and observation was gathered and summarized into one document at approximately 8 pages per child. These summaries were used as the main guiding document for each child. However, the original notes and transcriptions were frequently used in selection of citations and in construction of edited life stories. The next step was to break the material down to categories that evolved/appeared in the material. Several new categories and patterns appeared through the analysis of the interviews, such as household labor, gender loaded praises, and the importance of housing facilities.

Children's experiences as expressed in the interviews are presented as either direct citations or edited life histories. Direct citations are extracted part of the transcribed interviews, whereas both English and Tagalog interpretations are included in each representations. Interviewing the children with an interpreter was a complex process and the transcribed texts revealed that my questions were sometimes interpreted into slightly different meaning. If there has been a difference between my original question and the translated question, the translated question is presented in the citations. The reason for this is that it is the translated question that the children response to.

Edited life histories are used in an attempt to describe a normal day for the children and they are based on the children's and parental answers in the questionnaires as well as how the children description of their everyday life experiences through the interviews. According to Denzin (1989) the edited life history may be either topical or complete. In this case they functions as topical edited narratives (Gudmundsdottir, 1996). This representation was chosen in order to present a large amount of information in a short paragraph. The information given by the informants and the information represented is limited by the focus of the questions and defined aspects "or 'chunks' of the informants reality that they have opportunity to describe in their answers" (Gudmundsdottir, 1996:294). Being aware of the limitations, these representations give the reader a greater insight of the lived life of these children.

6.6 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations runs through the entire process of research and potential ethic concerns has been taken into consideration from the very start of planning the project to the very end of writing the final thesis. While some ethical issues have already been mentioned, this chapter goes deeper into the evaluation process of ethical considerations

One of the first ethical issues the consequences the research would have for the participants and how to protect the participants from harm. Working with children in research requires additional emphasis on protection (Ennew, 2009). In an attempt to make sure that the research would not inflict any harm, each research tool was developed so that topics and questions asked would not ask for unnecessary sensitive information. This also included reflexive consideration of each question, making sure that the children would not feel offended or hurt, or that they would be placed in a situation where they were asked to elaborate on topics that they themselves found hard to talk about.

How informed consent was given has already been discussed, but another aspect to informed consent not mentioned is the participant's right to withdraw from research (Ennew, 2009). The reason why a child agrees on participating in research might be many. They might have been asked by the parents or teacher to participate, or maybe they give their consent because they feel obligated to say yes or they genuinely want to participate (Ennew, et al. 2009). It is hard to find out why people agree, and it might not even be possible, but it is important to be aware of it and take it into consideration. Even though all methods have been conducted with consent from school, parents and children themselves one situation during the research made me end my observation of a child even though she had agreed. The method in use was participatory observation, however, something in her body language told me that she felt uncomfortable and that she would withdraw her informed consent if she had the courage to say it. Another situation appeared after observing inside the classrooms. The teachers had given the consent for me to observe, but because of the principal instructing them to accommodate rather than actual voluntary consent. After realizing this I decided to end my observation inside the classroom and base my background information on field conversation instead. The decision was made after evaluating the amount of information I would get if continuing the observation and the negative effect my involvement seemed to have on the observation subjects and my relation to them.

All information gathered has been kept confidential to protect the informants' right for anonymity. The only person with access to both the name of the child and the information given were the interpreter I used during the interviews, my supervisor and I. Following the direction of the Norwegian Social Science Data Service, name and data was kept separately with coding being used on the transcribed interviews and questionnaires. Moreover, by not mentioning the actual name of any individuals or the school the information given is kept anonymous and their identities are kept confidential.

7. INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSFER OF HABITUS AND CHILDREN'S PHYSICAL ACTIVITY PATTERNS

Whether or not social class is still relevant when exploring social inequality in contemporary physical activity patterns and sport is widely debated. On the one hand, Rochefort (1995 cited in Ohl, 2000; 153) proclaims that: "Young people are no longer prisoners of their parents' cultural models" and "the role of habitus is seriously diminishing" and questions are asked if social class is still relevant to analyze participation in sport (Ohl, 2000). On the other hand, Evans and Davies (2008) are crying out for more focus on social class when it comes to investigating differences among children within the field of physical education (PE) and health. According to Bourdieu (1998), the 'logic of practice' that exists in everyday life practices and interactions among family members is passed on to younger generations through socialization. Children, through their everyday experiences, adapt to the expectations, values and norms that they meet in interaction with their significant others. Moreover, utilizing Bourdieu's theory on social space (Bourdieu, 1989), we have to understand the children's experiences as dependent on their position in social space in which the practices introduced in early childhood are dependent on the parental combination of economic-, cultural and social capital. Even though the children are all enrolled in public elementary school are there great differences found in parental cultural and economical capital. Exploring intergenerational transfer of habitus and capital becomes a complex process in which children, taking age and life experiences into account are social agents that have accumulated a relatively small amount of capital volume, thus their social status is to a large degree dependent on their parents' volume of accumulated capital. Thereby, focusing on living situation, household chores and physical activity patterns as affected by (not determined by) the volume of accumulated economical and cultural capital opened up for an appreciation of the relationship between the children's physical activity practice in which they vary according to their social conditions.

7.1 Parental economical capital and children's physical activity patterns

Contradicting earlier research (Gordon-Larsen, McMurray, & Popkin, 2000); economical capital measured by parental income is not a significant predictor of children's physical activity level. Out of the three indicators of intergenerational transfer of economical capital is subjective perception of poverty compared to classmate the only indicator that significantly impacts children's physical activity level. Subjective comparative measure indicates that children that perceive themselves to better off than their classmates are more physical active

per week than the children that perceive themselves to be worse of then their classmates. Interestingly, it is neither the children's economical resources nor their living situation that has an impact on children's physical activity level; rather, the important factor is the children's subjective feelings of poverty. Their experience of poverty compared to others does not necessarily reflect the actual difference found in family income, but whether or not they feel limited by the family resources compared to their peers.

The predominance of parents have relatively low monthly income, whereby only 9.2 percent of the reported income exceeds 15 000 pesos per month. Taking into consideration that 87 percent of the children in the study report to have earlier experience in sports supports that the opportunities for sport activities are available for majority of the children independent of parental economical capital. Although economical capital does not significantly impact children activity level are children's leisure time practices and patterns that emerge context-dependent and sensitive to cultural and economical conditions and divisions (Roberts and Fagan, 1999 cited in Wright et al., 2003). Children in the interviews express using physical activity and sport differently in different situation depending on choice of activity and available equipment. From the three groups of children; HCL, HCLE and LEC, twelve of the children taking part of the interviews have parents with relatively low economical capital. Nevertheless, children express lack of some equipment independent of economical capital. The children are creative in ways in which they generate physical activity. Most of the activities the children stay active in are peer organized. Thus, even though majority of the children have experience with sports, the activities are mostly arranged by children themselves using the equipment available.

(James, 10 years old, HCL)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>T: Do you ever play with your friends when you're at home?
(Nakikipaglaro ka ba sa mga kaibigan mo kapag nasa bahay ka?)</p> <p>I: No
(Hindi po)</p> <p>T: Whom do you play with?</p> <p>I: My brother?</p> <p>T: Your younger brother? Where do you play?</p> <p>I: In the backyard</p> <p>T: What is your favorite game to play?
(Anong paborito mong laro? yung nilalaro?)</p> <p>I: Volleyball po</p> <p>T: Do own a volleyball? Do you have it at home?</p> <p>I: No</p> <p>T: What do you play with your brother in the backyard? What kind of games do you play?
(among nilalaro nyo?)</p> | <p>I: Basketball and Hide and Seek
Basketball and tagu-taguan</p> <p>T: How many days a week do you play in the backyard?
(Ilang araw sa isang lingo kayo naglalaro sa inyo)</p> <p>I: Only 2 days</p> <p>T: How many hours when you play at the backyard?
(Ilang oras kayo naglalaro sa likod bahay nyo?)</p> <p>I: 30 minutes</p> <p>... Second round of interviews...</p> <p>T: Is there anywhere you can join in organized sports activities?
(Meron ka bang puwede sa salihan na</p> |
|--|---|

- organisasyon sport?)
- I: Yes there is
(Opo meron)
- T: Where can you join in?
(Saan ka sumasali?)
- I: Sport? Volleyball?
- T: Volleyball. Where do you go to play volleyball?
(San ka sumasali ng organisasyon ng volley ball?)
- I: In the province
Sa probinsya po.
- T: If you want to play basketball, badminton and volleyball, do you have the equipment needed?
(Gusto mo mag laro ng basketball, volleyball sa bahay may mga kagamita na ka bang ginagamit sa pag lalaro?)
- I: Yes, I have
(Meron)
- T: Do you have a volleyball?
(May bola ka? Pang volley ball?)
- I: I don't have
(Wala)
- T: Basketball?
- I: Yes
(Opo)
- T: What do you use when you play volleyball then?
(Gusto mo mag laro ng volley ball, may bola ka?)
- I: Basketball po

James comes from HCL background and his favorite physical activity is volleyball. He has experience with volleyball from visiting his cousins in the province. He usually joins his cousins in on their volleyball practice while he is there, but does not know anywhere he can participate in organized sport in the city. At home James and his younger brother plays ball and hide and seek in the backyard. They have most of the equipment needed to play badminton and basketball and improvise if they want to play volleyball by using the basketball instead.

Children often explain taking part in activities that they don't have the equipment to play. While James uses another ball he has at home, the children from the LEC explained how they borrowed equipment from friends, relatives, neighbors or the barangay office. Although the activities children choose to stay active in are dependent on some equipment, they are not necessarily expensive. Most balls can function as volleyball, slippers at badminton racket, soccer ball as basketball and trees as soccer goals. In this way children generate and participate in activities independent of owning the particular equipment themselves. Through improvising or borrowing the needed equipment children find creative ways of playing. Furthermore, many of the activities they play are traditional Filipino games in which need next to nothing equipment wise. Most mentioned by the children are Ten-Twenty¹⁵ and

¹⁵ Ten-Twenty & Chinese garter: two different versions of games using garter. Two player holds the garter while another jump without touching the garter. In ten-twenty the children sing "ten-twenty-thirty..." while jumping a routine.

Chinese garter by the girls, and agawan base¹⁶, agawan bola¹⁷ and butuhan bola¹⁸ among the boys. The most popular Filipino games mentioned by the girls only require garter or gomas (rubbers) to be played and to play patintero¹⁹ agawan bola and bathuan bola the children only need a ball. Thus, supporting the findings of Voss et al. (2008), low-income does not necessarily lead to low physical activity level among children.

7.1.1 Children's perception of opportunities of organized sport participation

Based on interviews children in the group HEC expressed having fewer opportunities to participate in organized sport activities than children in the group with LEC. These results contradict previous assertions (Voss et al., 2008; Macdonald & Wright, 2003). With the introduction of the 'National Fitness and Sports Development Program' in 1987 the aim was to make organized sports and physical activities available and affordable for children and youth from all class of society and increased effort was set in motion to create a culture for organized sports and games by the local barangays (Sutaria, 1981). Sports festivities at the barangay level are mentioned by several of the children from LEC as organized events in which the children can participate for free or paying just a small amount of money. The activities are arranged for all children living within the barangay and several activities are introduced. The children's use of the arrangements was sporadically and boys' mention using them more than girls. Some of the boys expressed taking part every weekend and others just once a month, all depending on how often the barangay themselves arrange it, what activities were arranged and whether or not the children had time to play.

The activities are always arranged in the children's neighborhood by grownups that work in the area as barangay officials. It is important to highlight that, since the organized activities are arranged by the local barangays, the same opportunities exist for the children independent of parental capital or living situation. However while most of the children from

¹⁶ Agawan base (Base snatching): Two teams, no limitations on participants. Each teams has it own base and a gard is chosen. The aim is to tag the others base without getting tagged by the other team. The group who has tagget the other team as many times as agreed upon before the game starts (for example ten times) wins.

¹⁷ Agawan bola: Passing the ball between players. Different rules are added to the games. Sometimes also used when referring to playing basketball (agawan ng bola).

¹⁸ Butuhan bola: Filipino version of Dodgeball

¹⁹ ¹⁹ Pantintero: Grid lines are drawn on the ground. The children divide themselves in two teams. One team places their players on the different lines making up the grid. While the other teams tries to get through the grid without being thouch by players on the other team. When a player is touch, the teams switches places.

LEC and HCLE knew of the opportunity for organized activities, none of the children from HEC knew where they could participate if they wanted to. This indicates that children's perception organized sports opportunities does not reflect the actual availability, however, it does reflect the exposure of organized activities that these children meet. Whereas Voss et al. (2008) and McDonald & Wright (2003) found children from high-income families to be in a more favorable situation when it comes to organized activities, in this case these are the ones who fall in between. Bourdieu (1989:49) emphasizes that "aversion to different life-styles is perhaps the strongest barriers between classes...". Even though barangay activities were introduced as a tool to reach people from all levels of society, the way it is used it is to a large degree associated with activities for 'the poor'. Barangay's services are often directed as aid to 'the poor' and services provided at some Barangays are also food subsidy for disadvantaged families. As a result of the struggle of transferring 'higher-class' disposition to their children, the stigma of such activities might lead to families with HEC preventing their children from participating.

As with the case of James cited above, many of the children from HEC mentioned earlier experience in organized sport activities. However, they got this experience either from their time in private schools, where they had PE several times a week or from time spent in the province. Now that they had been transferred to public elementary school they no longer take part or know where they can participate in organized sport activities. Even though these children constitute the group with the highest parental income level the family income is not enough to pay the tuition fee for a private school. For these children the only opportunity for organized physical activity is found within the school setting. PE is an integral component of the educational program for both public and private elementary schools in the Philippines (Sutaria, 1981). Nonetheless, the emphasis on the importance and participation in PE differ between private and public, as well as urban and rural schools, creating 'dividing practices' of PE (Dagkas & Stathi, 2007). As with case of the Public School these children went to, many public elementary schools in the Metro Manila suffer from lack of space, staff, time and equipment for conducting PE activities (Sutaria, 1981). According to the PE teacher the allotted time given through governmental curriculum is limited. Children in public elementary schools are often left with 20 minutes of PE per week. With the average of 40-50 students in a section per teacher, 20 minutes of PE does not encourage well-organized activities with high vigorous physical activity.

Thus children from HEC can be said to experience falling in between two cultures of lifestyles and thus two different cultures of childhood. While being enrolled in private school

they were given the privilege of institutionalized organized physical activities and by staying active during school hours the relatively protected child-care practice they meet at home did not impact their physical activity level compared to children from parents with LEC. However, now they are losing out on organized physical activity in their leisure time as well as in school. Thus these children experience the protective child-care practices often found among higher social class, but not the benefits that often follows from increased economical capital.

7.2 Parental cultural capital and children's physical activity patterns

Whereas parental economical capital is a good indicator of the children's livings situation (Antolihao L. , 2004), parental cultural capital cross the boundaries of rich and poor housing. Porio et al (1994) found that urban poor household members tend to have low educational level, with the modal education level of grade five. Findings in the present study found slightly different results, with a relatively high percentage of parents (37.5 percent of the fathers and 38.1 percent of the mothers) living in squatter areas report having college and/or university education²⁰. The percentage is lower than reported by parents living in apartment and owned house, whereby modal education attainment is high school among parents living the squatter, compared to university and/or college among parents living in apartment or owned house. Interestingly, even though this study is not based on a representative sample of the overall population, this can be read as an indication that although the education level among urban poor increases, their living situation stays the same.

Increased physical activity among children of families with high cultural capital has often been explained with differences in perception of the importance given to such activities (Bourdieu, 1989), that might result in increased importance given to proper leisure time activities for children and thus increasing incorporation of these types of activities in the overall organization of family life (Macdonald & Wright, 2003). Accumulation of different habitus between different groups of people depending on their location in social space and their volume of capital are often argued to result in different practices between social groups (Bourdieu, 1989). However, differentiating between maternal and paternal cultural capital reveals a more complex relation between cultural capital, gender relations and physical activity level. Even though gender does not appear in Bourdieu's (1989) overall theory of fundamental structuring principles (Thorpe, 2009), gendered practices among the parents do

²⁰ See appendix 6 for an overview of the crosstabs cultural capital/ABCDE

seem to influence the physical activity level among the children. This is supported by the difference in results found between the impact of paternal and maternal cultural capital. With significance level of 0.61, paternal cultural capital is not a significant predictor of physical activity level among the children, however it indicates a tendency in coherence in which increased paternal cultural predicates increased physical activity level. On the other hand increased maternal cultural capital indicates a decrease in the physical activity level among the children.

The mother's responsibilities at home and her overall control of children's leisure time, makes her an important agent and influence on children's everyday life activities. Even though a high level of physical activity among children often is associated with a healthy lifestyle, I argue that decrease in physical activity level among children of mothers with high cultural capital might in fact result from the attempt to secure the well-being of their children and of the perception of a proper 'safe' and healthy childhood. Through observation and interviews it became clear that several of the children were afraid of getting hurt while they played. Some reacted with backing out of play when the games increased in intensity, other children chose not to participate in certain activities where it was perceived to be increased possibility of getting hurt. Children's fear of getting hurt was one of the things that puzzled me and is one of the topics that I brought with me into the interviews. The reflections from Julienne and Eugene below highlight the relation of physical activity participation and the fear of getting sick or hurt.

