

The Faculty of Public Health

Patrick Foss Johansen

Kandidatnr. 6

Master's Thesis

Parents' involvement in their youngsters' sports
participation: The role of a sporting trinity

Master in Public Health

2017

Samtykker til tilgjengeliggjøring i digitalt arkiv Brage

JA NEI

ii. Dedication and Acknowledgements

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my father.

I would like to express my very great appreciation to the parents who have taken the time out of their busy schedule to be a part of this study. This work would not have been possible without their contribution. I would also like to offer my special thanks to Professor Ken Green, my supervisor and mentor, for his encouragement, valuable critiques and advice, plus our good talks during the writing of this thesis. I can only hope that this was the first of more to come under his guidance. My special thanks is also extended to Professor Miranda Thurston for the opportunities given to me by making me a part of the 'School Well-being' research group. It has been an invaluable experience thus far and I look forward to keep on working with this great research group. Relatedly, I am grateful to all of my colleagues in this research group for the encouragement and advices along the way. Especially grateful thanks to Linda Røset, my officemate, for the support and many good talks over the last few months.

At last, thanks to my great fellow students and friends; Anne, Marte og Ola for the valuable lunch breaks and walks around the campus. Thanks to other colleagues and friends at the campus who have given me great advice and those who helped out with the pilot interviews.

iii. Table of contents

1.	INTRODUCTION	9
1.1	RESEARCH QUESTION.....	11
1.2	STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS.....	11
2.	LITERATURE REVIEW	12
2.1	CONCERTED CULTIVATION	12
2.2	SOCIALISATION OF SPORTING HABITS	13
2.2.1	<i>Primary and secondary socialisation; a sporting trinity.....</i>	<i>13</i>
2.2.2	<i>Youth culture and individualization</i>	<i>15</i>
2.2.3	<i>Parenting practices and strategies.....</i>	<i>15</i>
2.3	CULTURAL AND STRUCTURAL DRIVERS FOR PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT.....	16
2.3.1	<i>Concerted cultivation and future anxiety</i>	<i>17</i>
2.3.2	<i>Parents' perceived benefits of sports participation.....</i>	<i>17</i>
2.3.3	<i>Normalisation in youth sports; cultural and structural drivers</i>	<i>18</i>
2.4	PARENTING IN NORWEGIAN YOUTH SPORTS	20
2.4.1	<i>Normalisation in Norwegian youth sports</i>	<i>20</i>
2.4.2	<i>Parents' perceived benefits of Norwegian youth sports</i>	<i>21</i>
2.4.3	<i>Research gaps in Norwegian youth sports</i>	<i>21</i>
3.	THEORY	22
3.1	BOURDIEU'S DISTINCTION	22
3.1.1	<i>Habitus</i>	<i>22</i>
3.1.2	<i>Cultural capital</i>	<i>23</i>
3.2	CULTURAL OMNIVORES	24

4.	METHODOLOGY AND METHODS	25
4.1	APPROACH TO THE RESEARCH PROBLEM	25
4.1.1	<i>Ontological and Epistemological Paradigms</i>	<i>25</i>
4.1.2	<i>Research approach</i>	<i>26</i>
4.1.3	<i>Study design</i>	<i>27</i>
4.1.4	<i>Research Process</i>	<i>27</i>
4.1.5	<i>Sampling strategy.....</i>	<i>28</i>
4.1.6	<i>Data collection method</i>	<i>29</i>
4.2	PROCEDURES.....	30
4.2.1	<i>Recruitment of participants.....</i>	<i>30</i>
4.2.2	<i>Interviews.....</i>	<i>31</i>
4.3	DATA ANALYSIS.....	33
4.3.1	<i>Transcribing.....</i>	<i>33</i>
4.3.2	<i>Establishing themes</i>	<i>34</i>
4.4	METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS	35
4.4.1	<i>Validity and reliability</i>	<i>35</i>
4.4.2	<i>Limitations</i>	<i>36</i>
4.4.3	<i>Ethical Issues</i>	<i>37</i>
4.4.4	<i>Learned experiences</i>	<i>38</i>
5.	RESULTS.....	39
5.1	SPORTS SOCIALISATION	40
5.1.1	<i>Parenting Strategies.....</i>	<i>40</i>
5.1.2	<i>Parenting Practices</i>	<i>43</i>
5.2	DRIVERS FOR PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT.....	44

5.2.1	<i>Parents' beliefs of sports participation benefits</i>	44
5.2.2	<i>Latent benefits for the parents</i>	48
5.2.3	<i>The normativity of sport</i>	49
6.	DISCUSSION	51
6.1	PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SOCIALISATION OF SPORTING HABITS.....	51
6.1.1	<i>The role of a sporting trinity</i>	51
6.1.2	<i>The influence of youth culture, individualization and parents</i>	52
6.2	CULTURAL DRIVERS FOR PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN YOUTH SPORTS.....	53
6.2.1	<i>Concerted cultivation of extrinsic and intrinsic benefits</i>	53
6.2.2	<i>Latent benefits for the parents</i>	55
6.2.3	<i>Normalisation within youth sports</i>	56
6.3	STRUCTURAL DRIVERS FOR PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN YOUTH SPORTS.....	57
7.	CONCLUSION	59
7.1.1	<i>Limitations and future research</i>	60
8.	REFERENCES	61
	Appendix I	66
	Appendix II	72
	Appendix III	75
	Appendix IV	77

iv. List of tables

Table 1. Family charecteristics.....	32
Table 2. Weekly sporting schedule.....	42

v. List of figures

Figure 1. Illustration of the entire research process.....	29
--	----

vi. Abstract

Background: Sports, in form of organized and unorganized physical activity, is an important pastime for Norwegian youth and trends in participation is increasing in terms of rates and frequencies. At the same time, there is increasing evidence that childhood is a crucial stage of life for forming predispositions for lifelong participation in sports, while parents have been demonstrated to be increasingly invested in the ‘concerted cultivation’ of their youngsters’ sporting habits. Seeing as sports holds several physical and psychological benefits, it is surprising then, that parents’ involvement in their youngsters’ sporting lives have received so little attention in a Norwegian context.

Theory: The theory used to inform this research is existing research and literature on the domain of parenting, socialisation and youth sports and Bourdieu’s theory of ‘Distinction’ with emphasis on cultural capital and habitus in addition to the Omnivore/Univore thesis by Peterson.

Methods and aim: Through a qualitative case study design of a combined primary- and secondary school in a small/mid-sized Norwegian city, the purpose was to expand the understanding of parental involvement in an area relatively scarcely studied in Norway.

Results and conclusion: It was evident among the sample here that parents only play one (albeit very important) part in the formation of their youngsters’ sporting habits. Along with the strong sporting culture and the sporting clubs, the parents formed something akin to a ‘sporting trinity’ that strengthened children’s sporting predispositions, providing foundations for further sports participation for years to come. These findings may have implications for policy-makers looking towards Norway for the ‘recipe’ for sports participation.

Keywords: parents, concerted cultivation, socialisation, habitus, capital, omnivores, sporting trinity

Bakgrunn: Fysisk aktivitet, både organisert og uorganisert, utgjør en viktig del av fritiden til norsk ungdom, og trenden peker på en økning i grad og hyppighet av utførelse av fysisk aktivitet. Samtidig er det et stadig økende antall studier som viser at barndommen er en spesielt viktig del av livet for å utvikle predisposisjoner for livslang deltakelse, mens foreldre har blitt påvist å stadig involvere seg i form av hva som i forskningen blir kalt ‘concerted cultivation’ av deres barns fysiske aktivitetsvaner. Med tanke på de flerfoldige fysiske og mentale fordelene av fysisk aktivitet, og det høye nivået av fysisk aktivitet i Norge, er det overraskende at foreldres involvering i deres barns fysiske rekreasjon har fått så lite oppmerksomhet i Norsk sammenheng.

Teori: Teorien tatt i bruk her er eksisterende forskning og litteratur på området foreldreskap, sosialisering og fysisk aktivitet/idrett blant unge i tillegg til Bourdieu’s teori om Distinksjon med fokus på kulturell kapital og habitus, samt ‘Omnivore/Univore tesisen’ til Peterson.

Metode og formål: Gjennom et kvalitativt casestudiedesign av en kombinert barne- og ungdomsskole i en mindre Norsk by var formålet å utvide forståelsen av foreldres involvering i deres barns fysiske aktivitet, et område relativt lite studert i norsk sammenheng.

Resultater og konklusjon: Det var tydelig blant utvalget i denne studien at foreldrene i bare utspilte en (men veldig viktig) rolle i å utvikle deres barns fysiske aktivitetsvaner. Sammen med den omfattende sportskulturen og idrettsklubbene formet foreldrene noe som ligner på en ‘sportstriade’ som styrker barnas predisposisjoner, hvilket gir et grunnlag for å bedrive fysisk aktivitet i mange år utover. Disse funnene kan ha implikasjoner for beslutningstakere som ser mot Norge for «oppskriften» for fysisk aktivitet/idrettsdeltakelse.

Nøkkelord: foreldre, concerted cultivation, sosialisering, habitus, kapital, omnivores, sporting trinity

1. Introduction

Norway holds particular high levels of sports participation (both organized and unorganized physical activity), and the trend is increasing according to numbers from a large national survey done by Statistics Norway in 1997, 2001, 2004 and 2007 (Vaage, 2009). In addition, The Norwegian Ministry of Health and Care Services (2015) emphasises what they view as the importance of a physical active youth. Moreover, the benefits of physical activity is a central point in The Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports' [NIF] (2015, pp. 5, 22) sports policy documents, and one of the most important reasons for the Norwegian Government to subsidize organized sports is that of health (Skille, 2010). Indeed, The Norwegian Ministry of Culture [KUD] (1999, p. 2; 2011, p. 7) have emphasized the role of sports in contribution to 'good health' alongside psychosocial well-being in their white papers the last 15 years and so. Furthermore, studies suggests that predispositions towards certain lifestyles are made during childhood and youth (Green, 2010), and given that 85 % of Norwegian youths have been a member of a sporting organization while growing up (Seippel, Strandbu, & Sletten, 2011), sports (including unorganized sports) should be considered an important contributor in shaping habits for lifelong physical activity.