Julienne (10years old)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>T: If you came home from P.E. with scars, would your mom and dad be angry?
Pag may.....umuwi ka galing sa school na may mga peklat o kaya'y sugat, nagagalit ba ang nanay at tatay mo?</p> <p>I: Yes
Opo</p> <p>T: Why do they get angry if you have scars?
Bakit sila nagagalit?</p> <p>I: Because... I don't know
Kasi po.....di ko po alam.</p> <p>T: What did it happen when you get home with scars and your mom and dad got angry?</p> <p>I: (nods)</p> <p>T: ah... What did they say to you then?</p> <p>I: They hit me</p> | <p>Pinalo po ako.</p> <p>T: Did they explain why? What did they say to you?
Anong sinabi nila sa iyo?</p> <p>I: They asked why I have scars
Ano....tinanong ako kung bakit ako may sugat.</p> <p>T: And... what did you say?
Anong sagot mo?</p> <p>I: Because I'm naughty... they were angry
Kasi po malikot po ako... pinagalitan po ako</p> <p>T: Ah, I see. Why do you think your parents got angry?
Bakit nagagalit yung mga magulang mo?</p> <p>I: I don't know.</p> |
|---|--|

As with Julienne, several of the children express that their parent would be angry with them if they got home with scars, however, few of them are able to explain why they think their

parents would get angry. Discussing the sports program with the teacher shed light on this expression of fear. Teachers at public elementary schools are in charge of the children in their class and if some of the children get hurt they have to make sure that the child is provided the health care needed. For children from low-income families this means that they might have to help out with the medical bills if the child got hurt during their session. Thus, some of the teachers were reluctant to introduce physical activities that would increase the probability of the children getting hurt. Both girls and boys express parental fear of their children getting hurt or sick.

Eugene (10 years old/HCLE)

T: Does your parents know that you participate in the sports program?

(Alam ba ng magulang mo na sumali ka sa spors program? Alam nila?)

I: Yes

opo

T: Do they have any comments to the program?

I: Yes, they allowed me to join but I have to be behave

(Opo, pwede daw po akong maglaro basta wag lang po daw po akong maging magulo po at makulit)

T: Are there any activities that a... your mom does not want you to play?

(Meron ka bang aktibidades na ayaw ng mama mo na ilaro mo?)

I: Yes, running, because if I fell down, I will have wounds and when I perspire and dries up... it is because they don't want me to get hurt and have wounds about it and get sick when our sweat dries up without wiping it (Opo, mga takbutakbuhan po kasi po pag nadapa po magsusugat po, pag may pinapawisan po baka matuyuan po ng pawis...kasi po ayaw nya pong madadapa po kami tapos magkakasugat po kami at saka pag natuyuan po kami ng pawis magkakasakit po kami)

Parental perception of environmental factors influences the children's physical activity patterns. Heat stress often experienced while playing underneath the burning sun during summertime's in the Philippines can be highly dangerous if the child is not sufficiently hydrated. Furthermore, activity outdoors often leads to children experiencing fatigue and increased danger of ultraviolet exposure. Two of the children also express not having enough energy to play the days they had not eaten any breakfast because of lack of money within the family. With high temperature, low levels of intensity in activities will lead to high level of perspiration, thus without changing clothes after playing children are in danger of getting sick. The burden of disease and injuries among children are almost always caused by multiple risk factors (Lindstrand et al., 2010). Interestingly, even though inactivity is often focused on as one of the major risk factors for death and disability worldwide, for the parents and children in this project being physical active is also a risk factor that might inflict wounds, colds or/and traffic accident such as being bumped by cars while playing in the streets. Even small infections caused by injuries or colds might lead to severe health threatening conditions for children such as decreased immune system, fever and diseases leading to malnutrition because of decreased bodily capacity to absorbed nutrition. This is especially true for children

living in squatter areas experiencing increased likelihood of exposure to unclean water, unsanitary conditions and lack of basic health care often found in disadvantaged communities.

7.2.1 Parental perception of inappropriate physical activity

The coherence between parents' perception of inappropriate physical activity and its impact on children's physical activity level portrayed by the multiple regression analysis (Table 6:49) show a significant negative correlation when it is referred to boys and a significant positive correlation when it is referred to girls. In other words, the level of children's physical activity decreases with higher agreement to the statement that there are inappropriate activities for boys. Meanwhile the level of children's physical activity increases with increased agreement to the statement that there are inappropriate physical activities for girls. The notion of 'appropriate behavior' is consequently a result of a shared framework of reality (Giddens, 1991). In regards to both parental as well as children's response we can see that there are some common perceptions of how girls and boys may utilize physical activities without crossing the border of deviating behavior. Parental perception of inappropriate physical activity indicates stereotypical dividing practices. From the result in table 3 (p46) shows that the activities mentioned as inappropriate activities for girls are martial arts, basketball, to carry heavy loads and soccer. While for boys the most frequent mentioned activities were dance, to cook, do laundry and participate in girl games.

Parental support for physical activity is a widely recognized as an important factor in promoting physical activity among children. Therefore, that parental perceptions of inappropriate activities affect the children's physical activity level might be expected. Increasingly interesting is the finding indicating that it affects children differently depending on if the activities are perceived to be inappropriate for boys or for girls. It is hard to say how these differences play out in the actual practice of child rearing without exploring parental views of gendered child-care practices further. However, the impact of parental perception of inappropriate physical activity demonstrates consistent differences in parental socialization of girls and boys in regards to physical activity.

Ways in which parental perception of inappropriate physical activities plays out in intergenerational transfer of habitus becomes visible in the children's statements in the interviews. Mary and her reflections around why soccer is an inappropriate sport for her are expressed by the example underneath and illustrate how limitations given by her mother affects her perception of her own abilities in physical activities. Moreover it gives an indication of how the notion of beauty articulates into appropriate physical activity for girls.

(Mary, 10 years old/HCLE)

T: Are you good in playing basketball or soccer whereas you have to use a ball?

I: No.

T: Why?
(Bakit?)

I: I can't play that kind of game
(Hindi ko po kaya yung ganung laro)

T: Ah... Have you ever played that kind of games before?
(Na subukan mo na ba laruin?)

I: Yes
(Opo)

T: What kind of games you tried before with balls?
(Anung klaseng laro ang nilaro mo na may bola?)

I: Soccer
(Ung sinisipa po.)

T: So what is it in soccer you find it hard to play?

I: Can cause you an accident.
(Kasi po nakaka disgrasya po.)

T: Wounds?
(Mga sugat sugat?)

I: Yes!

T: You don't want to get scratches?
(Hinde mo gusto mag ka peklat or scars?)

I: Coz my mom said to be careful in having scars. So that when I grew up I'm beautiful and have beautiful legs.
(Kasi sabi ni mama wag daw ako mag ka peklat. Para pag lumaki ako maganda daw po ako yung legs ko.)

T: Why do you think it's so important to your mother that you have beautiful skin when you grow up?

I: That's what my mom told me. So I can visit another country
(Kasi po un po yung sabi nya sakin para daw maka punta pa ko sa ibang bansa.)

T: What kind of work do you like to apply in other countries?
(Gusto mo ba mag? Anung gusto mong trabaho sa ibang bansa?)

I: Anything
(Kahit ano po.)

Mary's reflections are a good illustration of how her experience with her mother's expectations both frame and restricts her physical activity patterns. In an attempt to balance her mother's aspirations of her future social mobility with the immediate opportunities of physical activity, she explains how some activities are too dangerous to take part in, while others are acceptable. Interestingly the notion of beauty and fear of getting hurt and scars was mentioned by several of the girls in the interviews and the traditional feminine ideals these girls met in their everyday life were clearly affecting their participation in physical activities. The recognition of a feminine body that was free of scars leaving a 'beautiful skin and legs' were ways in which the children could not only please they parents, but express that a beautiful body might help them get work opportunities abroad when they gets older. Mary's citation shows how her mother's perception of the importance of beauty has been transferred and become integrated in the girl's habitus. Her ways of understanding of what it means to be a girl plays out in her choice of activities. Beauty was also shown to be important in other out of school activities. Three of the girls have been participants of local beauty contest and in one family the girl's participation in such contests was contributing the households' income. Thus as also found by Thorpe (2009), several of the girls experiences their 'femininity' being capitalized whereas feminine beauty is perceived to be a possible income for the family both short term and long term.

However, children do not necessarily take these cultural doxa existing in the society for given. With increased globalization of expectation to what it means to be a child and exposure to the western notion of proper childhood, children meet and experience different childhoods and gender expectation through medias such as magazines and television. This contradicting experience was one expressed very well by:

Janet (10 years old/HEC).

- T: Okay...so do you think that there are games that are not appropriate for girls?
(Sa palagay mo ba may mga laro na hindi bagay sa mga babae?)
- I: My grandmother told me that soccer was not suited for us.
(Ang sabi ng lola ko hindi daw nababagay sa amin yung..ano bay un..yung ginaganun-gnaun po.)
- T: Ah...I see....oh why not?
- I: But I saw the TV commercial the female child was playing and being pleased.
(Pero meron po akong nakita sa TV sa commercial na babae po na bata na nagso-soccer po siya)
- T: So in your opinion, why do you think your grandmother doesn't think it's not okay for girls to play soccer?
(Sa palagay mo bakit sinabi sa lola mo na hindi nababagay ang soccer sa mga babae?)
- I: Ah okay...the child...the Milo child whom play soccer, she always fall in the ground but the father said child try and try and try and then later his child is a successful player in the soccer
(Di ko po...kasi po napanood ko...nung ano po kasi..nung napanood ko ang babae..di ko po siya...nung umpisa po lage po siyang nadapa pero nung sinabi ng daddy niya na kahit ganun yung anak niya sa dulo rin po siya rin ang magtatangkang manalo pa rin po)
- T: Hmm...so why did your lola (grandma) didn't like that?
(Ano sa palagay mo?)
- I: I am not sure...maybe....not all sports can inflict wounds...
(Di ko po sure eh. Siguro po...di po ba lahat ng sports ay masusugatan din po.)
- T: I see....are you afraid of getting hurt when you play?
(Takot ka bang magkaroon ng peklat?)
- I: Yes
(Opo)
- T: Why?
(Bakit)
- I: Because there are...just recently, I got chicken skin...I have chicken skin...and then when we were running, I was wounded. I also want to play...with shoes on... I really want it but I fall on the ground, good thing is that I was not wounded. But my chicken skin bled.
(Kasi po meron na po akong...nung ano po.. nito nga lang po nagkaroon ako ng sugat..yung chicken skin lang po..may chicken skin po ako...ayan oh...tapos po di po ba naglalaro ako ng takbo-takbuhan...ayan po nagkasugat po. Gusto ko din pong maglaro ng ano...ung may sapatos..gusto ko rin po yun kaso nadapa po ako.but na lang wala akong sugat..dumugo lang po yong chicken skin ko)

Children often explain their aversion and rejection of activities by referring to statements from significant others. When asked if there are activities that are not appropriate for girls and boys, she is very clear on the fact that soccer is not for girls, because this is what her grandmother has told her. These doxa surrounding appropriate gendered behavior are social constructions that the children internalized and in the way that they appear as given 'truths' (Bourdieu, 1989) it is hard for the children to reflect around the reasons why there exist such gendered difference. Nonetheless, social norms and doxa becomes recognizable when the children are introduced to practices that contradict their cultural knowledge. When given time to reflect Janet remembers the Milo commercial (chocolate milk) with a girl playing soccer,

and the dad cheering the girl on even though she did not manage playing soccer in the beginning. Milo is one of the commercial brands in the Philippines that actively use sport and physical activity, both in school and TV commercials, to promote their products. In her reflection you can see a contradiction between what being told to her by significant others and what she has observed on TV. Giddens (1991) explains this relation as ‘the dialectic of the local and the global’, resulting in increased insecurity of traditional practices. Thus as experienced by Janet, intergenerational socialization into proper gendered roles are challenged by the intrusion of distant and new ways of understanding proper gendered behavior.

7.3 Social capital and children’s as members of the community

Social capital in the case of children relates to the network of significant others that they are surrounded by in their everyday life (Morrow, 1999). This might be parents, grandparents or other relatives, teachers, siblings, peers in the neighborhood and friends. Within the frame of cultural conditions structuring the children everyday life, children actively use their network of friends and family to negotiate time and place for physical activity. Social capital is a significant predictor of the children’s physical activity level, thus the higher amount of social capital the higher level of physical activity level among the children. By the children’s description of their everyday life the relationship can be explained by how children’s cultural background affects their opportunity to take an active part in the community.

The housing market in Metro Manila tends to sort the population by economical capital into different areas. The high cost of rent and lack of proper housing for the urban poor have lead to different sizes of informal settlements developing all over Metro Manila. As pointed out by Wacquant and Wilson (1993 cited in Briggs, 1998) the placements and grouping of people according to economical capital might lead to what they call ‘devalued social capital’, whereas geographical constrains makes it difficult to establish bridging of networks through work, daily activities and leisure pursuits (Blackshaw & Long, 2005). However the concept of social capital is poorly specified seen in relation to children (Morrow, 1999). The notion of social capital in relation to children suggest that how the children spend their time is dependent on their parents social background and the community resources (Bianche & Robinson, 1997) and is critical in determining ways in which children stay active. Of the 18 children interviewed six of the children from LEC were living in squatter areas. Moreover, three of the children from parents with HCLE live in either squatter area or kwarto-kwarto.

The children participating in the interview live in relatively small squatter areas compared to other large compounds often found in Metro Manila. What struck me while visiting both friends and acquaintances living in different squatter areas is the social life found in the community. As explained by Antolihao (2004:16), much of everyday life in squatter areas is “spent outdoors and many activities that are regarded as domestic are carried out in the streets and alleys”, whereas “people literally share each other’s lives”. As a result of high population, large family units and small housing facilities people often conduct domestic chores such as cooking and cleaning clothes out in the streets. This also affects the children’s everyday life practices. The edited life history underneath is a short summary of how Eugene (10 years old/HCLE) describes his everyday life living in one of Metro Manila’s squatter areas.

Eugene lives in a squatter area together with his mom, dad, siblings, grandmother, aunt, uncle and cousins. They are a total of 13 people living in the house. His mother works as a public elementary school teacher and earns 5000 pesos or less a month, while his father is a former soldier working part-time with an income of 5000 pesos or less. The house consists of two rooms divided on two floors. The family has developed special sleeping arrangements because the small indoor-space, whereas the grownups sleeps on the floor, the children in beds/bench and the grandmother in a chair. Eugene wakes up at 8 am. Before eating breakfast he is in charge of arranging the bed sheets. After eating he takes a bath and play outside with his friends before it is time to get ready for school. They often play tagging games, agawan base and bathuan bola, while his favorite game is basketball. Eugene has to take a jeepney ride to get to school when it starts at noon and then he takes a jeepney back when he finished at 6pm. When he gets home he rest before it is time for dinner and then he plays outside with the other boys living in the neighborhood until bedtime at 10pm. Saturday is spend playing and watching TV, while the family visits the church on Sundays.

Exploring children’s social capital through interviews, the focus was on whom the children played with and whom they would contact in the case of emergency both while playing in the streets and at home. As for the children living in the squatter areas they expressed having more friends and larger networks of relatives living in the neighborhood, compared to the children living in owned houses and apartments. As explained by Eugene, small housing units and community based living results in many children playing right outside his doorstep. There are always many children playing outside his house and he can just go outside after eating or resting and join in the games. They are a total of 13 people living inside his house, so the only activities that he does inside are watching TV, sleep and eat.

Many of the children living in the squatters have parents or relatives working in the neighborhood as tricycle drivers or vendors. These lines of work lets them work close to

home and with large network of relatives living in the same neighborhood, children roaming and playing in streets are surrounded by adults that know them and that they could contact if there were an emergency. The children also expressed a great pride in all the friends they had at home, and the pleasure of being able to play at all times of the day, since there were always children playing outside. However the amount of time and freedom was dependent on gender. The patterns expressed by the girls were more diverse in content. Some girls living in squatter areas participated actively in activities arranged in street by peers however their activities were often arranged close by the house and consisted of activities associated as girl games such as dance and Ten-Twenty. The girls often expressed playing with fewer friends at the time than the boys. Rather than many friends they were often a small group playing together. Girls were more often found to combine work and play, by playing with their younger siblings while they were responsible for taking care of them.

Children from HEC expressed quite different activity patterns. Through the interviews it became clear children from well-off parents experience a more family and domestic oriented childhood than the children from the squatter area. They cited spending more time with their parents and less time with peers. They often took part in fewer peer-organized activities and the activities and space of play was restricted to inside the house. Restricting their space of play to indoors leave the children with fewer friends to play with. The children's playmates at home often consisted of siblings or cousin living together with the family and increased number of siblings gave better opportunities for social interaction.

Using the numbers of sibling within a family has been interpreted as an indication of a lack of social capital among children. This has been explained by increased numbers of sibling leading to less amount of attention from adults (Coleman, 1988). However, as argued by Morrow (1999) this completely ignores the network and security that children have through siblings, cousins, neighbors and friends. Level of community engagement, number of siblings, relatives and neighboring children becomes important to understand children's social capital and how it impacts children's opportunity to generate and negotiate physical activity patterns.

It is not my aim to romanticize the considerable amount of social capital that exists among children in squatter area. The same social capital that benefits them in physical activity might serve to keep them within the realm of poverty later on. Social capital might also have important downsides where conformity or heavy group obligations have negative effect on individual mobility and family relation (Briggs, 1998). There exist a culture of strong family relations and extended family connection in the Philippines. These family ties create a web of

duties and obligations where “people rely on network of family and close friends to meet basic needs...” (Abad, 2003:39). Many Filipino families consist of a large number of people living in one household, and families are often staying in the same area. The earnings within the family are often spent on extended networks of kin as well as their own family. These forms of social networks are a part of an enforced group survival strategy, thus these relations might function as a restraint of individual mobility. The safety net is created by helping out family members in need of help, with the idea that this obligates recipient to help them whenever they are in great need, but leads to the families accumulating few assets for themselves in the process. In this case larger social networks is not encouraging social mobility, but they might be more supportive. Moreover, though just one of the children was part of a youth gang at the time of the interview, several of the children had older siblings taking part of different gangs. Membership in one of these gangs might lead to increased resources and self-esteem among the young, but they are also powerful tools to inhibit social mobility (Morrow, 1999).

7.4 Children’s location in social space and their opportunity to generate physical activity

Public elementary schools in the Philippines, leaving out the highest classes, enroll children from different social background. Because of the divide of housing between poor, middle class and high classes, school becomes a social field were these children interact with children from other livelihood situation and background than themselves. Social class ‘ABCDE’ measures taking livings situation into account does not impact the difference found in children’s physical activity level. However, exploring physical activity patterns through interviews show clear differences in patterns of physical activity in relation to the possibility for a variety of activities, peers to play with and space of play. Earlier research have found differences in physical environment to be important factors in determining children’s physical activity pattern (Macintry, 2000; Molnar, Gortmaker, Bull, & Buka, 2004; Hume, Salmon, & Ball, 2005) and the description from the children demonstrates that variation of living situation seen in relation to parental child-care practices can account for some of the difference found in physical activity patterns among the children. Rather than brief extracts from many accounts, this chapter gives an extensive analysis through the edited life histories represented by four children from different social: Lina and Raphael from HEC live in family-owned house and apartment and Ray and Nicole from LEC both live in a squatter area located near the school.

Lina is ten years old and lives together with her mom and dad. They live in a house owned by her parents. Both her parents work fulltime, whereas her mother works as an accountant and her dad works at a private company. Both parents earn about 20-25 thousand pesos per month and start working at seven am and works until six pm. In a normal weekday Lina wakes up at eight am. After washing her face she eats breakfast often composed of egg and hotdog. Lina is in the second highest section in grade four and starts school at noon. This gives her time to watch TV and eat lunch at home before she has to put on her uniform and prepare for school. Her nanny is the one who follows her to school. When school ends at 6pm her nanny meets her at the gate and together they walk home. The evenings are often spent watching TV or playing with her teddy bears in her room. After dinner she goes to bed. Being the only child of the family, Lina has no friends at home but many at school. When she is at home she either play by herself or sometimes with her nanny. Her favorite hobby is reading, but she also enjoys badminton and catching the ball with her nanny. Lina has no experience with organized sports and the only organized activities she meets are in school.

Lina's daily life is structured through the family housing and the busy working life of both her parents, mediated by her parents' decision on how childhood should be lived in their local context. Her parents have employed a young nanny to take care of her while they are at work. Lina's everyday life outside school consists to large degree of playing on her own with her teddy bears in her room or with her nanny. With constant adult supervision, mostly by her nanny, her parents have to a large degree control over her activities even though they are not actually present at all time. Lina is not questioning her parents view on child rearing, however she feels the loneliness that follows of not having any playmates after school. Lina's lack of practice with peer relations can also be seen in her interaction with other children when it comes to activities that are based on group efforts. Her concentration span is short and activities do not seem to keep her interested for a long period of time. Even though she participates she is more often than not focused on other things than the activity itself.

Raphael is ten years old and lives together with his grandmother, mom and dad, his two brothers and one sister. His father works as graphic designer and his mother works as a branch manager. His mother has a monthly income of 15-20 thousand while his father earns between 5-10 thousand a month. The grandmother does not work and is the one who stays at home taking care of the children. Raphael is a student in section one and starts school at six am. Raphael explains how on a normal day he wakes up between four and five am and starts the day by eating breakfast and taking a shower. The dad works from home and is the one to drive Raphael to school and picks him up again at noon. When he gets home he eats lunch, watch TV and rest. After resting he does his assignments and watch TV again. Before going to bed he takes a shower. Raphael has never participated in organized sport but his sister plays volleyball through her private high school. He sometimes plays together with his younger brother. The games they play often consist of pillow fight or playing soccer in the garage. However he explains doing this only

approximately one time a week. During the weekend he plays computers or watch TV. Raphael has friends at school but no friends at home.

Since the fathers no longer monopolize the breadwinner role in a family, more and more households in the Philippines, particular in urban areas, depend on the employment of multiple contributors to the family income (Medina, 2001). Several of the children report that both parents are working. The need for both parents taking part in income generating work leads to less time to take care of the children during the day (Mosley & Chen, 1985). For the families who can afford, hiring a nanny to help out with child-care and household work often solves this problem for several of the parents. While among poorer families older siblings are often used to take care of the younger children in the family. In the case of Raphael the grandmother is in charge of taking care of the children when the mother is at work. Both Lina and Raphael are restricted to playing inside the safety of the home. Children are often believed to be particularly vulnerable to environmental threats such as an unsafe physical environment (Tamburlini, von Ehrenstein, & Bertollini, 2002) and the streets are often associated with danger and perceived to be an inappropriate place for children to be. In response to the limitation to indoor play, Raphael and his brother utilize the garage to play the sport activities that they cannot play inside the house. As with Lina, Raphael has no friend besides his brother at home. The restrictive childhood experienced by children with increased volume of capital leaves them with few opportunities to developed friendship and take part in interaction with other peers than their siblings. Moreover, even though the children describe spending little time with their parents during weekdays, their use of time and space is to large degree structured around their parents' lives.

Earlier research shows class-based differences in parental interference with children's physical activity patterns (McDonald, 2005; Vincent and Ball, 2007) whereas, especially upper class, actively and intentionally make sure that their children are introduced to activities that will reproduce their values and norms, ensuring that their class based habitus are transferred to younger generation. According to Valentine and McKendrick (1997:220), some of the concerns on children's physical activity and play revolve around the availability of adequate facilities and the protection from risk of injury and 'stranger danger'. Through the interviews the children clearly express that the time and space of play is a result of their parents' view of safe childhood. Thus in relation to physical activity, children from HEC often experience child-rearing strategies that are focused on protection from unwanted

'dangerous' experiences rather than the effort to organize them into activities that will safeguard the middle-class values. In other words, children from middle class experience the protective childhood so often associated with higher classes. However, limitations in economical capital do not let them experience the organized physical activity benefits found among children enrolled in private schools. Neither do they get to experience the activities organized by the barangay. In this sense the children fall victim of their own privileges when it comes to physical activity opportunities. This indicated that it is not only the provisions of adequate organized activities that limits children physical activity patterns, but also parents anxiety about children's safety.

Even though children with HEC had less opportunity to negotiate space and activities for play on weekdays, they emphasized weekends as important for family outing and activities. Weekends was often spent at home together with the parents or the whole family would travel to an nearby park enjoying the pleasure of the outdoor and green environment or travel to one of the many malls located in Metro Manila. The practice of family activities during weekends lets children experience the outdoor with the protection of adult supervision. Thus, following Bourdieu's thinking, this intergenerational companionship found among parents and child reproduces the class-based habitus (McDonald & Wright, 2003) and shapes children consumption of physical activities as well as other consumption patterns such as mall-visits.

Children with LEC generated physical activity in their everyday life in quite different patterns. The neighborhood is extremely important in the context of physical activity, whereas street and alleys in the neighborhood is key setting for outdoor play.

Nicole lives together with her grandmother and grandfather, mother and father, brothers and sisters, uncle and aunts and cousins (total of 20 people) in a small house located in a squatter's area. She has one brother and 3 sisters. Her mother is a housewife while her father works as a taxi driver. The income of the father is approximately 5 thousand pesos. Nicole wakes up at 5 am. After waking up she washing herself and puts on her school uniform. For breakfast she normally eats bread and water. A boy living in the neighborhood was the one to drive her to school by tricycle the day of the interview. Sometimes she gets picked up from school, other days she just commutes on her own by taking a jeepney. When she gets home from school she changes her clothes and goes out to play together with her friends, only girls. They often play agawan base, volleyball, langit-lupa (heaven-earth) patintero, puchi one (dance game), and chipaparo (dance-game). The day before the interview she had approximately one hour to play, between 5 and 6 pm. After playing she goes home to eat, consisting of rice and water. Sometimes she takes a rest and then goes out to play again. She explains that she does not play outside every day, only sometimes. One reason is that her dad gets angry when she does not take care of her siblings. Nicole has several

chores that she does every day. They often consist of sweeping the floors, fetching scattered stuff of the floor, mopping, cleaning the walls and taking care of her younger siblings. During Saturday and Sundays she just plays. They play near the house because of the fear of kidnappers. Nicole usually spends her weekends playing, sleeping and watching cartoon movies.

Nicole's leisure time is negotiated between her responsibilities at home, parental fear of the outdoor life and the lack of indoor space. Living in the squatter area Nicole is surrounded by other children living in the neighborhood. With the total of twenty people living in the house it is little space left for play in their home. Nicole and her female playmates solve this by utilizing the streets closest to the houses. The squatter area consists of small alleys connecting the houses together within the settlement and in the middle there is a plaza where it is considered to be safe to play. However, Nicole explains that she does not play together with her friends everyday because her responsibility to take care of her younger siblings.

Ray lives together with his mom, dad, four sisters and one brother in a squatter area located near the school. His mother is a housewife while his father works part time as a traffic officer. The monthly income of the family is less than five thousand pesos. Ray is a student in the lowest section in grade four and starts school at noon. He wakes up at between nine and ten am. He usually starts his day by eating breakfast consisting of pan de sal (small buns) and coffee. Ray is driven to school in a tricycle by his uncle. The uncle is also the one to pick him up again by the end of the school day. After school he plays outside with boys living in the neighborhood. They usually play basketball. This is Ray's favorite activity and he usually plays this everyday with his friends, all boys. The girls, he explains, play 10:20. After playing he watches TV at home and then goes to sleep. Ray spends most of his leisure time together with his friends. Ray has also participated in organized sport by the barangay. They can choose between track and field, volleyball, soccer and basketball. It is often arranged in the weekend and it is free of charge, so the children participate whenever they want to, however not on a regular basis. Ray has a large network of friends both at school and at home.

Both Nicole and Ray actively use the outdoor environment to play together with their friends in the neighborhood. A commonality among the children from LEC is the relatively freedom of movement. Even though many of them experience larger workloads, they have better opportunity to negotiate play and physical activity over large areas of space and with increased numbers of participants. Their spare time is often played out among friends, peers in the neighborhood, siblings and cousins rather than together with the parents. The alleys composing the squatter areas are often too narrow for cars to drive; this gives children the possibility to move freely between houses finding friends to play with without the danger of getting injured by cars. This movement between various spatial locations within the

neighborhood involves a notable degree of independence, whether it was travelling back and forth to school on their own, moving between houses or spending more time together with their friends than their parents in their leisure time.

By focusing on physical activity in their everyday life, through the edited life stories of the children, it becomes clear that these children experience quite different childhoods and that they have adapted quite different habitus. Physical spaces transcend and the way of live, the norms they meet, what they eat, the activities and games they play are all factors that they are socialized into and through internalization constitute a great part of their habitus. Through the everyday life experiences a way of life and physical behavior is transferred from older generations to the children. Explaining difference in physical activity patterns by focusing on the environment is only one explanation factor (Bale, 2002). It is not only the environment that creates different practices depending on living situation. That would be to say that similar environment invoke the same response for everyone in the same situation; this is not the case (Bale, 2002). Maternal education cross the boundaries of rich and poor housing and is a significant predictor a decrease in physical activity level, indicating that it is difference in culture rather than environment that is the important cause. Bourdieu (1989) argues that variations seen in social class sporting practices derive not only from factors which make it possible or impossible to participate in accordance with their economical and cultural capital but also in their perception of benefits and the value of sport. In Antolihao (2004) reflection around how poverty move across generation in living situation and take the form of a 'culture of poverty', we can also see that these children have little opportunity to experience physical activities and sports available for children from higher classes. However the lack of organized competitive sport opportunities is not missed by the children, rather they enjoy the play that take place in the street outside their house or the play they take part in with their nanny or siblings within the safety of the home. As highlighted by Berner (1997 cited in Antolihao, 2004) for the children living in squatter areas this is not only a space to live but also constitute the structures of possibilities.

The children's description of opportunities for physical activity life can be analyzed by exploring overall ideas surrounding what it means to be a child and proper childhood. As highlighted by Bourdieu (1989), working-class practices are always measured by higher classes' perspectives on proper practice. These dominative constructions that surround the ideas of proper childhood have governed both international as well as local work directed at poor communities for several decades. In his work Boyden (1990) has reflected around what he refers to as the 'globalized idea of proper childhood', a childhood free from responsibilities

whereas children spend most of their time in school or in the safety of their own home. As found in earlier research conducted in several developed countries (Carver, Timperio, & Crawford, 2008) the physical activity patterns of children from HEC, and to some degree girls from LEC, are affected by parents concerns of 'stranger danger' and road safety. Through the children's descriptions it becomes clear that children from HEC experience a childhood sheltered from the outside world by restricting children's unsupervised movement outdoors. This is made possible by having larger indoor area for play, and/or garage/small garden, and adult supervision either by hired nanny or grandparents. While children from LEC are given more responsibilities at home and given more opportunity for independent and unsupervised outdoor movement. Older siblings often supervise younger children and at the age of ten years old, these children are already in charge of taking care of their younger sisters or brothers at home. Lack of indoor space and large families has created an increased community based livelihood whereas both adults as well as children spent most of their time outdoors in the neighborhood.

Increased access to outdoors space and children's use of streets in play are often associated with negative connotation and the word 'street children' often found in international research on urban children in developing countries invokes an idea of children in distress and 'out of place' (Panter-Brick, 2002). Rather than viewing child-care practices that result in increased independency and responsibility for children as parental neglect (Popkin, 1975 referred to in Mosley & Chen, 1985) or children 'out of place', children's increased independence and use of streets and outdoor in play can be seen as the result of what Bourdieu (1989:373) consider to be a 'Choice of the Necessary':

Necessity imposes a taste for necessity which implies a form of adaption to and consequently acceptance of the necessary, a resignation to the inevitable, a deep-seated disposition which is no way incompatible with a revolutionary intention, although it confers on it a modality which is not of intellectual or artistic revolts.

Leaving children to play on their own in the streets, taking public transportation to school on their own, taking care of their siblings in their leisure time, these are all practices that come as a result of the overall situation of the family. Living in the squatter area does not only reflect a living situation but a way of life. Hundreds of small highly populated houses crammed into a compound create a social situation in which increased use of outdoors space is necessary. By adapting to the conditions of existence children have developed physical activity patterns based on larger freedom of movement, larger peer groups and creative use of equipment and play. Moreover, we can see that there are wider social forces influencing parents' control over

their children. As Mayhall (2002) highlights, is the hostile character of outside space influencing parental response in the shape of supervision and restriction put up on children. However I argue that there is not only the actual hostile character of the outside space that affects parental response but also their perception of the characteristics of the outside space. In the four examples given above can we see that, even though Lina/Raphael and Ray/Nicole had equal 'hostile' outside environment the parental response is quite different. One explanation to the difference can be how child rearing processes work downwards from large-scale trends within a social class, mediated by parental behavior, to shape children's lives.

Children's location in social space, and more importantly families' internalization of the structures of that location in social space (Bourdieu, 1989) is to a large degree impacting and creating the different physical activity patterns observed between these children. Through framing the possibilities for physical activity, the children have internalized what Bourdieu (1989:171) refers to as 'necessities' and developed strategies for physical activities within the frame structured by parental capital and living situation, resulting in different patterns. Narrowing the focus down to actual physical activity opportunity among children in public elementary school, children from LEC are in fact better equipped to participate in that they experience a greater diversity in activities, more time is used playing, they are allowed to utilize larger areas for play and have more peers to play with.

7.4.1 Negotiating work and play

Perspectives on children's work and play are socially constructed and depend on time, space and culture. As with the Filipino culture, work and household chores are seen as important tools used in socializing children into gender expectation as well as obedience and respect for elders and the importance of contributing in the well being of the family (Medina, 2001). Children's work is not seen as something negative and damaging for children, rather they are often believed to be effective tools used to teach children valuable lessons. Earlier research done by Punch (2003) clearly showed that children's work in the majority world often was affected by the child ages and maturity, gender and demographic structure of sibling composition. The Filipino family structure and household labor division is often divided into special role given to all family members dependent on their age and gender (Medina, 2001), whereas sons in rural areas are trained to do farm work in the field together with their fathers and girls are located within the house often helping the mother with domestic household labor. The generational division of labor is also observed, where older siblings are expected to take care of younger siblings, older boys to protect their sisters from harm and older siblings

are often found to economically help out younger siblings schooling after they leave the house (Medina, 2003). This structuring of gendered and generational labor division thus becomes an effective tool in teaching the children their rightful (gendered) place in the family and community as well as teaching them respect for elders.

Several studies conducted in developing countries indicate that children contribute substantially in home production and spend a large amount of time with household chores (Punch, 2003; DeGraff & Bilsborrow, 2003). From the interviews it became clear that decisions regarding children's use of their leisure time are often the result of a jointly consideration of both the mothers time at home as well as older sibling. The children expressed taking part in several household chores often seen in connection with their age, generational order of siblings, livelihood situation as well as gender. Children's household chores including taking care of younger siblings and marked work contribute directly to the household production.

Socialization into gender roles becomes apparent when exploring the division found in the children's household chores (Porio et al., 1994). In the Filipino culture the home as well as the domestic sphere of social life is often associated with the domain of women and even though boys and girls are expected to contribute their responsibilities are often different. Both boys and girls mentioned several household chores, independent of parental capital, such as sweeping floors and cleaning the house and clothes, help out with cooking, washing the dishes and making the bed. However, as found in earlier research (Porio et al., 1994) what distinguishes girls from low economical background from boys and girls from high economical background was the responsibility of taking care of younger siblings. The empirical data introduced underneath is an extraction from an interview with a ten-year-old girl named Jolina. In search for work, Jolina and her family immigrated to Metro Manila in 2007. She now lives together with her mom, dad, grandparents and siblings in a small squatter area. They are six children in the family whereas Jolina is the only girl and has two older and three younger brothers. Both her mother and father have college education and the father works as a driver, while the mom stays at home with the children.