Research have demonstrated that parents can have a profound effect on their youngsters' lifelong participation through socialisation practices (Haycock & Smith, 2014; Hayoz, Klostermann, Schmid, Schlesinger, & Nagel, 2017). Indeed, Birchwood, Roberts and Pollock's (2008) study of Caucasian's revealed that declining levels of sports participation with age appeared likely to have been a result of 'family culture' through socialisation, rather than a result of education and/or social class, typical significant determinants for health indicators. The authors were not proposing that such determinants are entirely irrelevant, but they play a 'relatively minor direct part' as the family cultures determines how effective policy interventions targeting areas of lower social classes are, for instance policies towards increasing available sporting arenas (Birchwood et al., 2008). Said in other words, the predispositions formed during childhood lay the base for how likely or unlikely individuals are to increase or decrease their participation levels, and the predispositions tends to be in disadvantage among those of lower social class (Birchwood et al., 2008). As such, if one are to follow the findings of Birchwood et al. (2008), policy interventions and social class might have a small effect, but it happens something within the families that are more important.

Parents' have been demonstrated to pay greater attention towards their youngster's physical recreation than their own (Green, Thurston, Vaage, & Roberts, 2015) and parents'

involvement in their youngsters' sports are increasing, especially among the middle-class (Wheeler & Green, 2012). The social division in parental involvement is in part explained by Green, Smith, and Roberts (2005) by the resources the middle-class, and those above, possess. Not only in terms of economic strength (albeit also important in terms of expensive sporting equipment), but through their connections and the opportunity to pass on their understanding of sports to their youngsters (Green et al., 2005) as today's parents have grown up in a society with increasing sporting opportunities, increasing their sporting capital (Stefansen, Smette, & Strandbu, 2016b). Thus, the youngsters of the middle-class families are more likely to be introduced to a variety of activities, making them sporting omnivores (Wheeler & Green, 2012) connected to better development outcomes (Strachan, Côté, & Deakin, 2009). Relevant to this is 'concerted cultivation', a concept well used in research on parenting. Originally coined by Anette Lareau (2003), the term suggests how middle-class parents see it as their responsibility to enable their children to reach their full potential through school, organized activities and at home. However, there is some discrepancy in the extent of the concept in terms of prevalence (between and within social classes) and the underlying causes for parents to use organized activities in the cultivation of their children (Irwin & Elley, 2011; Vincent & Maxwell, 2016).

Moreover, while the high sports participation rates in Norway is believed to have much to do with its socio-economic equalities, much of the credit is also given to parental involvement from an early age (Green, Thurston, Vaage, et al., 2015). In collaboration with a Norwegian sporting culture, that forms youngsters' sporting identities, partly by its pervasiveness of lifestyle and adventure sports (Green, Thurston, & Vaage, 2015), there seem to exist a form of 'group habitus' for doing sports. Norway is thus proceeding as an example for 'how it should be done' in terms of sports participation (Green, Thurston, Vaage, et al., 2015).

Notwithstanding, the area is still under-researched in Norway. With the exception of two publications (Stefansen, Smette, & Strandbu, 2016a; Stefansen et al., 2016b), there is little knowledge of parents' role in their youngsters' sports participation. Drawing on this, the purpose of this thesis is to expand the understanding of parental involvement in an area relatively scarcely studied in Norway.

1.1 Research Question

This thesis studies parents of 6th (11-12 years old) and 7th (12-13 years old) grade school children. The research question explores on two aspects; (i) the parents' facilitation of youngsters' sports participation, and (ii) the drivers that make the parents do so. The overarching research question is as follows:

How and why do Norwegian parents cultivate the sporting habits of their children?

With the added sub-question: *Is concerted cultivation applicable to the parents represented in this study?*

Sports herein is viewed in its broadest sense of the term, encompassing physical recreational in general, meaning that it includes both organized sports and unorganized sports, such as friluftsliv and other lifestyle activities.

1.2 Structure of the thesis

This thesis will first present international and national literature (chapter 2) on parenting and youth sports. This represent what will be called 'middle-range theory' (Merton, 1967). Then, in chapter 3, the 'grand theory' is presented, in form of Bourdieu's (1984) Distinction and Peterson's (1992) omnivore thesis. Like middle-range theory, the purpose of grand theory is to inform the discussion of the findings. In chapter 4, the methodology and methods undertaken in the entire process from forming of research questions to conclusion is described, before presenting the findings in chapter 5. The discussion of the findings will be done separately in chapter 6, leading to conclusion and the statement of limitations of this study in addition to guidelines for future research, in chapter 7. The list of references is provided in chapter 8, while the relevant appendix's, as is referred to continuously follows.

2. Literature Review

Theory can accompany research in a number of ways. For instance, research can be used to build or test theory, or theory can be used to understand and explain the research findings (Bryman, 2015). This thesis includes both aspects of the term. First, the literature review covers concepts and understandings relevant to the parenting domain, used for both testing and explaining purposes. This kind of theory is what Merton (1967) called theories of middle-range, meaning they are ‘sufficiently abstract’ to explain or understand other *similar* settings, or as Bryman (2015, p. 22) puts it, “a limited aspect of social life”. As such, it is middle-range theory that predominantly guides empirical inquiry in sociology research (Merton, 1967). Second, contrasting middle-range theories are grand theories, which are so abstract and encompassing that it can serve little purpose in forming good and precise research questions (Bryman, 2015). Nonetheless, grand theory (presented in the theory chapter) serves a purpose in this thesis by providing additional nuances to the understanding of the findings.

In this chapter, a review of the parenting and youth sports literature will form the middle-range theory that informs the discussion of the research findings. First, it takes on the concept of concerted cultivation, before existing knowledge is presented through two main parts relevant to the research question; the *how* (socialisation of sporting habits) and *why* (reasons for parental involvement) of parents’ cultivation of their youngsters’ sporting habits. Finally, the existing Norwegian research on parents’ involvement in youth sports is presented alone to better argue for the gaps and importance of doing further work on this field in a Norwegian context.

2.1 Concerted Cultivation

Lareau’s (2003) ethnographic research investigated child rearing among a sample of 12 families in America, divided into binary working- and middle-classes. She asserts how parenting ideals have changed over the last two decades, from a strict authoritative parenting style including punishment, towards a more emotional warmth parenting style, including negotiation and reasoning based parenting practices. Such ideals form a ‘dominant set of cultural repertoires’ about what constitutes being a ‘good parent’, and Lareau (2003) found the middle-class to be better at adjusting towards these ideals. Thus, she claims, as the labour market has become increasingly competitive, middle-class parents have opted to be more concerned about contributing in their children’s development, while the working-class strive

to secure their basic needs. As such, Lareau (2003) noted a difference in the ‘cultural logic of child rearing’ between the working- and middle-class parents. Indeed, Lareau (2003) found the middle-class families to engage in a carefully planned and executed process, which she called concerted cultivation, towards their children. Therein, the parents strove to establish and control their children’s everyday life. Through communication of rules by way of negotiating and reasoning, their children developed what Lareau (2003) termed ‘a robust sense of entitlement’; a set of social and cognitive skills and characteristics. Consequently, the middle-class children would learn independency and to socialize with and question adults, thus view them as equals, an important trait for the children to have when encountering different institutions (Lareau, 2003). This differed from the working-class parents who had a more relaxed approach, where a natural growth was seen as an accomplishment, thus prioritizing covering their basic needs of safety, food and so on.

The concept of concerted cultivation then, encompasses both aspects of the research issue taken on in this thesis: the *how* (concerted) and the *why* (cultivation) of parenting in youth sports. Its main role in this thesis however, is to cast light on important aspects of the *why* within parental involvement, as its conceptualisation embraces not only the cultivation, but also a wider understanding of why parents feel the need to cultivate their children in a concerted way.

2.2 Socialisation of sporting habits

Socialisation is the ongoing process where one incorporates society’s norms and values, forming personal identity, behaviour and social skills according to the expectations of the social order (Roberts, 2009). This relates the socialisation process to habitus, as conceptualised by Elias (2000); an ‘embodied social learning’ that develops through the social networks of which they are a part (Haycock & Smith, 2016). Below, international literature on socialisation of sporting habits (and habitus) is discussed, first in terms of the role of the primary and secondary socialisation, then parents’ practices more specifically.

2.2.1 Primary and secondary socialisation; a sporting trinity

When it comes to sources of socialisation, studies suggests the family to be the most impactful socialisation agent for sports participation, as it is during childhood the most critical foundations seems to be laid (Haycock, 2015; Hayoz et al., 2017; Pot, Verbeek, van der Zwan,

& van Hilvoorde, 2014; Stuij, 2015). Indeed, parents have been found to name themselves as the catalysts behind their children's sports participation by getting them into sports clubs (Wheeler, 2011). While peers and friends increasingly become more important during the transition from childhood to youth (Haycock & Smith, 2016), secondary socialisation agents (including schools and sports organisations) probably cannot compete with the strong power of primary socialisation in the family as the family have an impact on a daily basis during childhood (Roberts, 2016). Notably though, being part of a sporty peer network is thought to strengthen the predispositions formed by family practices during childhood (Green, 2010; Haycock, 2015; Roberts, 2009). In Norway where sports participation among Norwegian youth is high, it is suggested that schools and sports organisations work together with families in a reinforcing 'sporting trinity' (Green, Thurston, Vaage, et al., 2015). To elaborate, as sports organisations in Norway is driven on the concept of voluntarism, parents often holds official roles at the sporting clubs in addition to the general facilitation of their youngsters' participation (Støckel, Strandbu, Solenes, Jørgensen, & Fransson, 2010). Furthermore, elementary schools provide physical education, and an increasing collaboration between the sporting organisations and elementary schools in the recent years (Støckel et al., 2010) has further strengthened the effect of the sporting trinity (Green, Thurston, Vaage, et al., 2015).

Notwithstanding, there is some disagreement between studies on whether parents' sporting habits may have a moderating effect on parents' socialisation of children's sporting habits. Wheelers' (2011) study indicated that the parent-child transmission of sporting cultures did not necessitate 'sporty' parents. Indeed, those parents who did not do sports growing up wanted their children to experience what they did not. Thus, the findings are in correspondence with a review done by Sallis, Prochaska, and Taylor (2000) suggesting that parents' physical activity habits is of little importance for children's physical activity levels. However, Haycock and Smith (2014) who did a similar study to that of Birchwood et al. (2008), based on sporting biographies, found that those who belonged to the most active group to have had two sports active parents during childhood. The members of this group belonged to the middle/upper middle class and had parents who were more inclined, and able, to invest in their children's sports participation, mainly through economical means (Haycock & Smith, 2014). Green et al. (2005) further takes up this issue, proclaiming how middle-class parents with sporting pasts are more likely and inclined to invest by means of not only economic capital, but social and cultural capital as well. Adding to the importance of parents' sporting habits is Hayoz et al. (2017) who found 'sports-related lifestyle in the family' (p. 1) to have a significant effect on sports participation. What is more, Haycock and Smith (2014) found that those who did sport

less frequently had an upbringing with peripheral sports interest within the family, and as such, the authors attributes the participants lack of sports participation to family cultures of marginal attentiveness towards sports.