(Jolina, 10 years old/HCLE)

- | | |
|---|---|
| T: So what do you usually do at home?
(Ano yung pobarito mong mga nakasanaya na araw araw?) | I: (Ano ginagawa mo kasama ng brother mo?)
Playing
(Nag lalaro po kami) |
| I: Watching TV and taking good care of my brother.
(Young pag aalaga ko po sa kapatid ko po tsaka panonood ng TV). | T: What are you playing?
(Anung nilalaro niyo?) |
| T: What do you do together with your brothers? | I: The am... Sometimes we're just watching and running |

- (Unpong ano po... Minsan nanonood na lang.
Ung Habulan po)
- T: Do you play inside or outside?
I: Sometimes in the outside sometimes inside
T: Do you have any friends besides your
brothers?
(May mga kaibigan ka pa ba maliban sa mga
kapatid, kasama sa pag lalaro?)
- I: No
T: Hmm
I: Only in the province
(Sa probinsya lang po)
- ...
- T: Do you have any chores that you do every
day?
(May mga gawaing bahay ka ban a ginagawa?)
- I: Washing dishes
(Maghugas po ng plato)
- T: Do you spend a lot of time together with your
parents?
(Madalas kasama ang pamilya mo?)
- I: Yes
(Opo)
- T: What kind of activities do you do together?
- (Anong mga gawaing ginawang ninyo?)
- I: Cleaning the house, then washing clothes, my
mother's cooks then I take care of my brother
(Pati po naglalaba, nagluluto si mama tapos
ako po binabantayan ko lang po yung kapatid
ko)
- T: What do you do on weekends?
(Anong ginagawa mp pag weekends?)
- I: I take care of my brother
(Binabantayan kop o yung kapatid ko)
- T: When you stay at home... are you often
playing outside?
(Kung nasa bahay ka ba, madalas ka bang
naglalaro sa labas ng bahay?)
- I: no
(Hindi po)
- T: Why?
(Bakit?)
- I: Because I take care of my brother. I am not
allowed outside if I take care of my brother
(Kasi binabantayan kop o ang kapatid ko.
Bawal po akong maglaro kapag bintan tayan
ko ang kapatid ko)

Jolina's story is not unique. Several of the girls described how taking care of younger siblings was an important part of their daily activities and that this took up substantial amount of their time outside school. Even though the responsibility of taking care of younger siblings is time consuming and takes up a large part of their spare time it is seldom explicitly mention as a liability or a burden. Exploring how children express these situations illustrates how they often combine work and play. Interestingly, all the girls' express taking care of their siblings as playing, however, some girls express more ambivalent feelings connected to this responsibility than others. In the case of Jolina, she explains this responsibility as playing with her brother but she also reflect on how it affected her ability to make friends with peers her same age, in that taking care of her younger brother restricts her to play inside the house. Jolina's favorite game to play after school is badminton and running; she explains this with being the only activities that she has experience in from the province. She used to play it together with her brothers and friends in the province, however, after moving to Manila her play is largely limited by indoor play together with her younger brother. As with children from HEC Jolina is also sheltered from the outdoors, however, in her case it is the result of her responsibilities at home.

Shydy (10 years old/HCLE) on the other took great pride in her responsibly of care-giving at home. Shydy lives in a governmental housing together with her mom, stepfather, two brothers, three sisters, uncle, aunt and cousins. While her older sister takes care of her two younger sisters, Shydy's main responsibility at home is to take care of her one-year-old

brother with severe heart disease. She takes care of him by carrying him with her and making sure that he is safe and that he gets enough food. Her responsibility of care giving is time consuming and Shydy explains that she plays approximately one day a week together with her cousin outside on the street. One of cousins is her best friend. The two of them play different games such as volleyball and *stampede*²¹. Shydy's physical activity pattern at home reflects in her participation in the activities introduced in the PE lessons. Shydy is a quiet girl. During the PE lessons she starts of doing the activity introduced, but as soon as there is a possibility to drop out of the activity she will be one of the first children out. During the interview, we talked about how she found the PE lessons, and she explained that she does not like sports and the only activity that she enjoys is volleyball. She has never participated in any organized forms of sports and she does not like to run because it hurts her feet. Through her interaction with other peers it becomes clear that Shydy have trouble taking part in group-organized play and spends most of her time alone or wondering of together with her friend. She does not respond well to organized play and prefer to play in games were there are only one or two other girls. Limited experiences with interaction in group activities at home create an situation for Janet that makes it hard for her to play in organized games. During the interviews she specifies that play and games does not play an important role in her life and her favorite activity is in fact to take care of her younger brother and to do it well.

The amount of work children are expected to do is largely dependent on sibling composition, age, social class and gender. Boys' express having chores to do everyday independent of social class. However, though they have responsibilities at home, these are often less time consuming, such as washing dishes, making the bed, organizing at home and sweeping the floors. For the boys from LEC, this gives them more time to peer organized play outside. Girls from low cultural and economical capital on the other hand have double-responsibilities at home, while they take on the same household chores as boys (sweeping, cleaning dishes, washing clothes etc), girls with younger siblings are also expected to take care of siblings. Work has often been explained as an important factor that limits children's time to play. However, there are no clear-cut distinctions between these two activities (Punch, 2003). Through the interviews with the children it became clear how children, by combining

²¹ Shydy explains the game as a version of hopscotch (Piko in Filipino) where they draw a geometric figure on the ground using a stick or charcoal. They play it by throw a stone in one of the target compartment of the figure. The one who stamp on the line while skipping will be 'it'.

especially work and play, negotiate their time and space for play and unite the different categories through different activities.

7.5 Social construction of gendered play

Every society is marked by limitation on what is commonly understood as normal behavior and appearance (Eriksen, 2006). Moreover what is accepted as ‘normal and proper behavior’ often depends on gender, age and social class. Even though gender does not show significant correlation value in the final model can we see through other variables, observation, interviews and field conversation that gender differences are at play, maybe not affecting physical activity level but their physical activity patterns. In other words, children seems to be equally physically active measured in days per week, however, differences are found, taking gender and cultural capital into account, when looking at the questions: how, where, why and with whom they choose to stay physical active.

In the child-questionnaires the children were asked to check mark which sport they had earlier experience in as well as which sport they would like to participate in if they were given the possibility. The three sports that the highest numbers of children have experience with were for boys’ basketball, swimming and badminton and for girls’ badminton, swimming and dance. The three most popular sports for boys were basketball, swimming and badminton, while girls answered badminton, swimming and volleyball. Even though a large percentage of the children express having participated in sports are most of the sport activities peer organized games played in the streets or within the boundaries of their home.

That basketball is the most mentioned sport among boys when it comes to both experience and popularity is as expected. Basketball is the far most widespread Western sport in the Philippines (Antolihao, 2009). Visiting Metro Manila, the popularity of basketball is shown by small basketball hoops found in every barangay and in most plazas that exist within smaller communities. This widespread basketball facilities are mostly used by young boys and men in the neighborhood. Some barangays have started ‘barangay basketball leagues’ whereas men in the neighborhood has created a team and play against teams in other barangays. Two of the fathers of the children taking part in the interview were organized in these teams, one as trainer and player and the other just as a player. Interestingly, these activities are just for males and when asked if girls could play basketball in the streets, one of the children actually thought it might be illegal. Hierarchic gender structures of societies direct the continuous silent and invisible injunctions on individuals (Bourdieu, 2000:65). According to Bourdieu these silent injunctions functions as well-structured limitations that

functions just as well as articulated explicit warnings and the way that they are often naturalized and common found perspectives they become hard to grasp and articulate by the social agents who experience them. Even though participating in basketball for girls is not specifically articulated as illegal for girls and women, the everyday gender expectations that girls meet creates a perception that the activities is not 'meant' for them. Thus girls are left out of the activity that is granted most facilities. Basketball together with soccer is two sports often explained to be boys-games in the interviews. Even though few of the children actually can put words to what makes these activities boys games, they are often described to be more aggressive, competitive, hard, difficult and inflicting a greater threat for girls to get hurt. The children acknowledge that boys also might get hurt while playing the games, but they can 'handle it'. These descriptions are based on gender dualism constructed by antagonistically conceptualization of gender (Bourdieu, 2000) that rarely has anything to do with sex differences. This creates an understanding of sports as activities first and foremost for boys, and sport in itself becomes a gendered social field that is organized in accordance with this dualistic understanding of gender.

It is important to stress that the ways children describe their participation in sports are based on the 'play aspect' of the activities. In other words, the activities take the form of unorganized activities without any formal rules. Badminton and swimming is the two activities that are mentioned as activity that both boys and girls have experience in and that they would like to participate in if they were given the opportunity. Badminton is an activity that children answered to play in their spare time independent of gender or social class. The activity was played together with friends or parents as a recreational activity. To play the game children from LEC often borrowed the equipment needed from relatives or others in the neighborhood. There were no facilities especially directed at this activity, so streets and garden or parks were used. Besides one girl who swam at her grandmother's house, the children in the interviews did not mention swimming as an activity that they took part in on a daily basis.

Through the interview girls expressed embracing activities such as dance and volleyball. Dance is not described by as an activity per se but is an important component in many of the games mentioned as favorite activities played in the leisure time, such as 'puchi one' and 'chipaparo'. Volleyball is described in similar ways, and is another 'sport' that takes the form of unorganized game, played by two or more people.

7.5.1 Children's physical activities engagement and rejection

Choices of activities are ways in which the children can create, reconstruct and present themselves within the gendered identities that they would like to be associated with. Through taking part in some activities and rejecting other boys and girls are able to construct masculine and feminine identities. Children's preferences of activities can be interpreted as determined by a negotiation between their perception of individual physical abilities, earlier experience, accessible facilities and equipment, and gender appropriate behavior expectations. When exploring the children's preferences in physical activities they often express which activities they don't like to take part in. As highlighted by Bourdieu (1989), justification of the taste of certain activities is often expressed by the refusal of others. Distinction of choices is what constitutes different habitus. By choosing some activities and refusing others children define their physical identities asserted through differences (Bourdieu, 1989). In this case the children clearly express how they reproduce their gendered identities by 'gender typing' activities and chose activities accordingly. Girls do this by embracing activities such as volleyball, badminton and dance games while distancing themselves from basketball. Boys on the other hand take active part in basketball in their leisure time, while avoiding activities often referred to as girl games. What constitutes a girl game is often not as clear-cut as boy activities. However the games Ten-Twenty and Chinese garter are mentioned as activities that are inappropriate for boys to play.

Through observation of organized play, children's preferences in sport participation and clear rejection of some of others were clearly visible. Observing children's interaction and participation in the sports programs led to topics that I brought up in the interviews and also affected the way I structured the lessons all through the program. Through the interviews it became clear that many of the girls were afraid of getting hurt while playing and that playing with boys often developed into aggressive activities. Several of the girls also had great difficulty in taking an active part of the play and many felt that they were not good enough to shoot, dribble or run, thus they would often stand on the sideline watching the game instead. Realizing this I changed the structure of the lessons, introducing only gender mixed groups while they tried out small sets of skills focusing on eye-foot or eye-hand coordination and then let them choose their own groups when it was time to play the actual game. This increased the level of activity among most of the girls, whereas some of the boys chose to participate in small gender mixed groups with the girls instead of in the activities that were governed by all boys. Interestingly, basketball and soccer was never an activity that girl-

or gender mixed groups played, while this was the most popular game to be played among the all-boys group.

The citation below is from a girl that showed great reluctance to take part in sport activities such as basketball and soccer during the PE lessons. Nicole was quiet and listened to all information and directions given during lessons but she always backed out of certain activities when the lesson moved from practicing individual skills to actually playing the games. Nicole is from LEC and lives in a squatter area and plays mostly with girls when she plays at home. Through the citation below we can see how she expresses why she likes certain activities and reject others:

Nicole (10 years old/LEC)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>T: I see. What kind of games do you play there?
<at home>
(Anong klaseng laro ang nilalaro niyo?)</p> <p>I: Ah...base snatching, volleyball....and then heaven-earth
(Ano po.....ano.....agawan base, volleyball... tapos langit-lupa.)</p> <p>T: Do you play just girls or boys and girls together?</p> <p>I: Girls only
Girls lang po.</p> <p>T: Ah. What do the boys play?
(Anong mga nilalaro ng mga lalaki?)</p> <p>I: Basketball</p> <p>...</p> <p>T: Do you like activities where you have to compete against others?
(Gusto mo ba yung aktibidades na may pakikipagkompetensya sa iba?)</p> <p>I: No
(Hindi po)</p> <p>T: Can you explain why?
(Bakit?)</p> <p>I: I don't want to
(Ayoko po e.)</p> | <p>T: Can you explain... can you try to explain why don't you like games?
(Ibig mo bang sabihin bakit ayaw mo ?)</p> <p>I: Because I don't like to... too rowdy... I don't like to anymore... Because there's misunderstandings
(Kasi po ayaw ko... magulo... ayoko na po... kasi po laging nag-aaway)</p> <p>...</p> <p>T: Did you like it when we played basketball during PE
(Gusto mo bang maglaro ng basketball pag PE bakit?)</p> <p>I: For boys
(Panlalaki)</p> <p>T: hmm, what about soccer do you like soccer?
Gusto mo bang maglaro ng soccer?</p> <p>I: I don't know how to play soccer. Volleyball!
(Hindi po ako marunong ng soccer. Volleyball po!)</p> <p>T: ahmm,,,, were you ever afraid of getting hurt while you played the basketball?
(Natatakot ka bang masaktan kapag naglaro ka ng basketball?)</p> <p>I: Because it is strong/hard
(Kasi po ano e, malakas)</p> |
|--|--|

Gender is strikingly visible in the children's descriptions of their physical activity participation, especially among the children living in the squatter area. As explained while focusing on children living situation, children HEC play with their siblings at home and several of the children played with their sister or brother depending on the age of the sibling, not the gender. However children living in the squatter area express clear gender preferences while playing with others than their siblings. Boys and girls explain how boys play with boys and they play basketball, while girls play 'girl games' such bahay bahay (home pretending) and ten-twenty. Watching the children take part in PE lessons does not indicate that there is not necessarily as clear gender difference in the actual interaction in children's play.

Observing children's participation in physical activity in their 'free time' at school showed that both boys and girls took great pleasure in dancing together. The fieldwork was the same year that Michael Jackson died, so boys as well as girls would often use this 'free time' to show each other dance moves and constructed their own dances to his music. Moreover, boys and girls played well together in Filipino games often perceived to be relatively 'gender neutral' such as *agawan base* and *patintero*. It was in sports such as basketball and soccer that gender became increasingly visible in the children's participation. The children's everyday life experience with physical activity shows how gendered differences are internalized into bodily 'knowledge'. Whereby children's practical way of experiencing and valuing activities creates different forms of gendered habitus.

As with Nicole, Julienne from HCLE expresses strong preferences for same-sex playmates while playing at home. Moreover, her participation in PE is greatly limited by lack of experience and 'practice' home. Her chores at home give her little time to play. This lack of practice in sport plays out in her perception of her own ability to take part in sport activities.

(Julienne, 10 years old/HCLE)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>T: Ah, I see. Are there some activities that are inappropriate for girls?
(May mga aktibidades ba na hindi nababagay sa mga babae?)</p> <p>I: Yes
(Opo)</p> <p>T: What kind of activities?</p> <p>I: Basketball</p> <p>T: Basketball?</p> <p>T: Why is it that girl...that it is inappropriate for girls to play basketball?
(Bakit yung basketball hindi nababagay sa babae?)</p> <p>I: Because it is for boys
(Kasi yun ang laro sa mga lalaki.)</p> <p>T: I see. Would it be okay for your mother and father if you play basketball?</p> <p>I: yes</p> <p>T: That's okay? Would it be okay for you to play basketball?</p> | <p>I: Yes</p> <p>T: Do you like to play basketball when you are here in school?</p> <p>I: No</p> <p>T: Why not?</p> <p>I: Don't know.</p> <p>T: You don't know? Is it hard to play?</p> <p>I: <nods></p> <p>T: Are there some activities for boys shouldn't ah...that are not appropriate for boys?
(May mga laro ba na hindi nababagay sa mga lalaki?)</p> <p>I: Playing with dolls
(Yung paglalaro ng doll.)</p> <p>T: Do you know of more activities that boys can't play?</p> <p>I: No</p> <p>T: Ah, what happen if boys play with dolls?</p> <p>I: They become gay
(Nagiging bakla.)</p> |
|---|---|

Arguably, both of these quotes speak of the problem and limitations felt by these children, their rejection and feelings of lack of competence in activities often associated with boys. Through their participation and rejection of physical activities we can see the children's perception of gendered identities affect their engagement. Choice of activities and patterns of engagements is, as expressed by the children, connected to ideas surrounding masculinity and femininity. Physical activity and sport in particular are central in both reflecting already

existing gender differences as well as shaping gender relations and reproducing the masculine dominance found in gender interacting among the children (Wright et al., 2003). Why girls could not participate in ball-sports was often explained by the lack of strength, their fragile bodies, aversion of aggression, the danger of getting hurt as well as their lack of skills such as dribbling, kicking, shooting or passing the ball, however with volleyball being one exception. According Wright et al., (2003) physical activity participation among children is a result of how children use the specific cultural resources surrounding them in their everyday life to make sense of their participation. Moreover their engagement in activities provides them with resources with which they can make sense of their role in the society and proper gendered behavior in relations to others. Social practices found at home and in school presents the children to several different form of presumptive indications and signs on how to behave, these confirmative practices of gender appropriate behavior both sanctions as well as open up for certain ways of behavior (Bourdieu, 2000). Moreover, the children's aversion to participate in gender mixed activities and their rejections of certain activities reflects the children's experience of play in their leisure time. The children's rejection of activities is explained by a combination of inability to participate in activities focused on competition and that the activities are for boys not for girls. Thus, by limit their participation in these activities, perceptions of gendered appropriate activities is reproduced and becomes proponents of a self-fulfilling prophecy such as girls cannot play such activities as basketball because they are fragile and can get hurt. The lack of experience in these games results in girls feeling scared and unable to participate because of lack of skills. This again becomes verification of the statement, setting in motion a train of events that in the end create the differences that the prophecy predicted. Even though Julienne's response above might be read as non-reflexive, she expresses quite reflexively how basketball is a boy game, however she is allowed to play, but she does not know how. That the children have a hard time reflecting on why they feel that they cannot participate in certain activities is understandable. Habitus, in the way that schemes are internalized, work below the level of consciousness (Bourdieu, 1989). The differences that the children experience to be real are naturalized into the structures and doxa constructing ways of understanding gender. Thus, intergenerational transfer of proper gendered behavior is internalized and 'naturalized' leaving children to choose activities out of what they believe to be their own choice. However, children's choice of activities and activities that they value and enjoy are in fact decision mediated by feedback from significant others, earlier experiences as well as gender expectations that they meet.

7.5.2 Children controlling deviating behavior: the power of comments

In societies where sport is associated with masculinity comments are often utilized to control deviating behavior (Cardoso, Felipe, & Hedegaard, 2005; Friberg, 2005; Thorne & Luria, 1986). Thus, individuals crossing the boundaries of gender expectations are often found to be the recipients of stereotypical, often sexist, comments. Whereas Thorn (1993:111) found Tomboy and Sissy as terms to stand out in analyzing the ‘dichotomous and asymmetric gender difference’ among boys and girls were the terms frequently used by children as well as adult in this study tomboy and bakla (gay). The Tagalog word *bakla* is widely understood and frequently used in the Philippines. The term is often used to refer to persons who display ‘homosexual behavior’; however, the term serves a variety of function and can also refer children who play with peers of the opposite sex or boys who are simply less active than others in play, games and outdoors activities (Hart, 1968). Another word used by the children to explain boys who act out of normative gendered behavior is *parang babae* referring to being like a women. The term Tomboy on the other hand is often associated with girls who in one way or another act differently than the expected girly behavior that exist in a society. And interestingly, even though gender expectation might take different forms in different cultural, as in the USA, Philippines and Norway (in Norwegian ‘guttejente’), the term is used in similar ways, that is to say girls who behave out of the ‘ordinary girlish’ ways, whom moreover are drawn to activities or behavior that often is associated with boys (Thorn, 1993).

Children are not only affected by adults’ expectations and regulations, but actively regulate each other and the emphasis of deviating gender behavior is in focus in the description from both girls and boys. Through gendered loaded praises such as tomboy and bakla children are disciplining deviating behavior as an attempt to conform children into acting within the normative expectations. As also found by Hart (1968), I observed that these terms were actively used by young children to both understand as well as control deviating behavior among peers. These terms, brought up in connection with physical activity, are effective and powerful tools used in controlling, constructing and reproducing the illusion of deviating behavior among children. Through these terms both adults as well as children are actively enforcing the notion of acceptable behavior for both boys as girls as well as enforcing the dominating notion of masculinity and femininity. As seen earlier by parental view on appropriate sport for boys and girls are these two of the major factors shown to be significantly affecting children’s physical activity level (Table 6:49). Moreover, the interviews and life experience of the children clearly show how this is restricting children choice in activities.

Through the interviews the children were asked to explain why they thought some activities to be inappropriate in accordance with gender. Whereas earlier discussion focused on the (lack of) physical abilities these section further on focuses on the feared consequences of taking part in activities crossing gender expected behavior.

(Nicole, 10 years old/LEC)

T: Do you think there are sports and activities that are inappropriate for girls?
(Sa tingin mo ba may ahhh, laro na hindi nababagay sa mga babae?)

I: Yes
(Opo)

T: What sports or activities are you thinking of?
(Anong activities yun?)

I: Running like boys
(Ano po, pagtatakbo po nila parang lalaki)

T: Running like a boy? And then?
(Tapos)

I: Because, if they get mad they are like a Tomboy
(Tapos, pag nagalit sila parang ano po, parang tomboy.)

T: Are there some activities that are not appropriate for boys?
(Mga actividades ba na hindi nababagay sa mga lalaki?)

I: Yes
(Opo)

T: Yes, what sorts of games?
(Opo. Anu yun?)

I: Only Badminton and volleyball
(Badminton and volleyball yun lang)

T: Why can't boys play badminton and volleyball?
(Bakit yung mga lalaki hindi pwedeng maglaro ng badminton at volleyball?)

I: Cause they will be like girls
(Kasi po, parang babae)

Nicole has not reflected of the gender differences before the interview, however confronted with the questions she explains how girls that takes part in activities such as 'running like boys' might be perceived as 'Tomboy' by other people. Moreover boys who take part in activities such as volleyball or badminton might 'become to be like girls'. By the children's expressions it became clear that physical activities and sports were important activities whereas the children's gendered appropriate or deviating behavior became clear. A dominating logic among the children is that boys will 'become gay' or 'be like a girl' if they chose to participate in 'girl games'. By their logic the boys are not like girls or gay until they take part in such activities, it is through their participation that they cross the boundaries of proper gender behavior. Being bakla (gay) or tomboy does not necessarily refer to the child's sexual orientation but rather their behavior and physical features. As Thorn (1993) found in her study, children's use of the term fag/gay, or in Tagalog bakla, as an insult seldom reflect the traditional meaning of the word, namely the sexual preferences of the individual, rather it reflects a behavior contracting the stereotypical and 'excepted way of boys behavior'.

(Lenard, 10 years old/HCLE)

T: What are the games that you play after school?
(Ok, after school di ba umuwi ka, may mga game ba na, nilalaro...)
<Interrupted>

I: Games?
(Mga games)

T: Do you play only with boys or both boys and girls?
(Mga boys to boys or girls to girls)

I: Yes, boys to boys
(Meron sa boys to boys)

T: What games are you playing then?

I: Agawan base

- | | |
|---|--|
| T: Are there no girls participate in agawan base?
(May mga babae ba sa agawan base?) | I: They are playing garther
(Naglalaro sila ng garther,) |
| I: There might be a Tomboy
(Tomboy meron) | I: Chinese garther, |
| ... | T: Can boys play Chinese garther?
(Mga lalaki ba naglalaro ng Chinese garther?) |
| T: Why cannot girls play this game?
(Bakit hindi malalaro ng babae?) | I: Gays only
(Bakla lang) |

For these children their experience of physical activity and their gendered identities cannot be understood without recognizing the importance they give to comments given by significant others. Children express different forms of physical activities as contradicting and sometimes even threatening to their masculinity or femininity. Since the children experience such clear-cut differences in what are appropriate activities for boys and girls, both boys and girls tend to lose out if their participation and behavior deviated from what is perceived to be gender-appropriate. Focusing on masculine dominance Bourdieu (2000:76) highlights the women in their struggle for recognition and power experience the double bind, hence, if they chose to behave like men they risk losing the feminine attributes and if they embrace their ‘feminine attributes’ they might be perceived to be incapable of certain practices. Though this double bind is expressed the girls in ways of fear of being called tomboy, hurt or scared while playing games that are associated with boys activities, boys are also express limitation of activities they can take part in. There were multiple answers to the question why boys cannot play games like Chinese garther and volleyball are often explained by how the boy might ‘act like a girl’ or ‘turn into a gay’ if participating in these games. Thus perceived gendered attributes have a negative effect on both boys and girls perceived opportunity for physical activity behavior.

The children have picked up the word and use it to control deviating behavior. Dominic (12 years old) illustrate this in his reflection of both his fear of being called bakla as well as he himself using the term to taunt other children that ‘cross the boundaries of excepted behavior’.

(Dominic 12 years old/LEC)

- | | |
|---|--|
| T: Are there some activities that boys can't play?
That is inappropriate for boys?
(May mga activities pa ba na ang mga lalaki di makapaglaro?) | (Oo...kasi may mga bakla ngayon na para silang mga babae tapos parang kaya nilang gawin yung sa mga babae). |
| I: Can't play?
(Di makapaglaro?) | T: Do you think that if a boy plays together with girls that he will be called bakla?
(Sa palagay mo ba kung makipaglaro yung tunay na lalaki sa mga babae ay bakla na rin ang tingin sa kanila?) |
| T: Yes...games not appropriate for boys.
(Oo...hindi bagay sa mga lalaki) | I: Yes, because when you play with girls someone will tease you... oy bakla. Like that... |
| I: Swimming and gymnastics | (Oo kasi may magsabi pag maglaro ka sa mga babae ay oy...bakla. Parang ganun...) |
| T: Swimming and gymnastics? | |
| I: Yes...because today some gays act like girls and they can do whatever girls do. | |

... (Later in the same interview)...

T: So... you mentioned earlier that... do you think if a boy plays with the girls' game, he can be called gay?

(Sa palagay mo ba pag ang lalaki puede niyang laruin lahat na laro ng mga babae, bakla siya?)

I: In their opinion... but for me, if that boy seems like gay already, we will tell him.
(Sa tingin nila...pero para sa amin kung ang lalaki na yun, parang nagiging bakla na siya, pagsabihan na namin)

Dominic reflects on how he both sees himself limited by these practices as well as taking an active part in reproducing it. Dominic takes great pleasure in playing basketball and makes an effort in developing his skills in the sport. He explains how this activity is the only physical activity he takes part in after school and he plays together with boys his own age or older. As highlighted by Bourdieu (2000) is the search and desire of being associated with the masculine characteristics also limiting the men's behavior, whereas boys' physical activity behavior is also trapped in the dominating conception of gendered play. Reconstructing gendered difference is not something only limited by adult's interaction practices. Rather children also take active part in reproducing this dominating structures and gendered culture. Since gendered play is not actually naturally constituted in society, but rather a social construction, taking pride in acquiring certain characteristics associated with men and taunting the ones who does not, the children contribute to reproducing the social practices expected of them from different adult accounts.

8. CONSTRUCTING GENDERED PLAY IN SOCIAL SPACE

This study aimed to better understand how intergenerational transfer of habitus framed children's opportunity to generate and negotiate physical activity in their everyday life. The findings discussed demonstrate that the children's opportunities in physical activity as well as the values they attribute to their participation are framed by both class and gender relations. The children's opportunity for physical activity is structured by the everyday life of the family their housing situation, parents' perception on how childhood should be lived in their local context, gender expectations and peer relations. The manner in which children stayed physical active is affected by the degree that they were given the opportunity to take an active part in the community and boys and girls, depending on their social background, managed the patterns of physical activity and sporting activities quite differently. More specifically, exploring boys and girls physical activities draws attention to ways in which physical activity represents an important context within which children actively come to construct a sense of their own gendered identities and to think about other peers.

The experiences expressed by the children taking part in this research are individually unique, but at the same time they share many similarities in both life histories and life experiences. The children come from low class to middle class families. Differences in parental capital place them in different locations in social space, which is reflected in the children living situation. What unites the children is their enrollment in public elementary school. Indicators of social class, such as cultural and economical capital, are in several studies found to be positive predictors of physical activity level and sport participation (Bourdieu, 1989; Macdonald & Wright, 2003; Wilson, 2005; Dagkas & Stathi, 2007). However, the perception that children from families low on cultural and economical capital necessarily is disadvantage when it comes to physical activity is misleading. Supporting the findings of (Voss et al., 2008) children from LEC appears to be equally active as children from HEC. Indeed, closer analysis based on the interview data suggest that children from LEC experienced greater opportunity to generate a variety of play and negotiate space for play over larger areas and with more peers than children from HEC. However, these result might have been different if highest classes had been taken into account. With the sample selected, higher classes are left out for the reason that they can afford to enroll their children in private school.

Exploring children's physical activity patterns through the lens of social class and gender gave insight into several similarities and differences found within this group. Boys and

girls are equally active measured by number of days physical active per week. Economical capital does not play a significant role in framing children opportunity for physical activity and there is no significant difference in activity level between children living in squatter areas or in apartment and owned house. Children moreover express taking part in similar sports and games in their leisure time independent of social class. The activities that the children take part in are all inexpensive and most activities are unorganized played together with peers or siblings. However, by interviewing groups of children based on parental volume of capital demonstrated that social class difference was present when exploring physical activity patterns. The children express experiencing different child-care practices and have generated different physical activity patterns depending on their parents' volume of capital. As also found by Wright et al., (2003) these children's opportunity to generate and negotiate physical activities in their leisure time show the importance of structures such as family composition, number of siblings and relatives, living situation and available space in framing the potential choice of children's physical activity participation. Through their interaction with peers, parents, relatives, neighbors and their participation in the local community the children internalized norms and values that are reinserted into a unity of dispositions constituting their individual habitus (Bourdieu, 1993) and intergenerational transfer of habitus becomes apparent in the children's reflections and citations. In stark contrast to the protective childcare practices experienced by children from HEC, the children from parents with LEC living in the squatter area express having greater opportunities for participating in several forms of physical activities and larger opportunities for spatial movement of play. Through the children's experience we can see how childhood in squatter areas is to a large degree based on community practices. Even though the activities children take part in often are dependent on gender, children are actively engaging in the life in the streets and alleys constituting the squatter area. Importantly, as pointed out by Morrow (1999) a significant part of social capital of children, consists of their social network of friends, siblings and cousins. Children from HEC on the other hand are restricted to play inside the house or in the safety of the garden or garage. They have fewer friends to play with and spend most of the time together with their families. In the social context of children's play, social capital among children living in the squatter areas was higher than children from higher social class. Moreover the lack of social capital among children from better-off families served as a factor negatively affecting their opportunities to generate physical activity.

An important factor in framing children's physical activity was maternal cultural capital. Interestingly, while economical capital is a good indication of housing facility,

maternal cultural capital crossed the boundaries of rich and poor housing. Earlier research found cultural capital to be a positive predictor of physical activity level among children (Macdonald & Wright, 2003). In this study increased maternal education predicts a decrease in children's physical activity level. Based on the children's statement I argue that a possible explanation for this relation is an attempt to protect children from harm. Both boys and girls from all three groups revealed that their parents had given direction on activities that they did not want their child to participate in as an attempt to protect the child from injury and scars. Increased physical activity and play among children, as much as it his health related, it is also associated as a risk factor.

Exploring the physical activity patterns of these children, both in school and at home, revealed several cultural doxa that are imbedded into the children's perception of what it means to be a child, both structuring and framing the activities that the children are introduced to and the activities they actively choose to take part in. In relation to physical activity both parents and children communicate explicit perceptions of gender appropriate behavior. Gender expectations are in particular clearly articulated in activities such as household chores and play. Through these activities children learn their place within the family and community as a whole. These ideas of proper gender behavior are reflected in every part of the data material; however the reason for why certain activities were not appropriate was seldom well articulated. In the case of the children this silent knowledge and naturalization of gender difference is indicated by their statements of gender typing activities, but their lack of ability to actually explain why this is so. As shown by the children's citations above, when asked why they chose to participate in certain activities instead of others, children often explain it by referring to what their parents, grandmother or other significant others have told them. This indicates that these collective expectations have through naturalization become embodied truths that need no justifications (Bourdieu, 1989). The children are not able to articulate the reasons for limitations they are experiencing and they seldom questioned these dominating perceptions of gender appropriate behavior when it comes to physical activity behavior. On the contrary, their use of physical activities such as basketball and dance games appears to be legitimate ways of reproducing gender stereotypes and reassert their own gendered identity. Thus their habitus as a social identity is 'defined and asserted' through differences (Bourdieu, 1989:167) and these differences become 'natural structures' in which the children could construct their gender identities.

Moreover there is a sense of threat connected to opposing the norms of expected gendered behavior. It is this threats of verbal confrontation with their 'deviancy' that is one of

the most prominent reasons why children are rejecting certain activities. Not only is this fear of gender loaded phrasings being directed at them perceived by many of the children as a reason to not participate in certain activity, they are also frequently used by the same children to control deviating behavior among their peers. By doing this they are actively reproducing gender difference that frames their opportunity of choice. It is by the children's choice of games and physical activity patterns that gender difference becomes evident. Several sports such as basketball and soccer are rejected by girls and 'girl games' such Chinese garter and playing bahay bahay (home pretending) is rejected by boys. These 'gendered play' is not only a way of behaving, but also has become integrated in the way children speak of activities. The children seldom reflect around the consequences of boys and girls behaving out of the expected gendered ways of play, besides the answers of acting like a girl, becoming gay or being a tomboy.

A major strength of this study is the triangulation of method and the multiple voices represented in it that allows for examination of both quantitatively analyzing the relation of social background factors and physical activity level as well as utilizing qualitative research tools to listen to children's experience and observe how children generate physical activity in their everyday life. With the research tools introduced I were able to tap into several dimensions of factor affecting intergenerational transfer of habitus and how it affect the children's physical activity and combining quantitative and qualitative analysis gave insight into relations that would not have been observed without the use of both.

Some limitation of this study is present. Qualitatively, the language barrier was hard to overcome and the transcriptions turned out to be important in validating the interview data. Quantitatively, the problem of missing data became a challenge when combining the child and parental questionnaire into one data file. Combining quantitative and qualitative tools created a large amount of data and both gathering the data and analyzing it was extremely time-consuming. Moreover, at times the results were puzzlingly different in nature, however, taking into consideration that they illuminate the same social phenomena from different angles, this was as expected. While the approach in this study is not without its limitations it was this large amount of data and puzzling results that gave me the possibility of exploring the impact of intergenerational transfer of habitus on framing the possibility in generating and negotiating physical activity patterns from a variety of angles.

Two areas of further inquiry are suggested by the current findings. First, while the majority of work conducted on how social background affect children's physical activity level and patterns have utilized either quantitative or qualitative research method, this research has

highlighted the importance of combining multiple methods in our search for in-depth knowledge of what affect children's patterns of physical activity. There is a need for further research that takes into consideration both statistically analysis of relations as well as listening to children's own experience of physical activity in their everyday life. Secondly, although quantitative analysis shows that parental perception of inappropriate physical activity impact children's physical activity level differently depending on whether or not it is for boys or for girls, our understanding of the relationship is limited to the finding of significant relation. Further research focusing on parental perception of gender appropriate behavior would increase our understanding of the structures of norms and expectations that the children meet in their everyday life.