2.2.2 Youth culture and individualization

Another important impact on youngsters' sports participation in Norway is the deeply embedded culture in Norway for doing sports, which have formed what can be called a 'group-habitus' for sports participation (Green, Thurston, Vaage, et al., 2015). However, as the western world has seen a rapid growth in individualization (Green, Thurston, & Vaage, 2015), that is to say a trend for each individual to distinguish themselves by way of unique experiences (Roberts, 2009), there seem to have been a shift in the significance of sports organizations towards an increasing popularity in individual lifestyle and adventure sports, especially among youth (Vaage, 2009). Moreover, despite the traditional Norwegian *friluftslivs*-identiy, it does not seem to be the *friluftsliv* (outdoor life) that attracts today's youngsters, as they seem to seek more towards the activities itself, rather than the desire to be outdoors in nature per se (Green, Thurston, & Vaage, 2015). This could be attributed towards youth culture and what is herein perceived as 'cool' (Gard, Hickey-Moodey, & Enright, 2012), as group identities shared around specific tastes represents an important part of the youngsters' need to 'fit in' (Green, 2010). Furthermore, their need to 'stick out' to mark their own individuality (Green, 2010) may have resulted in the increase in lifestyle sports (Green, Thurston, Vaage, et al., 2015) .

2.2.3 Parenting practices and strategies

The aforementioned observation regarding the significance of family cultures by Birchwood et al. (2008) has been subject of further investigation. Wheeler (2011) conducted qualitative interviews with eight middle-class families, both parents and children, in north-Wales. She found sporting cultures to consist of sets of beliefs and behaviours, transmitted not only within families, but also between families through interdependent networks that provided instrumental support and access to clubs while also forming norms for encouraging their youngsters to be active. Parenting practices encompasses herein how the parents act out the socialisation goals and values they have towards their youngsters. In relation to sports participation, this includes different types of support in order to facilitate participation for their

children. In addition, the parents make use of strategies, which is ways of thinking to achieve specific goals, for instance to get their children into specific sports or to keep them in.

Typical ways for parents to support their children's sports participation is by way of instrumental support, that is to say transporting to and from activities, help getting them ready by preparing and packing equipment as well as paying for equipment and sporting membership fees (Wheeler, 2011). Additionally, parents often involve emotionally by watching their children's sporting activities, cheering and praising and providing advice for further development (Wheeler, 2011). Seeing as sports in Norway is revolved around parents contributing (Støckel et al., 2010), taking on official roles and/or doing voluntary work (dugnader) is a necessity as well (Stefansen et al., 2016a).

Besides being active in enrolling their children into sports through introducing the activities (Dixon, Warner, & Bruening, 2008; Wheeler, 2011), parents have also been demonstrated to have specific ways for keeping their children into sports. It seems that parents strive to balance demands on one hand, with requirements of having to try out a specific activity for a longer period of time to promote a sense of commitment. As such, the parents may ensure their youngsters get accustomed to the sporting behaviour, making it a habit (Green, 2010). On the other hand, parents try to limit pressure exerted on their children by being careful about being too pushy, keeping their children's participation voluntary (Dixon et al., 2008; Harwood & Knight, 2015; Wheeler, 2011). Besides, by executing a strategy of sampling, that is to say introducing their children to several different types of sports, children get more diverse sporting repertoires, beneficial for lifelong sports participation (Wheeler & Green, 2012).

2.3 Cultural and Structural Drivers for Parental Involvement

Parents have been shown to invest heavily in their children's sports participation in terms of money and time, resulting in the sporting activities often dominating the families' weekly schedules' (Wheeler & Green, 2012). Herein, international literature on parenting in recreational activities (sports and leisure activities in general) are presented to cast a light on some explanations of why parents invest so much time on their children's sports participation.

2.3.1 Concerted cultivation and future anxiety

The existence of concerted cultivation has been demonstrated in a vast number of studies on parenting in recreational activities (Vincent & Maxwell, 2016). However, there is some discrepancies in terms of whether the parents cultivate their children in a concerted way grounded in an anxiety about their children's future, for instance in the labour marked. Several studies suggests that middle-class parents strategically invest in their children's leisure to secure (or at least better their chances in) their future (Coakley, 2006; Evans & Davies, 2010; Vincent & Ball, 2007). However, Irwin and Elley (2011) opposes this view, as they found in their study based on interviews with 34 parents divided into three class categorizations how concerted cultivation, on a general account, is exercised as a 'natural attitude', not part of a strategic behaviour related to anxiety about the future regarding class interests. What is suggested then, is that using recreational activities to cultivate their children for gaining future advantage is a form of 'intense cultivation' (Vincent & Maxwell, 2016), found among those with more complex challenges than transmitting their middle-class advantages, for instance racial issues in terms of racism in the labour marked (Vincent, Rollock, Ball, & David, 2012).

There is also some discrepancies in the exertion of concerted cultivation. While its existence have been well demonstrated across several studies (Vincent & Maxwell, 2016), some studies also suggests parents to have ambivalent feelings towards the use of recreational activities to develop their children in a concerted way (Perrier, 2013) or the concept to be of little relevance in cultures outside of the Western world (Shih & Yi, 2014).

2.3.2 Parents' perceived benefits of sports participation

Organized sports is an arena that offers a wide range of benefits, including intrinsic benefits such as the experience of mastery, enjoyment and extrinsic benefits such as good health (KUD, 2011, p. 7). Indeed, parents sees sports as an arena for delivering enjoyment, good health, social bonding, and encouragement for future participation (Wheeler, 2011). Research abroad suggests that parents particularly seem to value extrinsic benefits, especially those of health, as demonstrated by Wheeler and Green (2012) in England and Shaw and Dawson (2001) in Canada. Adding to that is parents in the United States who have been demonstrated to value sports as a site to foster social benefits in form of peer acceptance as well as experience in competitive situations (Coakley, 2006).

The social aspect of sports have received attention elsewhere as well. An ethnographic study among 15 wealthy Danish families over three years in context of their children's (4-10

years old) sports participation found sport to be an arena for social bonding, not only for the children but also for the parents (Bach, 2014). Indeed, the parents within this study talked highly about both getting to know their children's friends and the other families. Similar findings have been found in another longitudinal research on parents in relation to youth sports (Dorsch, Smith, & McDonough, 2015). Such latent benefits of sports participation is interesting, as it suggests that parental involvement is not all about the children; it is also an arena providing parents with advantages (or disadvantages as presented later).

Moreover, youth sports is an arena for parents to 'prove their worth' as parents (Trussell & Shaw, 2012). Indeed, changing ideologies within parenthood of what constitutes being a good father (Brannen & Nilsen, 2006) or mother (Johnston & Swanson, 2006) are suggested to have had implications of parental involvement as they see sports an arena for exerting good parenthood (Trussell & Shaw, 2012). Such expectations seem to have formed norms for parental involvement.

2.3.3 Normalisation in youth sports; cultural and structural drivers

Several studies have demonstrated how it exists an expectation for parents to be involved in their children's leisure activities (Vincent & Maxwell, 2016). As youth sports is a particular important leisure activity for children (Roberts, 2016), there is no surprise that this has been found in relation to youth sports as well, where social networks and nearby families in their locality seem to have a particularly important influence on parents' perception of "good" parenting (Bach, 2014; Wheeler, 2011). Related to the norms for parental involvement, it exists a normalisation for sports participation as well, as children is expected to do *something*. Indeed, Wheeler and Green (2012) found in their study, at least two organized sporting activities outside of school to be the norm for the children. While the reasons for why such norms exists remains unclear, some explanations have been put forward.

As will be discussed here, researchers have pointed towards both structural and cultural drivers for the normalisation in youth sports. Particularly, social reproduction mechanisms seems to be of importance. Trussell and Shaw (2012) interviewed seven sets of parents of sports active children in the age group 12-15 year old, and found parenting to be a public act, observed and judged by others. In talking about their children's sports participation, the parents often talked about other parents' lack of involvement, or deviant behaviour in terms of yelling rude or overly critical comments towards their children. Moreover, parents seemingly succumb to the 'cultural logic of child rearing' in striving to ensure their children

participates in sports – preferably in several different types of activities (Wheeler & Green, 2012). This highlights how discourses of ‘good parenting’ and norms for sports participation are being reproduced by the parents themselves (Perrier, 2013; Wheeler & Green, 2012).-

Studies also suggests how parental involvement may be contributed to wider social reproduction mechanisms, anchored in cultural expectations of a physical literate child. Evidently, it exists a moral discourse of what is seen as natural and essential skills and qualities of the children (Vincent & Ball, 2007; Vincent & Maxwell, 2016), making it an obligation of parental responsibility to foster physical embodied children (Evans & Davies, 2010; Vincent, Ball, & Kemp, 2004). As school PE and the primary socialisation at home falls short of delivering on such outcomes alone, parents look towards recreational activities (Ball, 2010). Such investments made outside of school is what Evans and Davies (2010) termed ‘corporealisation of childhood’, emphasising how children now are being physically formed to live up to the ideal of a slim and physical active child, which providers of private recreational programmes use aggressively in their marketing to reach out to the parents. This demonstrates the previously mentioned standardisation of concerted cultivation in today’s society (Vincent & Maxwell, 2016), where those who possess the resources seem to be doing so by investing in different recreational activities (Evans & Davies, 2010; Lareau, 2003; Vincent & Ball, 2007; Vincent, Braun, & Ball, 2008).

While investments in children’s physical capital have varied between social classes for a long time, a shift in the timetable of moving into parenthood, means that young adults wait longer to have children, securing their own education first (Furstenberg, 2010), which may lead to more parents stand stronger in terms of capital to invest in their children (Wheeler & Green, 2012). Thus, as studies suggest there is a growing use of sporting activities with the intention of creating a physical literate child (Evans & Davies, 2010; Vincent & Ball, 2007). Such a ‘democratisation of sports’ may have led to typical expected sporting outcomes (such as being slim and physically skilled) being viewed as deficits for those not possessing such qualities (Evans & Davies, 2010).