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Appendix 1 – Fieldwork Timetable

Date	Method	Participants	Objectives of the research
Wednesday 17 th of June	Introduction meeting at the Principal Office	Filipino Contact (Sponsor) Principal (Gatekeeper) Me All teacher in grade 4	Discuss the possibility of conducting my research at the particular public elementary school
Started: Monday 21 st of June Ended: Friday 16 th of July	Observation: Of the children's everyday life at school.	Teachers & Pupils in grade 4 Me	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To familiarize myself with the daily routines at the elementary school and children's participation in the classroom. To get to know the teacher and the children and to let them know me.
Started Monday 19 th of July Ended Friday 19 th of March	Participatory observation: Start of the sports program and the participatory observation of the children.	All grade 4 children (385)	Explore interaction among the children when introduced to different organized physical activities and sport, giving special attention to gender and social class.
Started Monday 13 th of September Ended Friday 16 th of September	Child-questionnaire	All grade 4 children N=382	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Measuring children's activity level and sport preferences. Through analysis: exploring whether or not different independent variables affect their activity level.
Delivered Out: 25 th of October	Parental-Questionnaire	Delivered out to all children in grade 4 (385) Answered by 262 of the parents/guardians	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Measuring parents' cultural and economical capital as well as their perception of physical activity for children. Through analysis: exploring how parental capital and perception of physical activity affect children's physical activity level
Start 16 th of November Ended Friday 11 th of December	1 st round of interviews	18 children were asked to participate in the interviews based on child and parental questionnaire as well as their participation in activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explore lived experience of the children. Their normal day. What, when, where, with whom do they play? Preferences in activities both in and out of school. Etc.
Started 22 nd of February Ended 8 th of March	2 nd round of interview	18 children. Same children who participated in the 1 st round of interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explore more in-depth some of the questions from 1st interview Introduce some new questions based on children's social capital in school and at home
Friday 19 th of March	End of the school year		

Appendix 2 - Child – Questionnaire

A. Personal Information

1. Name _____ 2. Male Female

3. Age _____

B. Family Information

1. Who do you live with (check)

- Grandfather Father Brother Uncle/Auntie
 Grandmother Mother Sister Cousins

2. Do you live with your family? **or** with your relatives?

3. How many brothers and sisters do you have? _____ brothers / _____ sisters

4. Where do you live in the following?

- Apartment Townhouse Condo
 Kwarto-kwarto Squatters Area Governmental housing
 I don't know

5. Do you have enough food to eat each day for:

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>
Breakfast	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lunch	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Dinner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Merienda	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. When did you last watch a movie in a theater or movie house?

- This week
 Last week
 Last month
 Can't remember
 Don't watch / Not ever

7. Do you want to learn 1 or 2 sports and be good at it?

- Yes No Not sure

8. Does your family have enough money to support you if you wanted to get involved in a sports activity? for the following expenses?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
Uniform	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Shoes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Training	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Equipment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

9. If your family or someone can sponsor your _____ in a sports of your desire, will you be happy and want to join?

- Yes No Not sure

10. Which of the following do you have in your household?

Appliances

- Television Refrigerator Radio DVD Player

- Oven Gas Stove (how many burners? _____) Computer
 Washing machine Rice cooker Air-Conditioner ElectriFan

Furniture

- Sofa Set Bed Dining Set

Vehicle

- Car/Van Jeepney Tricycle Motorbike
 Bicycle

11. In your own assessment, which best describes your family?

(Directions to teacher: read every section out loud and ask them to tick of the one that they feel describing their situation best. Help them if needed.)

- Living in a mansion
 Have many appliances.
 Owns more than three vehicles.
 Have three or more household helpers.
 Owns a big company or business.
- Living in a big house that we own.
 Owns two or three vehicles.
 Owns a company or business.
 Parents working as doctors, lawyers, etc.
- Living in a not-so-big house and lot that we own.
 Have oven and air conditioning unit.
 Owns a vehicle.
 Parents working as manager, executive, OFW or public official.
- Living in a small house & lot that we own.
 Have refrigerator and air conditioning unit.
 Parents working as private or government employees.
- Living in a small house or apartment that we rent.
 Have refrigerator and electric fan.
 Parents working as private or government employees like teachers.
- Living in a room or apartment shared with other people.
 Have television and radio.
 Parents working as laborers, servants, etc.
- Living in slum areas or barong-barong.
 Parents work part time or sometimes not at all.
 Do not have enough to eat full meals everyday.

13. Comparing yourself and your family situation with others, which of the following statements apply to:

A. Your classmates?

- I'm better off than most of my classmates.
 I'm in about the same situation with my classmates.
 I'm worse off than most of my classmates.

B. Your neighbors?

- I'm better off than most of my neighbors.
 I'm in about the same situation with most of my neighbors.

I'm worse off than most of my neighbors.

C. Your relatives?

- I'm better off than most of my relatives.
- I'm in about the same situation with most of my relatives.
- I'm worse off than most of my relatives.

C. Sports

1. Which of the following sports activities are you interested to learn? Name top 3.

_____ Basketball _____ Baseball _____ Dancing
 _____ Volleyball _____ Badminton _____ Soccer
 _____ Swimming _____ Track & Field _____ Taekwondo

2. Do you have any knowledge or experience in any or all of the top 3?

- Yes No

If yes, which ones? _____

3. How many hours a day do you play or do sports so that you breathe hard and sweat a lot?

- None at all
- Less than one hour
- Two to three hours
- Four to five hours
- More than five hours

4. How many days in a week do you play or do sports?

- None at all
- One day
- Two or three days
- Four to five days
- More than five days

Self – Confidence

Teacher directions: Read the statements out one by one slow and make sure that every students understand that there are no correct answers and that what is interesting are how they themselves feel!!

False	Most ly false	Some Time s True / false	Most ly True	True
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1	I am good looking	o	o	o	o	o
2	I am good in all school subjects	o	o	o	o	o
3	If I had better situation in life, I will probably be able to go further.	o	o	o	o	o
4	I can run fast	o	o	o	o	o
5	I have a lot of friends	o	o	o	o	o
6	My parents understand me	o	o	o	o	o
7	I like the way I look	o	o	o	o	o
8	I enjoy doing work in all school subjects	o	o	o	o	o
9	I can be anyone I want to be	o	o	o	o	o
10	I like to run and play hard	o	o	o	o	o
11	I make friends easily	o	o	o	o	o
12	I have a pleasant looking face	o	o	o	o	o
13	I like my parents	o	o	o	o	o
14	I get good marks in all school subjects	o	o	o	o	o
15	I am a nice looking person	o	o	o	o	o
16	I can become anything I want to become	o	o	o	o	o
17	My parents like me	o	o	o	o	o
18	I enjoy sports and game	o	o	o	o	o
19	I get along with kids easily	o	o	o	o	o

20	I do a lot of important things	0	0	0	0	0
21	If I work hard enough I can achieve my dreams	0	0	0	0	0
22	I learn things quickly in all school subjects	0	0	0	0	0
23	If I have children of my own, I want to bring them up like my parents raised me	0	0	0	0	0
24	I have good muscles	0	0	0	0	0
25	I am easy to like	0	0	0	0	0
26	All opportunities are open for me	0	0	0	0	0
27	Other kids think I am good looking	0	0	0	0	0
28	My parents and I spend a lot of time together	0	0	0	0	0
29	I am interested in all school subjects	0	0	0	0	0
30	I am good at sports	0	0	0	0	0
31	God will not abandon me. He will help me achieve my dreams	0	0	0	0	0
32	Other kids want me to be their friend	0	0	0	0	0
33	In general, I like being the way I am	0	0	0	0	0
34	I have a good-looking body	0	0	0	0	0
35	My parents are easy to talk to	0	0	0	0	0
36	I can run a long way without stopping	0	0	0	0	0
37	I have more friends than most other kids	0	0	0	0	0
38	Overall I have a lot to be proud of	0	0	0	0	0
39	I am better looking than most other kids	0	0	0	0	0
40	I get along with my parents	0	0	0	0	0
41	I look forward to all school subjects	0	0	0	0	0
42	I am a good athlete	0	0	0	0	0
43	I am popular with kids my own age	0	0	0	0	0
44	My life has already been predetermined	0	0	0	0	0
45	I have nice features like my nose, and eyes, and hair	0	0	0	0	0
46	My parents and I have a lot of fun together	0	0	0	0	0
47	Work in all school subjects is easy for me	0	0	0	0	0
48	I am good at throwing a ball	0	0	0	0	0
49	If so will, I know I can achieve a lot of things in my life	0	0	0	0	0
50	I can do things as well as most other people	0	0	0	0	0
51	Most other kids like me	0	0	0	0	0
52	Other people think I am a good person	0	0	0	0	0
53	I like all school subjects	0	0	0	0	0
54	A lot of things about me are good	0	0	0	0	0
55	I don't have any choice in life but just to take what ever is handed over to me by God	0	0	0	0	0
56	I'm as good as most other people	0	0	0	0	0
57	I can be physically active for a long period of time without getting tired	0	0	0	0	0
58	When I do somethings. I do it well	0	0	0	0	0

Sarili

1. Pangalan _____ 2. Lalaki Babae

3. Edad _____

C. Pamilya

1. Sino ang mga kasama mo sa bahay? (Markahan)

- Lolo Tatay Kapatid na lalaki Tito/Tita
- Lola Nanay Kapatid na babae Mga Pinsan

2. Kasama mo ba sa iyong tirahan ang iyong pamilya? o mga kamag-anak?

3. Ilan ang iyong mga kapatid na lalaki at babae? _____ lalaki / _____ babae

4. Sa mga sumusunod, saan nabibilang ang iyong tirahan?

- Apartment Townhouse Condo
- Kwarto-kuwarto Squatters Area Pabahay ng Gobyerno
- Di ko alam _____

5. Sapat ba ang inyong pagkain para sa:

	<u>Sapat</u>	<u>Kulang</u>	<u>Minsan Sapat, Minsan Kulang</u>
Almusal o Agahan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tanghalian	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hapunan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Merienda	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. Kelan ka huling nanood ng pelikula sa sinehan?

- Ngayong linggong ito
- Nakaraang linggo
- Nakaraang buwan
- Di ko na maalala
- Di pa ako nakapunta sa sinehan

7. Gusto mo bang matuto ng isa o dalawang laro sa isports at maging mahusay dito?

- Oo
- Hindi
- Di ko masabi

8. Meron bang sapat na pera ang iyong pamilya para sa mga sumusunod?

	Meron	Wala	Di ko masabi
Uniporme	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sapatos	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pagsasanay o Training	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mga kagamitan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

9. Kung kaya ng iyong pamilya na suportahan ang iyong pagsali sa isports o kung merong sponsor na handing tumulong sa iyo, sasali ka ba?

- Oo
- Hindi
- Di ko masabi

10. Alin sa mga sumusunod ang mga kagamitan na makikita sa inyong tirahan? Markahan.

Appliances

- Telebisyon Refrigerator Radyo DVD Player
- Oven Gas Stove (ilang burners? _____) Computer
- Washing machine Rice cooker Air-Conditioner Electric Fan

Kasangkapan

Sofa Set Kama Dining Set

Sasakyan

Kotse o Van Jeepney Tricycle Motorbike
 Bisikleta

11. Sa iyong palagay, alin sa mga sumusunod ang naglalarawan sa iyong pamilya?

- Nakatira sa isang mansyon.
Madaming appliances at kagamitan.
May tatlo o higit pa na mga sasakyan.
May tatlo o higit pang bilang ng mga katulong.
May malaking negosyo.
- Nakatira sa isang malaking bahay.
May dalawa o tatlong sasakyan.
May sariling negosyo.
Ang mga magulang ay nagtatrabaho bilang doctor o abogado.
- Nakatira sa hindi masyadong malaki ngunit sariling bahay.
May oven at air conditioning unit.
May kotse o van.
Nagtatrabaho ang mga magulang sa ibang bansa, bilang manager o politiko.
- Nakatira sa isang maliit ngunit sariling bahay at lupa.
May refrigerator at air conditioning unit.
Nagtatrabaho ang mga magulang bilang empleyado sa pribadong kumpanya o gobyerno.
- Nakatira sa isang inuupahang apartment o bahay na maliit.
May refrigerator at electric fan.
Nagtatrabaho ang mga magulang bilang empleyado sa pribadong kumpanya o gobyerno.
- Nakatira sa isang maliit na kwarto o isang bahay kasama ng iba pang pamilya.
May TV at radio.
Ang mga magulang ay nagtatrabaho bilang construction worker, katulong, at iba pa.
- Nakatira sa squatters area at barong-barong.
Walang hanapbuhay ang mga magulang.
Hindi nakakakain nang sapat sa loob ng isang araw.

12. Kung ikukumpara mo ang iyong sarili sa iba, alin sa mga sumusunod na pangungusap ang naglalarawan sa iyo?

A. Sa iyong mga kamag-aral?

- Mas maginhawa ang aking buhay kesa sa aking mga kaklase.
- Magkatulad ang buhay ko at ng aking mga kaklase.
- Mas mahirap ang aking buhay kesa sa aking mga kaklase.

B. Sa iyong mga kapitbahay?

- Mas maginhawa ang aking buhay kesa sa aking mga kapitbahay.
- Magkatulad ang buhay ko at ng aking mga kapitbahay.
- Mas mahirap ang aking buhay kesa sa aking mga kapitbahay.

C. Sa iyong mga kamag-anak?

- Mas maginhawa ang aking buhay kesa sa aking mga kamag-anak.
- Magkatulad ang buhay ko at ng aking mga kamag-anak.
- Mas mahirap ang aking buhay kesa sa aking mga kamag-anak

C. Isports

5. Alin sa mga sumusunod na isports ang gusto mong matutunan? Markahan ang tatlo (3) na gusto mong matutunan.

<input type="checkbox"/> Basketball	<input type="checkbox"/> Baseball	<input type="checkbox"/> Pagsasayaw
<input type="checkbox"/> Volleyball	<input type="checkbox"/> Badminton	<input type="checkbox"/> Soccer
<input type="checkbox"/> Paglangoy	<input type="checkbox"/> Track & Field	<input type="checkbox"/> Taekwondo

6. May sapat ka bang kaalaman o karanasan sa mga larong pinili mo?

Meron Wala

 Kung meron, anong laro ito? _____

7. Ilang oras ka naglalaro sa isang araw kung saan hinihinal ka at pinagpapawisan?
 - Hindi ako naglalaro.
 - Wala pang isang oras.
 - Dalawa hanggang tatlong oras.
 - Apat hanggang limang oras.
 - Mahigit sa limang oras.

8. Ilang araw kang naglalaro o sumasali sa isports sa loob ng isang linggo?
 - Hindi ako naglalaro.
 - Isang araw.
 - Dalawa hanggang tatlong araw.
 - Apat hanggang limang araw.
 - Mahigit sa limang araw

D. Tiwala sa sarili

	Mali ng Mali	M ali	Mins an Mali / Mins an Tama	Ta ma	Tama ng tama
1	o	o	o	o	o
2	o	o	o	o	o
3	o	o	o	o	o
4	o	o	o	o	o
5	o	o	o	o	o
6	o	o	o	o	o
7	o	o	o	o	o
8	o	o	o	o	o
9	o	o	o	o	o
10	o	o	o	o	o
11	o	o	o	o	o
12	o	o	o	o	o
13	o	o	o	o	o
14	o	o	o	o	o
15	o	o	o	o	o
16	o	o	o	o	o
17	o	o	o	o	o
18	o	o	o	o	o
19	o	o	o	o	o

20	Madami akong mahahalaga at makabuluhang Gawain	o	o	o	o	o
21	Kung ako ay magsisikap, maaabot ko ang aking mga pangarap	o	o	o	o	o
22	Mabilis akong matuto sa lahat ng subjects sa paaralan	o	o	o	o	o
23	Pagdating ng araw na may anak na ako, palalakin ko sila tulad ng ginawang pagpapalaki sa akin ng aking mga magulang	o	o	o	o	o
24	Ako ay may malakas na pangangatawan	o	o	o	o	o
25	Ako ay madaling magustuhan ng ibang bata	o	o	o	o	o
26	Kaya kong gawin ang lahat para sa akin mga pangarap	o	o	o	o	o
27	Ayon sa ibang mga bata, ako ay may kaaya-ayang anyo	o	o	o	o	o
28	Ang aking pamilya ay laging magkakasama	o	o	o	o	o
29	Ako ay interesado sa lahat ng subjects sa paaralan	o	o	o	o	o
30	Ako ay magaling sa isports	o	o	o	o	o
				Mins		
	*New page on original questionnaire	Mali	M	an	Ta	Tama
		ng	ali	Mali /	ma	ng
		Mali		Mins		tama
				an		
				Tama		
31	Hindi ako papabayaang ng Diyos. Tutulongan niya ako marating ang aking mga pangarap	o	o	o	o	o
32	Gusto akong maging kaibigan ng ibang mga bata	o	o	o	o	o
33	Sa kabuuan, gusto ko ang aking mga katangian	o	o	o	o	o
34	Ako ay may magandang pangangatawan	o	o	o	o	o
35	Madaling lapitan at kausap ang aking mga magulang	o	o	o	o	o
36	Kaya kong tumakbo nang matalag at tuloy-tuloy	o	o	o	o	o
37	Mas marami akang kaibigan kumpara sa ibang mga bata	o	o	o	o	o
38	Sa kabuuan, madami akong mga katangian na maipagmamalaki	o	o	o	o	o
39	Ako ay may mas magandang anyo kumpara sa nakarami sa aking mga kaibigan	o	o	o	o	o
40	Kasundo ko ang aking mga magulang sa lahat ng bagay	o	o	o	o	o
41	Araw-araw, excited ako para sa lahat ng aking subjects	o	o	o	o	o
42	Ako ay isang mahusay na manlalaro	o	o	o	o	o
43	Ako ay popular at kilala ng mga bata na kasing-edad ko	o	o	o	o	o
44	Ang lahat ng bagay sa aking buhay ay nakatakda at hindi na magbabago	o	o	o	o	o
45	Ako ay may magandang katangiang pisikal tulad ng aking ilong, mata at buhok	o	o	o	o	o
46	Marami kaming mga masasayang gawain kasama ng aking mga magulang	o	o	o	o	o
47	Madali para sa akin ang mga Gawain sa lahat ng subjects	o	o	o	o	o
48	Ako ay mahusay sa paghagis ng bola	o	o	o	o	o
49	Kung magiging determinado ako, matutupad ko ang aking mga pangarap	o	o	o	o	o
50	Mahusay ako sa mga gawain tulad ng ibang tao	o	o	o	o	o
51	Gusto ako nang halos lahat ng mag-aaral	o	o	o	o	o
52	Para sa iba, ako ay isang mabuting bata	o	o	o	o	o
53	Gusto ko lahat ng subjects na itinuturo sa paaralan	o	o	o	o	o
54	Marami akong magandang katangian	o	o	o	o	o
55	Wala akong magagawa kundi tanggapin ang ibigay sa akin ng Diyos	o	o	o	o	o
56	Ako ay mahusay tulad ng nakarami	o	o	o	o	o
57	Hindi ako mapapagod kahit madami akong ginagawa nang walang pahinga	o	o	o	o	o
58	Pinagbubuti ko ang lahat ng aking gawain	o	o	o	o	o

Appendix 3 – Parental Questionnaire

A letter for the parents of Grade 4 pupils in ... Elementary School involved in the “Let Children Be Children” Sports Program, from the Sports Directress, Ms. Terese Wilhelmsen

A pleasant day to you! I, Terese Wilhelmsen, from Norway, am helping Kamuning Elementary School to provide various activities that will promote sports appreciation among 400 Grade 4 pupils, one of whom is your child.

In the past three months, we allow the kids to get the opportunity to develop their physical and mental health, and gain experiences in active sports. This is by permitting the kids to engage in different sports activities for at least an hour each week. This program aims to promote the spirit of teamwork in order to enjoy the benefits of a healthy and active body that will help them in their growth and learning process.

I (together with my parents who will be visiting this wonderful country that has already left a mark in my life for the first time) am also planning to have a simple gathering for all of us on the 30th of December. This may serve as an avenue for parents to get to know each other as we celebrate the upcoming New Year’s Eve. We will communicate with you regarding this on the first week of December.

For the meantime, however, we would like to ask for your help by filling this short survey that we have for the parents of pupils involved in the said sports program. With your support we hope to get a greater insight into the children’s daily activities. All information given will be kept confidential. We would also want to inform you that we are interested to conduct an interview with the children in order to gain an understanding of their sports skills and interests, as well as the sports they want to learn more.

I am very thankful for the opportunity to know and help your kids engage in active sports to arouse their interest and gain efficiency. With our joined efforts to help them, may they learn to know how to treasure their own health and maintain an active lifestyle as they grow up.

Thank you so much for your support. Maraming Salamat po!

Terese Wilhelmsen

Reply Slip: Please check(/) if you agree with the statement and cross (X) if not.

Child’s Name: _____

Date: _____

Parent’s Name: _____

___ We appreciate your help to our children and for including them in your program.

___ We fully support the study and interview that you conduct in the form of survey in order to know the appropriate sports program for the kids, as well as for the youth in the years to come.

___ I am interested to volunteer in your advocate to promote sports among children.

Questionnaire for the Parents/Guardians

Fill out by checking the correct box for you.

	Mother/orGuardian	Father/ orGuardian	1 Grandparents (if any)
Age (write the age)	_____	_____	_____
Education			
None	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grade school/High school	Grade <input type="checkbox"/> / High <input type="checkbox"/>	Grade <input type="checkbox"/> / High <input type="checkbox"/>	Grade <input type="checkbox"/> / High <input type="checkbox"/>
College/University	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Occupation Be as precise as possible	_____	_____	_____
Full time / Part time	Full <input type="checkbox"/> / Part <input type="checkbox"/>	Full <input type="checkbox"/> / Part <input type="checkbox"/>	Full <input type="checkbox"/> / Part <input type="checkbox"/>
Approximate monthly income			
P5000 or less	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
P5000 -10 000	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
P10,000-15,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
P15,000-20,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
P20,000-25,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
P25,000 or more	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Number of children in 1st Marriage	_____	_____	Total number of children in the family: _____
2. Marriage (if any)	_____	_____	

Please Check which applies to you on these:		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	Physical activity is important for youth development	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	Children learn important values with sport participation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	Sport are just games that children play	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	Some physical activities are not appropriate for girls	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	Some physical activities are not appropriate for boys	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6	PE is an important subject in school for children	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

****If you agreed on statement number 4 or 5:** What forms of physical activity are not appropriate:

for girls? _____

for boys? _____

Activity: Do you participate in any form of sports activity during the week? Oo Hindi

If Oo, what kind of physical activity? _____

1. Did you notice any change in your child over the past 3 months since he/she started the sports program?

Oo Hindi Can't say/Not Sure If Oo, what: _____

2. Do you think children should be allowed to engage in PE more often and be allowed to learn the sport activity they wish to get involved in? Oo Hindi If no, why not? _____

3. Do you have the money to spend for any or all of the following if your child wishes to join a sport program this summer? Uniforms: Oo Hindi / Shoes: Oo Hindi / Lessons: Oo Hindi

Thank you.

Isang liham sa mga magulang ng Grade 4 pupils ng ... Elementary School na kasali sa programang "Let Children Be Children" Sports Program, mula sa tumutulong na sports director na si Binibining Teresa Wilhelmsen.

Magandang Araw Po Sa Inyo! Ako po, si Teresa Wilhelmsen na taga-Norway, ay tumutulong sa Kamuning Elementary School na itaguyod ang sports appreciation sa halos 400 na mga Grade 4 pupils at kabilang po dito ang inyong anak.

Sa nakaraang tatlong buwan, binigyan namin ng pagkakataong maglaro ng iba't ibang uri ng sports ang mga bata sa loob ng halos isang oras kada-linggo upang mapagbuti ang kanilang kalusugan, kaisipan at karanasan sa larangan ng "active sports". Hangarin namin sa programang ito na matuto sila ng teamwork o tamang samahan at makamtan nila ang biyayang dulot ng isang malusog at aktibong katawan upang makatulong sa kanilang paglaki at pag-aaral.

Sa Disyembre 30 naman po, sa pagdating ng aking mga magulang upang bisitahin sa unang pagkakataon ang magandang bansang napamahal na sa akin, inisip po namin na magkaroon ng munting pagtitipon upang magkakila-kilala lahat ng magulang at magkaroon ng kaunting kasayahan sa nalalapit ng bagong taon. Susulatan po namin kayo tungkol dito sa unang linggo ng Disyembre.

Sa ngayon, ibig po sana naming hingin ang inyong tulong sa pamamagitan ng pagsasagot sa maikling survey na ito na inihanda namin para sa mga magulang ng mga batang kasama sa naturang programa. At nais po naming ipaalam sa inyo na ibig din po naming ma-interview ang bawat bata upang maintindihan kung ano ang hilig nilang sports, ano ang kanilang nakasanayan na at ano ang mga nais pa nilang matutuhang sports. Bawat interview ay makatutulong na intindihin kung ano ang pangarap ng mga bata. Makatutulong ang mga survey sa aming ginagawang pagsusuri at pag-aaral ng angkop na programang maaaring gawin sa mga susunod na taon.

Ako po ay nagpapasalamat sa pagkakataong makilala at matulungan ang inyong anak upang maging mahusay sila at ganahang matuto at maging aktibo sa sports. Harinawa kapag pinagtulungan nating lahat ang paglingap sa mga bata, sa paglaki nila, mabibigyan nila ng halaga ang kanilang kalusugan at aktibong pamumuhay. Maraming salamat po sa inyong pagtulong at pakikisama.

Terese Wilhelmsen

Reply Slip: Paki Check Kung Sang-ayon / X Kung Hindi

Petsa _____ Pangalan: Anak _____
Magulang _____

___ Nagpapasalamat po kami sa pagtulong ninyo sa aming anak at pagsama niya sa inyong Programa

___ Suportado po namin ang pag-aaral at pag-interview ng aming anak sa pamamaraan ng survey upang malaman kung ano ang angkop na sports program sa kanila at sa mga susunod na kabataan.

___ Nais ko pong mag-volunteer sa inyong adhikaing i-promote ang Sports sa mga bata.

Katanungan para sa mga Magulang/ Guardian

Sagutan sa pamamagitan ng paglalagay ng check sa kahong akma sa inyo.

	Nanay/Guardian	Tatay/Guardian	Lolo/Lola (kung mayroon)
Edad (isulat ang edad)	_____	_____	_____
Edukasyon			
Wala	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Elementarya/ Sekondarya	Elementarya <input type="checkbox"/> / Sekondarya <input type="checkbox"/>	Elementarya <input type="checkbox"/> / Sekondarya <input type="checkbox"/>	Elementarya <input type="checkbox"/> / Sekondarya <input type="checkbox"/>
Kolehiyo/Unibersidad	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hanapbuhay Isulat ang tiyak na trabaho	_____	_____	_____
Full time / Part time	Full <input type="checkbox"/> / Part <input type="checkbox"/>	Full <input type="checkbox"/> / Part <input type="checkbox"/>	Full <input type="checkbox"/> / Part <input type="checkbox"/>
Kita sa loob ng isang buwan			
P5,000 o mas mababa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
P5,000 -10,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
P10,000-15,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
P15,000-20,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
P20,000-25,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
P25,000 or more	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bilang ng anak sa Unang Asawa Pangalawa (kung mayroon)	_____	_____	Kabuuang Bilang ng mga anak sa pamilya: _____

Maki-check sa angkop na kahon base sa mga sumusunod na pahayag	Mahigpit na Di Sumasang-ayon	Hindi Sumasang-ayon	Neutral	Sumasang-ayon	Mahigpit na Sumasang-ayon
1 Ang physical activities ay mahalaga sa pag-unlad ng kabataan.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2 Ang mga bata ay natututo ng mahahalagang values/ ugali sa pamamagitan ng pagsali sa isports.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3 Ang isports ay nilalaro lamang ng mga bata.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4 May ilang gawaing pisikal na hindi akma para sa mga babae.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5 May ilang gawaing pisikal na hindi akma para sa mga lalaki.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6 Ang PE ay isang mahalagang subject sa paaralan.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**Kung kayo po ay sumasang-ayon sa pahayag bilang 4 o 5: Anong uri ng gawaing pisikal ang hindi akma: para sa mga babae? _____ para sa mga lalaki? _____

Activity: Kayo ba ay nakikilahok sa anumang uri ng gawaing pang-isports sa nakalipas na linggo? Oo Hindi

Kung oo: Anong uri ng gawaing pang-isports? _____

May napuna po ba kayong anumang uri ng pagbabago sa inyong anak sa nakalipas na 3 buwan simula nang siya ay makilahok sa programang pang-isports?

Mayroon Wala Hindi ko masabi/ Hindi sigurado

Kung mayroon, anu po ito: _____

Sa palagay po ninyo, dapat bang hayaan ang mga batang mag-PE nang mas madalas at matuto ng gawaing pang-isports na ibig nilang lahukan?

Oo Hindi Kung hindi, bakit?? _____

May kakayahan po ba ang pamilyang gastusan ang mga sumusunod kung sakaling ibig ng inyong anak na sumali sa Programang Pang-isports sa darating na bakasyon?

Uniporme: Oo Hindi / Sapatos: Oo Hindi / Klase/Pagsasanay: Oo Hindi

Salamat.

Appendix 4 - Variable overview and Operationalization

Tabel I Data matrix over variables used in construction of the final regression model

NO	Item's Text	Coding=Answer alternatives	Recoded into:	Final variable/Index
1	How many days in a week do you play or do sports?	0=None at all 1=One day 2=Two to three days 3=Four to five days 4=More than five		Physical activity Level
2	Gender	0=Boys 1=Girls		Gender
3	Social Class (see children's questionnaire, question..., appendix xxx)	Long text, in order to see complete text, see appendix xxx 1=E 4=Cc 7=A 2=D 5=Cb 3=Cc 6=B	DUMMY CODED 0=Low <u>Coded as 1=0, 2=0</u> 1= High <u>Coded as 3=1, 4=1, 5=1, 6=1, 7=1</u>	Social Class (ABCD)
4	Compare yourself and your family situation with your classmates, which of the following statements apply?	1=I'm worse of than ... 2=I'm about the same situation 3=I'm better of than	DUMMY CODED 0 = Worse of than <u>Coded as: 1=1, 2=0, 3=0</u> 1=I'm about the same situation <u>Coded as: 1=0, 2=1, 3=0</u> 1=I'm better of than <u>Coded as: 1=0, 2=0, 3=0</u>	Subjective Poverty Level
5	<u>Social Capital Index</u> I like my parents My parents like me If I have children of my own, I want to bring them up like my parents raised me My parents are easy to talk to I have a lot of friends I make friends easily I get along with kids easily Other kids want me to be their friend I have more friends than most other kids	1=False 2=Mostly False 3=Sometimes True /False 4=Mostly True 5=True Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid. Ibid.		
6	Mothers education level	0=None 1=Grade School 2=High School 3=College/University		Mothers Education
7	Father education level	Ibid.		Fathers Education
8	Mothers monthly income	0=None	See appendix 7	Economical

		1=P5,000 or less 2=P5,000 – 10,000 3=P10,000 – 15,000 4=P15,000 – 20,000 5=P20,000 – 25,000 6=P25,000 or more		Capital
9	Father monthly income	Ibid.	See appendix 7	Economical Capital
10	Some physical activities are not appropriate for boys	1=Strongly disagree 2=Disagree 3=Neutral 4=Agree 5=Strongly agree		Parental perception of inappropriate physical activity
11	Some physical activities are not appropriate for girls	Ibid.		Parental perception of inappropriate physical activity

Appendix 5 - Index Construction

The final regression model consists of 3 indexes. This appendix shows the construction process of index development with results shown in table 2 below. See appendix 2 for the structure of the statements in the child-questionnaire

The index has gone through a process of controlling that the variables' answer-alternatives constituting the index are equal in numbers, meaning and moreover that the direction of the answer alternatives are the same (negative towards positive). Moreover have all variables been analyzed by employing correlation analysis, factor analysis and reliability analysis to make sure that the final index passes the requirements for a 'good/approved/reliable index'.

Table 2 Final Indexes

Variables	Social Capital	
	Factor Value	α if item deleted
I have a lot of friends	.512	.771
I make friends easily	.630	.755
I like my parents	.609	.761
My parents like me	.667	.751
I get along with kids easily	.606	.759
If I have children of my own, I want to bring them up like my parents raised me	.667	.754
Other kids want to be my friends	.584	.762
My parents are easy to talk to	.652	.753
I have more friends than most other kids	.535	.769
No of Items	9	
EigenValue Total	3.340	
KMO	.849***.	
Cronbachs Alpha	.780	

Social Capital Index

*** Significance level 0.001

An explorative factor analysis was used on peer relationship and parental relationships items found in the SDQ part of the questionnaire to explore if underlying components might connect some of these items. Table 2 shows the results of the final analysis. However, two factor analysis had to be run before I could come up with a 'clean' and meaningful scale. The first factor analysis of all item showed three underlying components found among the items chosen. The first component consisted of mainly parental relationship items, the second a mix of both parental and peer relationship items and the third just a few (4) peer relationship items. Since the idea was to explore if these items could be used to create a Social Capital Index for the respondents, I chose to use the items in the second components. According to Eikmo and Clausen (2007) should items with values over 0.3 within two or more components be considered to be taken out of the analysis. This is believed to clean up the structure

of the factor analysis. However, they moreover emphasize that this should only be done if it is found to be theoretically justified. There were three items with higher than 0.3 in two components: *My parents like me*, *My parents are easy to talk to* and *I am easy to like*. After looking at the question text of the items I chose to keep two of them in the final Index (*My parents like me* and *My parents are easy to talk to*).

Hence, a new factor analysis was utilized with the remaining items composing component 2 in the first analysis and the results are shown in table 2. Only one underlying component was found in this analysis and this component is what makes up the Social Capital Index. The values of the final index are in bolded text and show KMO values and if the Bartlett test was significant.

A reliability test was run on the remaining items and the results are shown in table 2. The bolded index line shows Cronbach's alpha values for all items, while Cronbach's alpha if item deleted are shown on the individual items.

Appendix 6 – Crosstab cultural capital and ABCDE

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
M_education * ABCDE	211	55.2%	171	44.8%	382	100.0%

M_education * ABCDE Crosstabulation

			ABCDE						Total
			E	D	Cc	Cb	Ca	B	
M_education	None	Count	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
		% within ABCDE	.0%	2.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.9%
		% of Total	.0%	.9%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.9%
Grade School	Count	Count	5	13	7	3	1	0	29
		% within ABCDE	23.8%	16.5%	11.1%	9.1%	8.3%	.0%	13.7%
		% of Total	2.4%	6.2%	3.3%	1.4%	.5%	.0%	13.7%
High School	Count	Count	8	40	22	8	3	1	82
		% within ABCDE	38.1%	50.6%	34.9%	24.2%	25.0%	33.3%	38.9%
		% of Total	3.8%	19.0%	10.4%	3.8%	1.4%	.5%	38.9%
College/University	Count	Count	8	24	34	22	8	2	98
		% within ABCDE	38.1%	30.4%	54.0%	66.7%	66.7%	66.7%	46.4%
		% of Total	3.8%	11.4%	16.1%	10.4%	3.8%	.9%	46.4%
Total	Count	Count	21	79	63	33	12	3	211
		% within ABCDE	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	10.0%	37.4%	29.9%	15.6%	5.7%	1.4%	100.0%

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Asymp. Std. Error ^a	Approx. T ^b	Approx. Sig. ^c
Interval by Interval Pearson's R	.250	.062	3.732	.000 ^c
Ordinal by Ordinal Spearman Correlation	.271	.065	4.075	.000 ^c
N of Valid Cases	211			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Based on normal approximation.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
F_education * ABCDE	172	45.0%	210	55.0%	382	100.0%

F_education * ABCDE Crosstabulation

			ABCDE					Total	
			E	D	Cc	Cb	Ca		B
F_education	None	Count	2	2	0	0	0	0	4
		% within ABCDE	12.5%	3.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	2.3%
		% of Total	1.2%	1.2%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	2.3%
	Grade School	Count	3	10	6	3	1	0	23
		% within ABCDE	18.8%	15.4%	12.2%	9.7%	12.5%	.0%	13.4%
		% of Total	1.7%	5.8%	3.5%	1.7%	.6%	.0%	13.4%
	High School	Count	5	33	16	10	3	1	68
		% within ABCDE	31.3%	50.8%	32.7%	32.3%	37.5%	33.3%	39.5%
		% of Total	2.9%	19.2%	9.3%	5.8%	1.7%	.6%	39.5%
College/University	Count	6	20	27	18	4	2	77	
	% within ABCDE	37.5%	30.8%	55.1%	58.1%	50.0%	66.7%	44.8%	
	% of Total	3.5%	11.6%	15.7%	10.5%	2.3%	1.2%	44.8%	
Total	Count	16	65	49	31	8	3	172	
	% within ABCDE	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	9.3%	37.8%	28.5%	18.0%	4.7%	1.7%	100.0%	

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Asymp. Std. Error ^a	Approx. T ^b	Approx. Sig.
Interval by Interval Pearson's R	.231	.071	3.090	.002 ^c
Ordinal by Ordinal Spearman Correlation	.233	.074	3.124	.002 ^c
N of Valid Cases	172			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Based on normal approximation.