The points made here paints a picture of how parenting practices more or less are based on an autonomous culture, where the more relaxed parenting practices typically related to the working-class are pathologized and seen as insufficient compared to the legitimated “good” parenting practices of the middle-class (Gillies, 2005; Stefansen, 2007). Indeed, to not take part in the ‘corporealisation of childhood’ could be seen as an “abrogation of parental responsibility” (Evans & Davies, 2010, p. 779). Bach’s (2014) findings stand as an extreme example of the implications this can have for parents (and their children) who do not possess

the recourses to invest their time in their children's sports, as she found youth sports to be an arena for reciprocal favours, resulting in those parents not able to 'give' to be in risk of being seen as socially deviant and consequently excluded. Moreover, such remarks tended to follow on to their children as well (Bach, 2014).

2.4 Parenting in Norwegian Youth Sports

Not much has been done on parenting in the field of youth sports in Norway. However, a recent study by Stefansen et al. (2016a, 2016b) explore the issue through two publications based on the same data material collected through qualitative interviews of parents from a mid-sized town in Norway. The parents were interviewed regardless of the physical activity levels of their children (including the non-active ones), and they were categorized into working-, intermediate and middle-class. Both publications is concerned with understanding the underlying causes, that is to say, *why* parents invest so much time on the organized sporting arena. Below, a summary of the important findings of the two publications will follow, before arguments for doing additional work on the field is presented.

2.4.1 Normalisation in Norwegian youth sports

It is evident that the Norwegian youth sports culture is strong (Stefansen et al., 2016a, 2016b). Much like the abovementioned literature on youth sports abroad, it seem to exist clear expectations of parental involvement and children's sports participation. Similar to Wheeler and Green (2012), Stefansen et al. (2016b) found the parents to require some sort of physical recreation from their children without putting any demands on *what* they should do, thus contributing in reproducing expectations of an active youth. Indeed, all of the parents, independent of social class saw being involved in their children's sports participation as a natural part of being a responsible parent (Stefansen et al., 2016b).

The authors suggests that the increase in parental involvement in Norwegian youth sports is due to an increase in the availability of sports that happened when todays parents were young, increasing their sporting capital. Thus, the parents may have seen sports as a way to return to an accustomed arena where they can put their resources to use.

2.4.2 Parents' perceived benefits of Norwegian youth sports

Stefansen et al. (2016a, 2016b) found the parents in their study to value both intrinsic and extrinsic values. However, the intrinsic values seemed to stand strongest as they saw sports to be a meaningful here-and-now experience, where they perceived sports to be an arena for enjoyment and experiencing mastery. Furthermore, it was an arena for intimacy and care where they could bond with their youngsters and “be there” for them to provide support and encouragement, while also seeing it as an arena for fostering skills and competencies important in other aspects of life. Thus, concerted cultivation was apparent among their sample as well (Stefansen et al., 2016a, 2016b).

2.4.3 Research gaps in Norwegian youth sports

These two publications brings important knowledge into a relatively untouched field in a Norwegian context, and as such, it will serve as an important basis for comparison for this thesis. Additionally, this thesis will seek to fill in some gaps; First, Stefansen et al.'s (2016a, 2016b) study is based on parents of ninth graders, a period where parents' influence for the most have given way to peers (Kirby, Levin, & Inchley, 2011; Ning, Gao, & Lodewyk, 2012). This is addressed here by focusing on parents of 11-13 year olds. Second, they are concentrating on organized sports, thus risk missing a possible unique and Norwegian mind-set, value and identity; *friluftsliv*, including lifestyle and adventure sports. Third, they do not discuss much *how* the parents cultivate their youngsters' sporting habits. Finally, organized sports being their point of interests leaves the health aspect unexplored. As such, questions about the importance of health for the parents in relation to their youngsters' sports participation remains unanswered.

3. Theory

Below follows an introduction to the part of the grand theories relevant for this thesis. After the collection of data, Bourdieu's theory of distinction were found the most fitting theory as it provides a sociological framework for explaining (at least in part) both how and why parents form their children's sporting habits. In addition, the omnivore/univore thesis by Peterson (1992) is presented because of its attention as an contrasting theory to that of Bourdieu's distinction. Additionally, it has received growing attention in the field of sports, including youth sports (Green, Thurston, Vaage, et al., 2015; Stempel, 2005; Wheeler & Green, 2012; Widdop, Cutts, & Jarvie, 2014).

3.1 Bourdieu's Distinction

Bourdieu is a popular point of departure for many sociologists in the parenting field (e.g. Lareau, 2003) and the field of sports (e.g. Stempel, 2005), with social reproduction and class differences being the main focus, contrasting dominant classes with the dominated classes. Bourdieu's (1984) 'Distinction' demonstrates how the upper class distinguish themselves from the lower classes through an exclusive style of life, creating norms for what is good 'taste' in society (Bourdieu, 1984). While this is just as much an unconscious act as an intended one, the dominant classes takes advantage of their different forms of capital by investing them to gain access to different fields not available to those with insufficient capital, what Bourdieu referred to as the dominated classes (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Bourdieu divided capital into economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital, and the amount of capital is related to the social position one possess (Bourdieu, 1986). Specifically, Bourdieu stressed the importance of cultural capital in social reproduction; "differences in cultural capital mark the differences between the classes" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 69). However, before going into the concept of cultural capital, the concept of habitus will be presented first.

3.1.1 Habitus

Bourdieu explains habitus as a set of dispositions such as tastes, perceptions and preferences that have taken place in the individual through the process of socialisation (Bourdieu, 1984). Further, these predispositions forms the basis of behaviour and choices – thus habitus function as a theoretical bridge between structure (e.g. socialisation and capital) and agency (the individual's choice of action), a much debated matter in social sciences (Reay,

2004). Furthermore, habitus is connected to distinction as the predispositions manifested within the body largely consist of cultural capital (Bennett et al., 2009).

Similar to cultural capital, habitus is widely used in youth sports (e.g. Haycock, 2015; Stuij, 2015; Wheeler & Green, 2012), leading to many different variations (Reay, 2004). This thesis adopts the term used by Coakley (2006), *family habitus*. Here family habitus explain certain predispositions and family activities, consisting of beliefs and lifestyles that are influenced by cultural and structural factors. Thus, family habitus can be seen as an internalised normalisation, made clearer as Coakley (2006) elaborates:

By implication, family habitus subsumes activities that parents think will best the development of their children while also conforming to the current, widespread belief that parents are directly responsible and even legally accountable for the behaviours and achievements/failures of their children. (p. 161)

3.1.2 Cultural capital

Cultural capital embraces different resources related to values and knowledge, for instance skills, taste, credentials and use of language (Bennett et al., 2009). Thus, cultural capital is producing and circulating what is recognized as good or less good personal qualities and abilities, especially through the formal education systems use of grades and credentials (Stempel, 2005). However, Bourdieu also stressed the role of recreational culture, such as sports, as the abilities gained through these activities are “(mis)recognized as ‘intelligence,’ ‘creativity,’ and ‘character’ in formalized institutions such as schools and bureaucratic organizations.” (Stempel, 2005, p. 413). This paints a picture of how cultural capital can be exchanged into other forms of capital, such as symbolic capital through status and achievements. Thus, through investment and exchange of capital in different fields, the dominant classes further strengthen their capital and increases their advantage over the dominated class (Bennett et al., 2009).

Cultural capital serves different purposes in sports sociology studies. Some measures sports participation’s relation with cultural capital in terms of academic achievement (e.g. Engström, 2008), while others measures sports participation as a form of cultural capital in itself (e.g. Stempel, 2005). Additionally, sporting capital is often used for the specific skills and competencies relevant within the field of sports (e.g. Pot et al., 2014; Stuij, 2015; Wheeler & Green, 2012). The application of cultural capital in this thesis is similar to sporting capital, while also making use of the symbolic value (power/honour) that Bourdieu relates to the term

(Bennett et al., 2009). Thus, it makes use of two of three sub-components within cultural capital that Bourdieu (1986) called embodied and institutionalised (in addition to objectified) cultural capital. Again, the operationalization of the terms is subject to variation as Bourdieu does not provide any clear definition of its components (Bennett et al., 2009). However, embodied cultural capital is understood here as the possession of mental and physical skills and competencies (other uses of the definition refers to accent, posture and behaviour) (Bennett et al., 2009). Institutionalised cultural capital means one holds some sort of credential that constitutes honour (Bennett et al., 2009), for instance academic grades or as herein; elite sports experience.

3.2 Cultural Omnivores

Peterson (1992) introduced the term *cultural omnivorousness* to describe a change in social stratification in terms of cultural consumption. Through studies, Peterson and colleagues tested appreciation of certain cultural forms among different social classes and found those of the upper strata, who generally was attracted towards exclusive ‘highbrow’ culture, to now have a taste for popular ‘low- and middlebrow’ culture as well, making them ‘cultural omnivores’ (Peterson & Kern, 1996; Peterson & Simkus, 1992). The theory attracted much attention as a strong opposition to Bourdieu’s assumption of how the upper class use their access to exclusive activities to distinguish themselves from the lower class.

Still, it is important to note that the theory does not imply that behaviours of social reproduction among the upper strata is non-existent. In fact, Peterson and Simkus (1992) found the lower class to be restricted to popular culture, naming them ‘univores’. Thus, it can be hypothesised that by having access and taking advantage of a wider range of fields, the upper strata can acquire a greater amount of experiences and skills, consequently making cultural breadth a new symbol of distinction (Vincent & Ball, 2007). Indeed, Sullivan and Katz-Gerro (2007) discusses how omnivorousness (or voraciousness which they found to be a more precise term) involving multitasking by embracing a vast number of cultural activities is a form of symbolic status through being harried and busy. Notably, Wheeler and Green (2012) attributes the increase in parental involvement in sports partly to omnivorousness. They theorize how a shift towards an omnivorous lifestyle among the middle-class may have resulted in a habitus of a more diversified form of cultural capital, making the parents value competence in a wider range of activities, like sports.

4. Methodology and Methods

This thesis is based upon a case-study of a combined primary- and secondary school in the east of Norway. Data was collected from interviews with 10 families (11 parents) of 6th and 7th grade youngsters (11-13 years old) to explore how and why parents play a part in forming and developing their children's sporting habits. This chapter provides a detailed description of the research process from research question to the analysis of the data set. The chapter is divided into four main parts. The first part will describe the research process overall and provide a justification for the choice of methods anchored in literature on methodology. The second part will describe the procedures of the data collection while the third describes how the data was analysed. In the final section, issues of reliability, validity, ethics and reflections upon the process are discussed.

4.1 Approach to the research problem

In this section the methodological approach to the research problem is described. Important in determining the approach is the philosophical assumption of the researcher, as ontological and epistemological views directly affect the methodology, who in turn informs the choice of methods (Grix, 2002). Thus, the ontological and epistemological assumptions are accounted for first, before describing and arguing for the study design, research process, sampling strategy and data collection method.

4.1.1 Ontological and Epistemological Paradigms

This thesis is built on an ontological view similar to that of the post-positivistic critical realist view. Post-positivism is in its right related to quantitative research, where the focus lies on theory testing, albeit, the post-positivists seeks falsification of hypotheses rather than confirming them (Patton, 2015). Thus, critical realism holds the positivistic view that there is only one reality that can be studied (Maxwell, 2012), rather than consisting of several socially constructed realities as suggested by social constructivists (Patton, 2015). Moreover, critical realism also contend that we can never know anything with certainty (Creswell, 2014; Maxwell, 2012). To elaborate, researchers are biased by their involvement, or subjectivity, and must be aware of the potential distortions of what they discover (Maxwell, 2012). These understandings of reality are represented in this thesis in three ways. First, this thesis takes on theory testing in investigating the existence and utility of concerted cultivation. While

somewhat unorthodox, the use of qualitative research to test theoretical concepts is nothing new. Indeed, Bryman (2015) asserts that “Certainly, there is no reason why qualitative research cannot be employed in order to test theories that are specified in advance of data collection” (p. 387). Secondly, the use of middle-range theory represented by the literature review, means it explores further – to endorse or negate – earlier findings. Thus, it follows the critical realist approach of constant observations to strengthen the empirical evidence for a particular interpretation of reality (Maxwell, 2012). Third, typical to the quantitative nature of post-positivism, this thesis partly employs a deductive approach, deducing its sub-research question from theory – further elaborated later in this chapter.

Having said that, post-positivism comprises reductionism (Creswell, 2014). In other words, constructs (e.g. parenting) is reduced into small sets (e.g. emotional and instrumental support) for testing purposes. Taken into account the complex and multidimensional nature of parenting, reductionism would jeopardize missing and potentially important unknown factors. Thus, the epistemological assumption followed here, that is to say, *how* we understand reality, is interpretivism, meaning that reality cannot be observed directly; rather, knowledge is gathered through interpretations of people’s subjective experiences (Bryman, 2015). This relates interpretivism to the social constructivist paradigm, typically associated with qualitative research (Creswell, 2014; Weed, 2009). In social constructivism, the belief is that people construct their own realities through their perception of the world, meaning that researchers must seek the complex and vast number of views, rather than a few ideas (Creswell, 2014), accentuating how it relates to this thesis’ understanding of parental involvement. Thus, in conclusion, this thesis is built on a post-positivistic ontology, while the findings is deduced from a social-constructivist epistemology.

4.1.2 Research approach

Based upon the philosophical stance, the qualitative method was chosen as it revolves around gathering in-depth data of its ‘units of analysis’ (the source of the data – the parents) (Bryman, 2015), providing rich information to interpret. While Bryman (2015) emphasizes the importance of being careful in overstating the difference between quantitative and qualitative research in terms of investigating behaviour versus meaning, they approach these issues in different ways. Qualitative research «frequently, if not invariably, entails the examination of behaviour in *context* [emphasis added]», according to Bryman (2015, p. 620), who attributes the *context* to the interpretation of norms, values and culture, points of which

stands as important elements in this thesis. However, this raises the issue of interpretation, since researchers are, as noted above, prone to be biased. Yet, there is no recipe for how qualitative research should be performed (Patton, 2015), underscoring the importance of being transparent in the entire research process.

4.1.3 Study design

This study followed the design of a case study, however, there is a need to clarify what the case is. Bryman (2015) assert that a case usually encompasses a location, such as a community or organization. However, the ‘unit of analysis’ within a case study varies. Indeed, often it is the sample taken from the case that is actually being studied (Bryman, 2015). As is the case in this thesis, where the parents are the units of analysis taken from the school.

While some definitions of case studies are limited to an in-depth investigation of a phenomenon in its everyday setting (Yin, 2009), Bryman (2015, p. 68) “prefer[s] to reserve the term ‘case study’ for those instances where the case is the focus of interest in its own right”. In this thesis, however, the school rather functioned as a “backdrop to the findings” (Bryman, 2015, p. 68). In other words, while the parents were recruited from one particular location, the analysis were not concerned with the location itself. However, the fact that the participants were recruited from one particular school enabled the opportunity to explore the phenomenon of parental involvement in a context where the participants (the parents) are involved with each other on several arenas (for instance football, handball and school). Hence, thesis holds something of an ‘idiographic’ approach. That is to say, it is concerned to elucidate distinctive features of the case (Bryman, 2015). Indeed, as the schools, parents and families share a number of characteristics the design of this thesis is a case study of a combined primary- and secondary school, where the parents of 6th and 7th graders represents the ‘units of analysis’ (Bryman, 2015).

4.1.4 Research Process

Typical in qualitative research is the use of an inductive research approach involving adopting wide research questions that are often narrowed down along with the data gathering process, aimed, ultimately, at the development of theory (Bryman, 2015). Conversely, the deductive approach forms research questions based on theory, often with the purpose to test certain theoretical aspects, most commonly associated with quantitative research. However, in line with the critical realist view of this thesis, the research process held

a deductive approach to the data collection, while the process of data collection and out held an inductive approach.

Figure 1 provides an illustration of the entire research process. Existing knowledge is used as an orientation to middle-range theories and key concepts of interest for further testing in this study, one of which is to examine the applicability of the concerted cultivation concept. However, theory testing is not the main objective of this thesis. More exactly, the overarching research question is qualitative in nature, as it seeks to *explore how and why parents* contribute to developing their children's sporting habits. As such, an inductive data collection process was implemented, using grand- and middle-range theory to explain and understand the observed patterns. Furthermore, the interviews often revealed elements that had not been taken into account beforehand, which resulted in slight changes to the interview guide along the way. Thus, the research process held both deductive and inductive elements, seeking to understand parents' role in their children's sports participation in a broad manner, while existing literature and emerging data formed the collection of data and the theory used to explain them.

4.1.5 Sampling strategy

In case studies, two levels of sampling need to be done to recruit participants. First, the selection of the case to be studied. Second, the selection of units of analysis within the case (Bryman, 2015). The sampling strategy used for these two sampling processes will be described and justified here, starting with the sampling of context.

This case study purposively selected its school on (i) the assumption that the socio-demographic composition (where the pupils mainly come from advantageous family backgrounds) would lead to a higher number of potential participants, and (ii) the near proximity of the school to the researcher would make it feasible to schedule sufficient interviews within the narrow time frame available.

The recruitment of units of analysis (that is, the parents) within the case followed a purposive sampling strategy as well, in form of a criterion sampling approach as the parents were chosen based on certain criteria that applied to their children (Bryman, 2015). To enable the examination of sporty children, the criteria was for the children to be sports active four times a week minimum – based on data from Statistics Norway, where 'regularly participation' was measured at three to four times a week (Vaage, 2009). Preliminary to the recruitment process, a goal was set for 10-12 families, based on the need to get sufficient data while also

taking into consideration the time available. Furthermore, the recruitment was done among primary school pupils as this is a period of time right before parents' influence give way to peers (Kirby et al., 2011; Ning et al., 2012). Consequently, parents from both 6th and 7th grade were chosen to increase the chance of reaching the goal set for 10-12 families. While 6th and 7th grade differs in that organized sports goes from children's sports to youth sports during 7th grade, that is to say the year they turn 13 (NIF, s.a.) , this was not expected to have any significant implications as the changes had just been implemented at the time of the interviews.

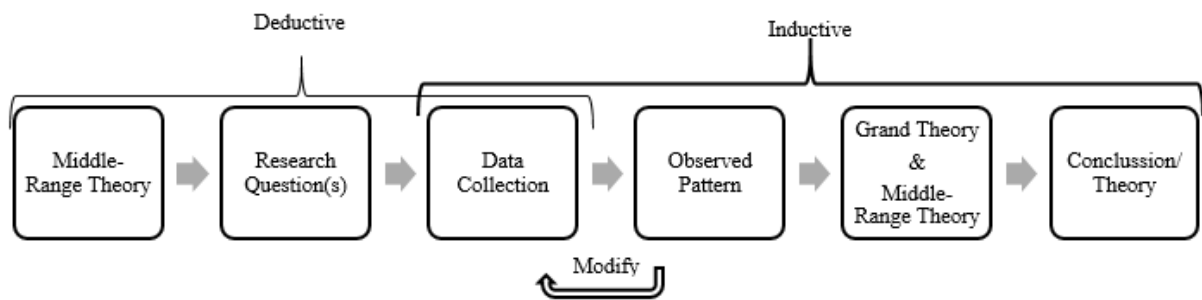


Figure 1. Illustration of the entire research process

4.1.6 Data collection method

In accordance with the interpretivist epistemology, the complex and multidimensional nature of parenting merited in-depth interviews to bring out not only parents' behaviours and the experiences of such behaviours, but also to discover possible subconscious thoughts concerning the reasons for their involvement. Semi-structured interviews were chosen as instruments for data collection as it holds a list of pre-determined key areas that need to be explored in line with the research problem. As Bryman (2015) states, it is important to take into consideration the inexperience of a novice researcher, as it is easy to make mistakes when interviewing for the first time. Thus, it is argued for here that following an interview-guide contributes in ensuring that nothing is forgotten and that every interview covers the same topics, at least to some extent.

The interview-guide (see appendix I) used in this study was developed from Wheeler's (2013) study, as used in her research on parental involvement in education, sports and arts. As such, questions concerning sports involvement and some of the more general parenting questions deemed relevant were selected. Additional questions specific and appropriate to the current research area were created, derived from a careful reflection about what was needed to know and how it could be answered (Bryman, 2015). The interview guide was then

categorized into six different topic areas to make the questions coherent (Bryman, 2015). The questions were mainly of an open-ended character, however, a few closed questions of particular interest were added, in case these topics failed to emerge during the conversation. After the interview guide was completed, pilot interviews were conducted to test and be acquainted with the guide, while also gaining some experience with the interviewing process (Bryman, 2015).