Appendix 7 – Development of economical capital variable

The variable created is based on the computations:

Economical capital = Paternal monthly income and if system missing use maternal monthly income

Tables on Paired Sample

Paired Samples Statistics

	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
P 1 F_monthly_income	1.86	66	1.036	.128
M_monthly_income	1.98	66	1.353	.167

Paired Samples Correlations

	N	Correlation	Sig.
P 1 F_monthly_income & M_monthly_income	66	.547	.000

Paired Samples Test

		Paired Differences				t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference				
					Lower				Upper
P 1	F_monthly_income - M_monthly_income	-.121	1.170	.144	-.409	.166	-.841	65	.403

Through the tables introduced above we can see that mean and standard deviation between maternal and paternal income is very similar. Moreover are the two variables significantly correlating. Moving on to the paired sample T-test we can see that there is no significant difference between the two variables, thus, the distribution between maternal and paternal income in the data matrix is very similar. These analysis indicate that filling in maternal monthly income whereas paternal monthly income is missing is a possible way of creating a new variable of economical income. However we are still just measuring one of the family members income. It is therefore important to see whether or not there are differences between household income whereas families has reported one or two incomes. Thus, by creating another variable that differentiated between respondents on whether or not the parents had reported one or two incomes we could explore this relationship with the use of T-test. This variable was created by the computations:

IF ((sysmis(F_monthly_income) and not(sysmis(M_monthly_income))) or (not(sysmis(F_monthly_income)) and sysmis(M_monthly_income))) no_income=1. And IF (not(sysmis(F_monthly_income)) and not(sysmis(M_monthly_income))) no_income=2.

T-Test

Group Statistics

	Number of income reg	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
F_monthly_income	dimensi 1.00	94	2.07	1.129	.116
	on1 2.00	66	1.86	1.036	.128
M_monthly_income	dimensi 1.00	68	1.82	1.158	.140

ncome	onl	2.00	66	1.98	1.353	.167
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Independent Samples Test

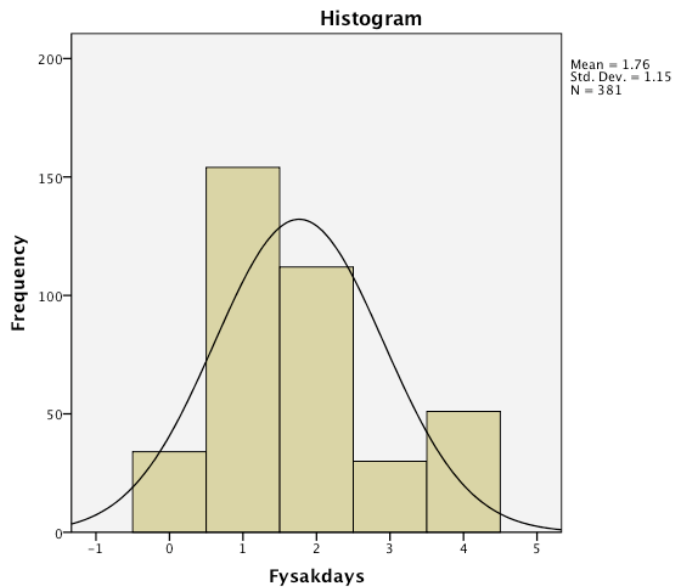
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
F_monthly_income	Equal variances assumed	.000	1.000	1.203	158	.231	.211	.175	-.135	.557
	Equal variances not assumed			1.221	147.082	.224	.211	.173	-.130	.552
M_monthly_income	Equal variances assumed	.168	.683	-.742	132	.459	-.161	.217	-.591	.269
	Equal variances not assumed			-.740	127.683	.460	-.161	.218	-.592	.270

The important information we can read from this is that there is no significant difference between the distribution of incomes that has reported just as maternal or paternal income, than distribution of income based on both paternal and maternal income.

Thus I argue that creating a new variable named economical capital variable based on paternal income with maternal income used if system missing still gives reliable information based on the data materic and creates a better measure of economical capital in that more respondents are brought into the final regression model.

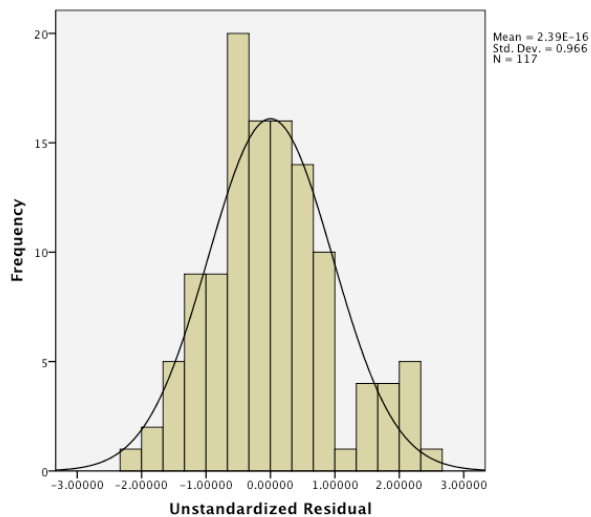
Appendix 8 - Test of requirements of linear regression (OLS)

Figure 1 Histogram of dependent variable Physical Activity Level



The first test was of *normal distribution of residuals (the errors)*. The premise is that the distance between observation and prediction should follow normal distribution. A miss match of distribution of residuals can affect the outcome and reliability of t- and F-tests only in data based on small sampling size (Eikemo & Clausen, 2007:113). A histogram of the normal distribution of the residuals was run and the results are shown in figure 2.

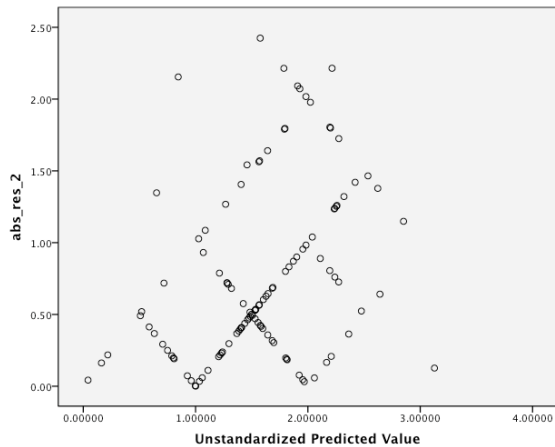
Figure 2 Histogram of the final regression model. Test of normal distribution of residuals



As shown in figure 2 above can we see that the residuals are fairly normal distributed, hence no mathematic changes using exponent notations are needed to improve the model. However, since the sampling size is relatively low in this case, the premise of normal distribution of residuals might have a larger impact on the final regression model than in data based on larger sampling size.

The second requirement is *absence of heteroscedasticity*. Heteroscedasticity appears when the variance in the residuals is not constant.

Figure 3 Test for heteroscedasticity – scatter plot



By the look of figure 3 are the variance of the residuals looks homoscedastistically distributed. However, to get a yes/no answer Whites test was used. By square rooting the unstandarized residuals and using it as a dependent variable instead of physical activity level, the results of the R^2 were 0.157. Whites equation for testing heteroscedasticity after running a regression with the square rooted residuals is $X^2=n*R^2$ (Eikmo & Clausen, 2007:121). The N of the linear regression model is 117 and $df=11$.

$$\begin{aligned} X^2 &= 117 * 0.157 \\ X^2 &= 18.37 \end{aligned}$$

By looking at the critical values of the Chi-square distribution we can see, as suggested by looking at the scatter plot shown in figure 5, that the distribution of the residuals in the model is homoscedastistically distributed.

The third requirement is *absence of auto-correlations*. Auto-correlation exists when there are correlations between values within the same variable (Eikmo & Clausen, 2007: 124). This is not a common problem seen in data based on individual respondent with one observation per unit, however, the test is easily run by looking at Durbin Watson values, whereas values close to 2 equals no problem with auto-correlations.

Figure 4: Model Summary – Exploring absence of auto-correlations through Durbin Watson test

Model Summary^b

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Durbin-Watson
dimen 1 sion0	.511 ^a	.261	.184	1.016	1.947

a. Predictors: (Constant), momednotapproboys, Experience, SocialCapitalFinished, poverhigh, Male, Fatherincome if present or else mothers income, LowFinalDE, F_education, povermed, M_education, momednotapprogirls

b. Dependent Variable: Fysakdays

Durbin-Watson values equals 1.947. Thus, the multiple regression analysis shows no problem of auto-correlation.

The forth requirement is *absence of multi-collineary*, meaning correlation between x-variables within the model (Eikmo & Clausen, 2007:125). Possible correlation between independent variables will be explored by conducting a tolerance test.

Coefficients^a

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardize d Coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
1 (Constant)	-1.010	.973		-1.039	.301		
Male	-.204	.195	-.091	-1.046	.298	.927	1.079
LowFinalDE	.168	.210	.075	.800	.426	.802	1.247
povermed	.160	.142	.142	1.127	.262	.439	2.280

poverhigh	.320	.099	.411	3.228	.002	.432	2.315
M_education	-.437	.183	-.260	-2.391	.019	.591	1.691
F_education	.322	.170	.208	1.897	.061	.582	1.718
Fatherincome if present or else mothers income	.028	.091	.028	.311	.756	.843	1.186
SocialCapitalFinished	.046	.021	.197	2.262	.026	.924	1.082
Experience	.513	.288	.153	1.781	.078	.947	1.056
Not appropriate boys	-.312	.138	-.262	-2.260	.026	.522	1.917
Not appropriate girls	.354	.137	.311	2.586	.011	.484	2.065

a. Dependent Variable: Fysakdays

According to the collinearity statistics and tolerance, all variables have relatively high tolerance values. Taking this into account there are no problem with multi-collinearity in the model.

Another requirement for linear regression is to test for non-linear correlation in the model. This has been tested by including several squared rooted variables into the model one at the time. The squared rooted variables were chosen by results from earlier research and logical connection that maybe could be seen in the data.

The last requirement is absence of influential units. Eikmo and Clausen (2007:133) define an influence unit as 'a units that will substantially change the outcome of the regression if they are left out'. The test used is Leverage and measures unusual combinations of values on x-variables in the model.

Residuals Statistics^a

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Centered Leverage Value	.035	.206	.094	.040	117

a. Dependent Variable: Fysakdays

According to Huber (1981 cited in Eikmo & Clausen, 1997:134) should values over 0.5 be avoided, values between 0.5-0.2 are risky and below 0.2 are useful. As shown is the average 0.094 and the values range between 0.035 and 0.206. Thus there were found no problem with influential units in the analysis.

Appendix 9 – Interview Guide 1

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Can you tell me a little bit about your self?

Helping question:

How many brothers or sister do you have?

Where do you live?

What is your favorite activity?

How many people live together with you?

Can you tell me a little bit about what you do on a normal day?

Helping question:

When do you get up?

What do you eat for breakfast?

Do you eat breakfast each day?

If not, why not?

How do you get to school?

What is your favorite subject?

How do get home from school?

Kan you tell me about what you do when you get home?

What games do you like to play?

Do you have any extra-curricular activity that you engage in every week?

PHYSICAL ACTIVITY PARTICIPATION AND EXPOSURE

Activity exposure and Physical activity level:

What games do you play after school with your friends?

Where do you play them? (On a basketball court, in the street etc.)

What is your favorite game when you play with other children?

Do you participate in any after school activities (organized: singing, dancing, sport, etc)?

What type of physical activities are you engaged in during the weekends?

What sport to you like to play?

Why do you like this particular sport?

Physical activity level/involvement of their family and peers

Are there anybody in the family that is physical active? Play sport other games etc?

What sport and why this sport?

Any friends who play any organized sports?

Where do they play?

Parental support:

The activities you mentioned earlier, are these activities being supported by your parents?

In what ways?

Do you do any activities with your family/parents during the weekends?

How do you spend your free time, if not involved in any forms of physical activities during the weekends?

Do your parents encourage you to participate in these activities?

GENDER difference

Is there any sport that is more fitted for boys than for girls?

If yes, what sports?

Why are these better for boys?

Is there a special reason for why girls shouldn't play this game?

Is there any activity more suited for girls than for boys?

Do you have most friends that's boys or girls?

When you play outside with your friends at home after school, do you play with just girls, just boys, both?

Appendix 10 – Interview Guide 2

FOLLOW UP QUESTIONS

Each interviews was started by exploring topics discussed in the first interview in an attempt to elaborate on topics that were given little attention the first time around. This was different from each child.

SOCIAL CAPITAL

Who do you play with when you are home?

Family members, siblings, neighbors?

How many friends do you have?

Who are your best friends at school?

Are there any differences between the friends you have at school and the friends you have at home?

Where do you go to meet your friends?

Do you play with friends that live in your neighborhood?

Do any of your friends or relative study at a private school?

If yes whom?

SECURITY AND NETWORK

How many of their family live within the same neighborhood?

If you are sick whom do you go to get help?

If you need help with your homework whom do you ask for help?

Who do you go to if someone at school hurt you or you feel sad?

If you get hurt on the playing ground at home, whom will you go to for help?

PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP:

When do your mother and father start work?

When do they end?

Who can they contact if anything happens while the parents are away?

Do you spend a lot of time with your parents?

What kind of activities do you do together with your parents?

Are there any activities that your parents do not like you to participate in?

What do your parents say to your participation in the sports?

PERCEPTION OF OPPORTUNITY FOR PHYSICAL ACTIVITY

If you wanted to join a physical activity outside school whom would you contact?

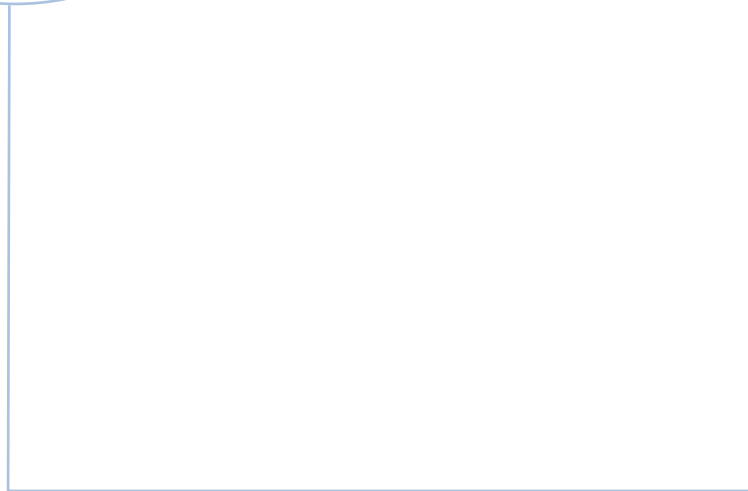
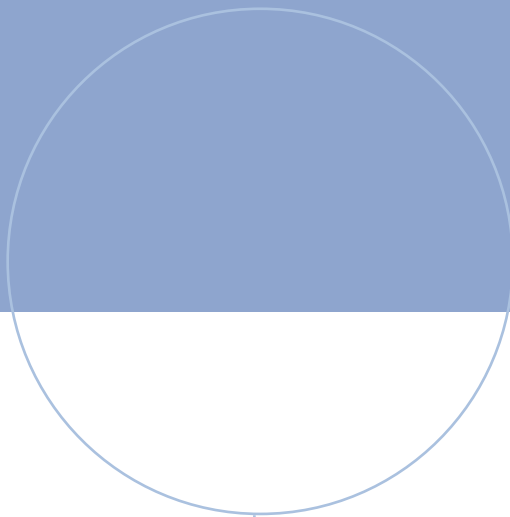
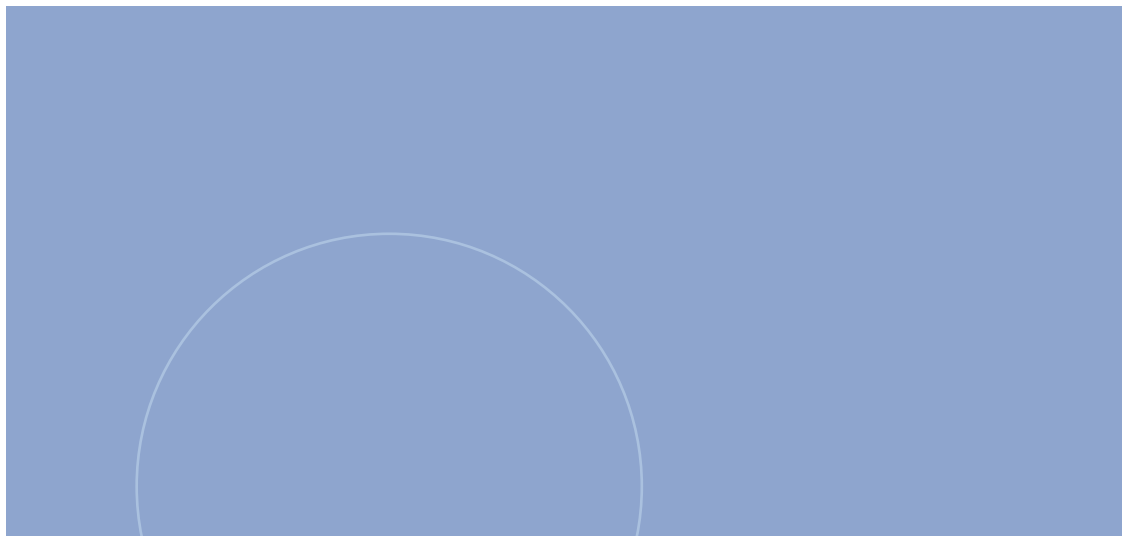
Is there any basketball court in your neighborhood that you and your friends can use?

If you wanted to play volleyball, badminton or basketball do you have the equipment needed?

Is there anywhere you could borrow it?

If not, do you ever play these games?

What do kind of equipment do you use instead?



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