Four pilot interviews of parents were conducted, alongside three with co-workers experienced in the field of qualitative interviewing, enabling valuable feedback. Furthermore, one of the interviews was done with both parents present to prepare for this particular setting. The pilot interviews also gave a sense of how long the interviews would take. After the feedbacks from the pilot participants, some adjustments were made to the guide in terms of removing questions that was experienced as difficult to understand or too similar to other questions. In addition, the piloting process made the interview guide more familiar, making it easier to do the interviews in a more conversational style.

4.2 Procedures

There is no exact recipe for how qualitative research should be performed, warranting transparency of the entire research process to enable the reader to follow the way from research question to conclusion (Patton, 2015). Below, the procedures for recruiting and interviewing the participants is described.

4.2.1 Recruitment of participants

The selected school was contacted by e-mail in which they were informed about the research project and asked for a short meeting whenever possible. At the meeting, the head principal, assistant principal plus the relevant teachers were informed and asked to identify and distribute the information letter (see Appendix II) to those children who fulfilled the criteria of minimum four physical activities per week. The information letter asked the parents to make contact by phone or e-mail if they wanted to participate. Additionally, the school sent out an SMS to the relevant parents, telling them that their children would bring home a paper for them to look at.

Twenty-eight families were contacted and 10 families responded (N=10) positively. Table 1 gives an overview of the characteristics of the families. Nine interviews were

undertaken with one parent, while one interview included both parents. The occupation classification is done in accordance with that of Stefansen et al. (2016b). Professional occupations often have high education and includes consultants, higher-level teachers, company directors and so on, while semi-professionals are for instance nurses, physiotherapists and social workers (Stefansen et al., 2016b). Class categorization is herein done based on family's annual income and occupation classification, dividing into a binary middle-class (n=8) and working class (n=2). The Interviews were scheduled at a time and place by their choosing. Consequently, nine interviews were conducted at the University, while one interview was done at the participant's home.

One family did not meet the criteria originally set for inclusion at four activities per week. However, taken into account that (i) the activity level was a result of the interviewed parent actively making sure that her child did not do too much, (ii) the total time spent on the activities in a week equalled the time spent by many other families, and (ii) the fact that it is, as mentioned above, within what Statistics Norway view as 'regularly participation' (Vaage, 2009), the interview was still included.

4.2.2 Interviews

Prior to the start of the interviews, the attending parent(s) was asked if he/she knew and understood what the project was about. Then information about the interviewing process, anonymity and the right to withdraw without giving any reasons were given. Informed consent forms was then signed. All conversations was taped with two disconnected mobile phones placed at the table between the researcher and the participant(s).

Most interviews lasted for about 60 minutes, while the longest lasted for 90 minutes and the shortest 45 minutes. The interview guide was followed, however, to ensure the interviews had a more conversational style, its function was more of a checklist certifying that every topic was covered. The opening question "Can you tell me about a typical day for your family?" often naturally led to follow-up questions about the children's participation, which led to questions about why, and so on. Still, no interviews were identical and the conversations often went back and forth between the topics covered in the interview guide. To make sure nothing was lost along the way, the questions in the interview guide were marked with a pen if a question had been covered. When all the topics from the interview guide had been covered, the participants were asked if there was anything else they wanted to say or if they had any questions. Regardless of their response, the audio recorder was left running as Bryman (2015)

assert how participants may ‘open up’ at the end of interviews, risk losing interesting data if the audio recorder is shut off.

Table 1. Family characteristics

Family number	Family members	Occupation classification	Annual household Income (NOK)
1	Mother* Daughter (6 th grade) Daughter	Semi-professional	550 000
2	Mother* Father Son (6 th grade) Daughter Daughter	Semi-professional Semi-professional	1 000 000
3	Mother Father* Son (6 th grade) Daughter	Unemployed (earlier teacher) Service-work	900 000
4	Mother* Father Daughter (6 th grade) Daughter	Professional Semi-professional	1 100 000
5	Mother* Father* Son (6 th grade) Daughter	Semi-professional Professional	1 400 000
6	Mother Father* Daughter (6 th grade) Son	Service-work Service-work	950 000
7	Mother Father*	Semi-professional Semi-professional	1 100 000

	Daughter (7 th grade)		
	Son		
	Son		
8	Mother*	Professional	1 200 000
	Father	Service-work	
	Son (7 th grade)		
9	Mother	Professional	1 100 000
	Father*	Professional	
	Daughter (7 th grade)		
	Daughter		
	Son		
10	Mother	Professional	1 400 000
	Father*	Semi-professional	
	Daughter (7 th grade)		
	Daughter		
	Daughter		

Note: *=Interviewed parent

4.3 Data analysis

To make sense of the large amount of data generated through the interviews, analysis of the data was performed. The methodology of Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis was chosen, as it provides a step-by-step guide suitable for novice researchers. However, in identifying codes, a more detailed process inspired by Charmaz (2014) was followed, as it was recognised a need to code the data into more categories than those two offered by the former. Below follows an account of the entire process of analysing the data using this approach, starting with getting familiar with the data.

4.3.1 Transcribing

Several of the interviews were undertaken at the same or following day, making it difficult to transcribe each interview before the next. However, each recording was listened to at least once before commencing the next interview to get ideas and thoughts about possible important aspects to investigate further in the next interview. The recordings was also listened

to while doing chores (for instance walking the dog), which was valuable in getting more familiar with each interview, saving time in the process of analysing and composing the results and discussion chapter. Indeed, Braun and Clarke (2006) assert the importance of before familiar with the data before starting the coding, as it is the ‘bedrock’ for doing a good analysis. The imprinting of interviews also helped saving time as irrelevant parts were identified, thus parts deemed excessive could be skipped during the transcription process.

4.3.2 Establishing themes

After having done all the interviews, listened to the recordings several times and transcribed the relevant parts, the coding began. The coding was done with the specific research question(s) in mind, actively seeking to answer both *how* and *why* by making use of the existing knowledge presented in the literature review. Thus, the data analysis undertaken here was for the most deductive (Patton, 2015). It is plausible that such an approach risk being to close-minded and as such important aspects might be overlooked (Braun & Clarke, 2006). However, it enables validating or negating earlier research as it allows looking for specific concepts/topics of interest. That is not to suggest that the entire data analysis was based upon pre-determined areas of interest. Indeed, several themes of hitherto unknown aspects of parenting in youth sports were identified. Thus, the data analysis is in accordance with the purpose of this thesis to add to the existing knowledge while also work as a nuancing contributor to a field of growing research interest.

The initial coding involved extracting raw meaning units (deductively chosen) from the interviews. Each meaning unit was colour coded to identify easily which interviewee it belonged. Then, a *condensed code* was assigned to the meaning units, which herein represent a short representation of the meaning unit. Then, following Charmaz (2014), *focused codes* were developed, consisting of a categorization of the condensed code(s). Several of the meaning units and condensed codes were coded with several different focused codes per meaning unit. This makes the analysis complicated and demands much work in terms of refining the themes, but as Braun and Clarke (2006) assert, contradictions reflects a well worked data set. From the focused codes, a *thematic code*, comprising several of the focused codes (Charmaz, 2014) was then developed. An excerpt of the process is shown in Appendix III.

The themes and codes was identified at a semantic level, meaning they describe the explicit meanings of the content, rather than being based on interpretations (Braun & Clarke, 2006). While some interpretation is warranted in creating the focused and thematic codes, the interpretation of meaning herein was first done in the explanation of the findings as presented in chapter 6. However, there was one occasion of what Braun and Clarke (2006) describes as a latent approach, where the code 'averted interest' were put into the overlaying theme 'parental unity' based on the interpretation that the aversion of interest was based on the parental unity factor as a meaning behind the fathers' involvement.

The next phase involved reviewing the themes and sub-themes. During this process, several themes was merged into overarching themes, while others were discarded on the basis of little importance. Internal homogeneity (coherence between the meaning units within a theme) and external heterogeneity (clear distinction between the themes) (Patton, 2015) were ensured as well by going back and forth between the original dataset and the coding schemes. This entailed several new changes in terms of removing/exchanging meaning units, where the themes deemed most interesting and relevant to answer the research questions were chosen. Indeed, a theme represent something of significance within the data set, and the question that rise is what constitutes sufficient numbers of representations for a theme to be of relevance to be used in the presentation of the findings. Braun and Clarke (2006) assert the need to be flexible as the most important factor to take into consideration is whether it represents something of importance.

4.4 Methodological reflections

4.4.1 Validity and reliability

Validity and reliability are common concept used when discussing the quality of a research project. However, the terms are originally made for the quantitative approach and its use of measuring-instruments. As such, Lincoln and Guba (1986) launched the term *trustworthiness* as an answer to the onset of the constructivist paradigm, warranting solutions to evaluate its understanding of multiple realities (Bryman, 2015). Nevertheless, the concepts of validity and reliability have been adjusted making them more useful in evaluating the strength of qualitative research as well (Golafshani, 2003). As such, the quality of the research is discussed using validity and reliability.

Validity ensures that there is congruence between the observations made and the theory that is being developed from these observations (Bryman, 2015). To ensure such validity the research question and purpose have guided the decisions throughout the research process, including preparation of the interview guide, choice of grand theory and the analysis. This is named ‘continuous process validation’, coined by Kvale and Brinkmann (2015), as a way to ensure validity. The pilot interviews strengthened the interview guides purpose to give answers relevant to the research question, and as shown in figure 1, the grand theory was chosen after the analysis to ensure congruence between the findings and the theoretical concepts used to explain it.

Reliability is about whether the findings would have recurred if one were to do the research over again (Bryman, 2015). In other words, it demonstrates whether the study can be trusted to be a representation of the reality, or if it is based on coincidences. To forward reliability, the research process herein has been thoroughly described to ensure transparency in the development of the findings and conclusion. The different choices of method have been discussed and argued for. What is more, every interview has been recorded and transcribed, and even though the interview guide was not followed in a linear fashion, it was ensured that the questions was asked in a similar way to every participant. The presentation of a detailed data analysis is particular important as the process is influenced by the researches understanding and interpretation

4.4.2 Limitations

Some limitations and caveats of the methods chosen here warrants some attention. First, one caveat in qualitative research is the issue of drawing generalizable conclusions. The findings presented in this thesis is in no way meant to be understood as transferable beyond the sample herein to the entire field of parenting in youth sports, even among similar class fractions or socio-demographic populations. Further, qualitative research is in risk of being too subjective (Bryman, 2015). Indeed, the researcher possesses significant influence over the data material in the process of data analysis, underscoring the importance of being transparent, which have been one of the main purposes of this chapter. Furthermore, the research area is approached with preconceptions gained through the reading of existing literature on the field, which may

stand as a bias towards the analysis of the narratives (Bryman, 2015), however, as noted this was also partly intentional. Another bias worthy of consideration is that of translation, as the interviews was conducted and transcribed in Norwegian, before being presented in English. Thus, there is a risk of points being ‘lost in translation’ or misunderstood. To minimize such risks, there has been a constant back-and-forth reflection between the original dataset and the translated presentation.

4.4.3 Ethical Issues

When conducting a qualitative research, it is important to be aware of the responsibilities that lies in the interaction with the participants and the examination of their private lives. This includes avoiding doing harm, meaning that the researcher need to be constantly aware of any potential causes of stress or loss of self-esteem (Bryman, 2015). In this study on parental involvement, none of the topics taken up during the interview was of a particular sensitive nature. Still, the data have been processed carefully to ensure the participants expressions of opinions have been presented rightfully. Furthermore, it has been strived to ensure that every voice is heard by using quotations from all the participants in the presentation of the results.

Prior to starting the recruitment, an approval from the Norwegian Centre for Research Data was attained (see appendix IV). In accordance with guidelines provided by The Norwegian National Research Ethics Committees (2016), participants was given information about the research project through an information sheet delivered to them through their children’s school (see appendix II). The information sheet was written to be easily understandable, precise and concise as to not be overwhelming. By approaching the parents this way, they got time to think and reflect before making a decision, rather than if they had been approached directly (Oliver, 2010). Those who agreed signed consent forms at the time of the interviews.

The participants’ names are not used in any part of this thesis. Neither is detailed information such as their age and occupation since such information could risk exposing the informants. Every quotes presented has been carefully reviewed to be as sure as possible that it does not identify the individuals behind them. In a few cases, this has led to some information, that is not explicitly relevant, having been left out. That is to say, the family

number while also using [parent] instead of mother or father, [child] rather than daughter or son, and [unorganized activity] rather than the specific sport. Every recording have been kept out of reach in a secure and locked space, separate from the transcribed papers and other information about the participants.

4.4.4 Learned experiences

The process of carrying out this study have been valuable in attaining experience in the field of research. Some reflections of what is learned deserves some attention. First, doing pilot interviews was of significance importance in getting some experience in conducting interviews. It ensured higher confidence and less stress when starting the first participant interview. Second is the importance of reading up on the research area. Even though the vast amount of literature on the area can feel overwhelming and, much of it, irrelevant for the specific research question investigated, time spent on reading into it were not wasted. Third, to listen to the recordings between the interviews rather than just jumping directly into transcription provided a good number of ideas and suggestions for further improvements and points for further investigation. Besides, over 10 hours of interview is much data, and therefore, it is good to be familiar with the data set before starting the analysis.

Notwithstanding, no research process is perfect. Several points of suggestions for improvement must be taken up as well. The first is about the recruitment of participants. While recruitment herein was conducted through a third party who was very helpful and did a good job, I will argue that the researcher should be the one to establish contact with the potential participants, thus reducing the number of people the information need to go through before reaching the intended target individual. This ensures the researcher that those approached has received the correct information, and that those approached fits the criteria's set for inclusion. The second suggestion for improvement is about transcription. While time is valuable in such time-consuming work, the transcribing is well invested time. Herein, 'gardening' was tried out for a few of the interviews, meaning that only parts deemed interesting were transcribed out of the interviews. However, this ended up costing more time than gained as it resulted in having to play back the tapes to find parts that was of interest after all. Relatedly, it is important to start of early with the analysis. As a novice researcher, it is hard to estimate the amount of work it takes to analyze 10 hours of data, thus it is better to overestimate than underestimate.

5. Results

This chapter will summarise the findings. In the first instance, it will provide an overview of the different organized activities the participating children were involved in at the time of the interviews (see Table 2). Then, it will present an overview of the parental involvement across the sample that relate to the key themes that emerged from the interviews. In total, the analysis resulted in five key themes (including 11 sub-themes) and the presentation of these themes is divided into two parts. These relate to *how* and *why* parents are involved in forming their children's sporting habits. Each sub-theme will include a description that says something about how many of the participants who fit into the sub-theme presented. The terms used are few (equating to 1-2 participants), some (3-5), most (6-7), very many (8-9) and all (10).

Most of the families had different schedules for winter and summer. Those who did skiing activities during winter either did another activity during summer and/or engaged in summer training on roller skis. Table 2 shows the activities the children were involved in at the time of the interviews, that is to say the winter/spring schedule. Summer activities are not included as the schedule was somewhat unclear to some of the parents. Nevertheless, table 2 reveals that most of the 10 children in the study undertook at least two different activities during a typical week. More often than not these came from a staple of four particularly popular activities, hereafter termed 'mainstream sports': football, handball, turn (gymnastics) and skiing, within which football was the altogether the most common activity - involving five (2 males, 3 females) of the participants' children. Handball held the second position after football with four children involved (3 males, 1 female), while skiing was the third most popular activity (cross-country or biathlon) involving three youngsters (1 male, 2 females), in addition to one child (female) having previously been involved. While only two children (1 male, 1 female) were involved in turn on a regular basis at the point of interviews, almost all had been involved in turn at some point through "children's turn" groups during kindergarten. Other activities that the children were involved in included horseback riding (and general responsibilities of taking care of the horse), mountain biking and/or road cycling (during summer only) and dancing.

Before presenting the analysed themes, a presentation of the parental involvement across the sample is warranted. It was clear from the interviews that sports played a central part in all of the families' lives. Most had several children attending several sports several times each week, making their family schedules very busy. In fact, some of the families

reported not eating dinner together, due to a lack of time resulting from parents investing their time in their children's sports participation: "We support what we can and we set aside dinner-time to get the children to practice, we do that" (father, Family 9). Indeed, in many (seven families) cases parents (typically fathers) held some sort of official role at one or more of their children's sports clubs. Moreover, some of the families interviewed had one parent who had done sports, or were still involved as staff, at elite (competitive) level - all of which had an official role at their children's sporting club. Only a few families had parents who were not involved in sport, even at a recreational level. Whether involved or not, most of the parents conceded that they were not doing much physical activity themselves at the moment, not least because they reported prioritising their children: "It isn't good to sit down at the office the whole day and just drive the children around, not doing much yourself. But I think it is important to create a good foundation for the children" (father, family 9).

5.1 Sports Socialisation

First part of the analysis revolved around *how* parents contribute in developing their children's sporting habits. Analysed in terms of sports socialisation, two main themes were identified: those of parenting *strategies* (including three sub-themes) and parenting *practices* (including two sub-themes).

5.1.1 Parenting Strategies

The term strategies is understood as the (most suitable or effective) ways or means of achieving specific goals employed by parents, such as getting their children into sports. Within parenting strategies, three sub-themes were identified: recruiting, requirements and balance. These will be addressed one-by-one.

Recruiting. The first sub-theme related to how the children were first enrolled in sports, particularly in the early years. While a few said that they had actively and deliberately introduced the activities to their children early on, this usually applied to those enrolling their children into sports outside the mainstream sports (such as football and handball). Counter-intuitively, most parents responded that they in fact had not done much getting their children interested in sports in the early years: "I have not been the impetus, so it's not like it's me they got it from (laughs)" (father, family 10). Rather, the children seem to have become interested and involved in particular sports as a consequence of the sports clubs themselves reaching out

to the children, as early as kindergarten. This initial contact often appeared to take the form of what amounted to adverts in form of general announcement letters sent home with the children: “They got a note from the football club at kindergarten, and from handball at school, and they wanted to do that” (mother, family 2). However, while most of the parents did not seem to play an especially large role in the initial sporting interests of their children, some, nevertheless, appeared to exert an important influence and especially those who had a specific sporting past their children tended to do the same sport as their parents at the time of the interviews: “She has gotten handball into her DNA, since I’ve been active myself” (father, family 7). This notwithstanding, despite most of them valuing *friluftsliv* highly, parents reported not managing to pass on this particular interest to their children. Some had tried and failed:

I tried a little with the older and the middle one, to get them into the scouts. But no, that was a difficult birth, to be sure. They probably thought of it as being something boring. (Father, family 10)

Balance. The second sub-theme revolved around parents ensuring a balance between requirements of participation and doing too much. Indeed, it was clear that, as far as very many of the parents were concerned, their children would not be allowed to do nothing or be sedentary. Thus, to ensure their children kept doing sports, most parents had demands of some sort of participation: “They know that the alternative to doing something organized is to find something on their own, because sitting still is not an alternative. Not every day, the whole week. It won’t happen” (mother, family 2). Despite the parents’ aversion to sedentariness on the part of their children, the perceived need, on the part of parents, to ensure a ‘balance’ between active leisure in the form of sports participation and not do too much was readily apparent “We have a rule of maximum two different activities. They can’t do too much, because the total workload would be too big” (mother, family 2). A few parents also explicitly referred to what they perceived to be the potentially ‘educational’ benefits, in terms of what might be called ‘lessons in life’, of being bored: “Besides, it’s good to be bored every now and then as well” (father, family 3). Moreover, one parent explicitly drew on her experiences within elite sports to know when to recognize when they, as parents, were driving rather than merely encouraging and facilitating participation and draw the line:

I think it is because of that [having done elite sports]. For me there is a big difference in motivating and pushing. But I know that I got this competitive instinct, and I feel it on myself that if I don’t stop now, I’ll be carried away (laughs). (Mother, family 4)

Table 2. Weekly sporting schedule

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
Family 1	Horseback Riding*					Horse- back Riding*	Horse- back Riding*
Family 2		Biathlon	Handball	Nordic Skiing	Hand- ball	Matches / Tournaments	
Family 3	Turn or Football		Turn		Turn	Turn or Matches / Tournaments	
Family 4	Nordic Skiing	Nordic Skiing		Nordic Skiing		Matches / Tournaments	
Family 5			Handball or Football	Football	Hand- ball	Matches / Tournaments	
Family 6	Nordic Skiing	Biathlon	Nordic Skiing or Biathlon	Nordic Skiing or Football		Matches / Tournaments	
Family 7	Handball		Football / Handball		Hand- ball	Matches / Tournaments	
Familie 8	Handball		Handball		Hand- ball	Matches / Tournaments	
Familie 9	Turn	Turn	Dancing	Turn	Turn	Turn / Tournaments	
Familie 10	Football	Running*	Football	Running *		Matches / Tournaments	

Note: *= unorganized activities

5.1.2 Parenting Practices

Parenting practices involve the specific actions of parents to support and facilitate their children's sports participation. The interviews led to the identification of two sub-themes within specific parenting practices: emotional support and instrumental support.

Emotional support. This sub-theme involved the parents sharing the sporting experience with their children and, in the process, providing emotional support. Two types of emotional support were identified. The first was what might be termed simply *being there*. In those cases where the parents did not have a role in the club or sporting activity per se, very many of them still followed up on their children's sports by attending the different events (e.g. games and practices), even though they often viewed it as boring.

I like skiing and cycling, but I will be there for them nonetheless. I've been sitting in the swimming hall, and that is not the most exciting thing I do. But I have done it a lot, because both of them have been doing swimming classes. (Mother, family 4)

A few of the parents also saw *being there* as something more than just being in attendance as they felt they had a 'support role' to play, as demonstrated by a deeply involved father:

It's part of the game. It's important that I'm there and watch over things, makes sure she has what she needs at every time and that everything works [...] I have to prepare some skis the night before so that's ready, and make sure that everything is in place. It is a lot of stuff to remember, much different equipment. (Father, family 6)

The second aspect of emotional support was *feedback*. All of the parents said they offered comments about what they had observed. The feedback was often to encourage, but also to prompt commitment; "You know, he is 11 so they mess around a bit, but if he isn't going to pay attention [to the trainer] we may as well stay home" (father, family 3). However, they claimed never to do so during the activities (unless they were coaches or had specific roles). Rather, they waited until the car drive afterwards or when at home. Furthermore, while all parents made sure to praise more than correct, they did give tips and advice as well:

We do give some critique as well, but she tolerates it less from us than from the coach. The 'spikes' are out at once. We try to say that "we do this to help you", but it isn't easy to understand. So, there is some door slamming every now and then (laughs). (Father, family 9)

Instrumental support. This sub-theme was identified as a form of support the parents gave to make sure their children could do the sports. All of the parents reported driving their children to and from practice/matches as well as ensuring to buy the necessary equipment needed for doing the sports. There were differences in how much the sports demanded in terms of financial support, but all the parents said they saw this as a good investment:

We buy what they need, but it is not that much. It is the competitions that cost most, with overnight trips and flying and all that. It just means that we may have to skip that extra trip to [nearby skiing resort] during the Easter, and things like that. (father, family 9)

Some parents appeared keenly aware, however, that their commitment to providing their children with appropriate equipment could result in the child being, in effect, ‘spoiled’:

He has a lot of stuff. I feel sort of embarrassed over saying it. It doesn’t have to be the most expensive skis or shoes, it’s not about that, but he certainly has what he needs. He has a racer, a bicycle roller, every hockey equipment. He has it all, in plenty. I mean, he doesn’t need that roller, there’s no sense in it because we have a spinning bike. No, he is spoiled at this, simply spoiled. (mother, family 8)

5.2 Drivers for Parental Involvement

In investigating *why* the parents spend so much time and resources on their children’s sports participation, three themes became evident; ‘parents’ beliefs of sports participation benefits (including five sub-themes); ‘latent benefits for the parents’ and ‘the normativity of sports’ (including two sub-themes). Below follows a presentation of these themes and their sub-themes.

5.2.1 Parents’ beliefs of sports participation benefits

The parents had expectations of both extrinsic and intrinsic benefits that their children would derive from sports participation. The first sub-theme is that of extrinsic benefits, as the parents saw sports as a way to cultivate transferable benefits.

Cultivating transferable benefits. Most parents reported seeing sports as an arena for giving some sort of benefit transferable at other arenas of their children’s lives. A few viewed

sport as making the children independent, important because “that’s life” (mother, family 2), or as elaborated by another parent; “It teaches them responsibilities and independencies. I value that, as I don’t want them to be helpless. The world is tough” (mother, family 1). However, such accounts of the world and sports’ role therein was not common statements.

Furthermore, some parents talked about the benefits of learning to be a part of a team; “team-sports promotes personal development. To co-operate with people you don’t really like because you are a part of a team” (mother, family 2). While acknowledging the importance of such qualities for the opportunities for getting a job in the future, when asked directly, the same mother told she had “not thought about it in those terms before”. Some parents also talked about their children getting tougher “She is a bit too careful [...] hopefully, this season will change things a bit” (father, family 10). Additionally, it was clear that most parents saw sports as a way to make their children more physically adept to fit in in a society where sports is normal:

I see many examples of those who has not done much sports growing up ... I did squash with a colleague one day, but I think it would have been better alone (laughs). You see through it pretty early, that it has been little physical activity [growing up], little versatility ... And I think that after all, there is a 99.9% chance they will end up as a normal mortal person in the street, then they will benefit from being a bit versatile (Father, family 6).

Children’s involvement in gymnastics was valued especially highly, in terms of physical development, strength, and coordination in particular: “Everyone should do gymnastics, it’s fantastic. Arms down, legs up, see what happens then” (mother, family 2). Indeed, motor skills were seen as an important benefit of sports, such as gymnastics, transferable to other arenas; “It is fantastic good exercise for learning motoric skills, it is important for so many other things” (father, family 5).

All that said, however, and as important as sport was perceived to be by parents for other arenas than sports, it was not seen as more important than other aspects of their children’s lives and, most notably, education. In fact, all of the parents prioritized homework over sport “It is homework before practice. School is important. If it takes all the time, it becomes a problem. He gets to keep on doing it as long as he can balance his sports and schoolwork” (father, family 3).

Cultivating psychological benefits. Very many parents saw sports as something that brought enjoyment for their children. Indeed, it was often the first thing the parents talked

about when asked about why they saw sports participation as an important pastime. A sense of mastery and the resultant satisfaction was repeatedly reported as an important consequence of sports participation. “Because of mastery. They need that, otherwise the sports would stop” (father, family 5). Furthermore, boosting their children’s confidence and identity was perceived as an important consequence of the development of movement skills: “It is important for her confidence. I see other children who are clumsy, and I see how that influences their confidence” (family 1). Additionally, very many parents talked about the psychological benefits of getting outside, as represented by one family:

Father: They are happier when they are doing activities.

Mother: Yeah, fresh air.

Father: To be out of the house, get active. They have a tendency to be grumpy when they sit in all day (family 5)

Safe environments. Most parents also viewed sports as a way to become involved with socially desirable networks, viewed as more favourable than some others:

The alternative is to just do homework and hang out with friends. All of the sudden, all your time is spent down in the city centre. I see those who have dropped out of the football, how they hang around the shopping mall all day, I recognize them. And we know what starts to happen around 15 year of age (father, family 9)

Indeed, half of the parents explicitly talked about sports as a safe environment in that their children would be less likely to be drawn into unhealthy networks, such as alcohol drinking: “I don’t know how it is in the football or handball community, but I don’t think there is much alcohol drinking in the horse-milieu”. (mother, family 1)

Exclusion. On the other hand, some parents talked about the risk of being socially isolated, if their children were not a part of one or other the popular organized sports networks; “those who keep on with football becomes a group, it is those who does football and those who do not” (father, family 3). Noteworthy, the children seemed to be in risk of being excluded, not only in terms of sports, but at school and leisure as well. Indeed, for most, this was of concern for both the children and the parents:

We felt that in short periods, when [child] had decided to quit. One night he/she started crying, asking “if I quit football now, do I lose my friends?” So he/she have thought

about it as well. And that is something the parents of children who do not do handball or football have talked about as well. For just a couple of weeks ago I got a phone call from a mother who asked me why [child] never had time to hang out with her [child]. So they invited to an overnighting one weekend, and I know why they do it, to help him/her get some friends. You get vulnerable really, when you don't do anything. (parent)

Another parent also reported similar incidents with his/her children who did sports, but not the popular organized sports:

That is the challenge with this city, if you don't do handball or football you will be a bit on the outside [...] I see it in the class. It isn't many who do [unorganized sporting activity], and they are a bit on the outside both of them.

[Researcher]: In terms of what?

Friends and inclusion in the social groupings. It doesn't bother [child #1], but [child #2] has a hard time with it. It's always been like this in [the city] I feel. (parent)

Avoiding health hazards. Based on answers to a question on the health-related aspects of sports participation, the parents generally did not express any particular expectations of health benefits: "Of course I want them to be strong and have a healthy heart and all that, but it is not something I reflect over" (mother, family 5). Rather the interviews revealed concerns about avoiding certain health hazards, such as becoming overweight: "It is also about avoiding getting too fat. I see how it is inhibitory to be fat. None of mine is that, but I hope they understand that all movement is better than nothing" (mother, family 1). What is more, very many parents talked about what amounted to sedentariness in the form of prolonged sitting because of screen-time:

Most of the social life happens within these screens. We see that for [son], he disconnects from his gaming world when he does organized activities. Because, when he's at home, he is just as distant as his sister, sitting in front of the screen. (father, family 3)

Moreover, getting control over their children's screen-time was evidently a big challenge for very many of the parents:

Father: I don't want to be too pushy, so I sit and wait for him to take the initiative to do something. When I ask if he wants to go to the hall and play [handball], he says yes. But it isn't always we get there because he is so slow, he sits on his IPAD and such. Then it gets too late. (Father, family 5)

5.2.2 Latent benefits for the parents

While the parents mainly talked about benefits for their children when talking about why they invested so much in their sports, it was clear that they recognised a latent benefit for themselves, in terms of sociability. Very many parents spoke about how the sporting arena had led to connections with other parents, including those from their children's school class. These connections were described as having benefits in terms of both supporting networks and friendship:

I think the other parents feels the same, that if our children should get mixed up in something, that they make the phone call. It is easier with those parents you know and talk a lot to. It's really worth a lot. It's an important aspect of the sports. (mother, family 8)

The same family felt so bonded with the other parents that they kept on going to the sports even after their son had quit: "It was really sad when he had decided that he wanted to quit. It happened that we kept on going to the matches even though he was not on the team" (mother, family 8). In addition to the latent benefit of sociability for the parents, some spoke of the enjoyment they themselves gained from involvement in their children's sports clubs and the associated sporting 'milieu'. A parent who also had a role in his daughters' sports team spent much time in the sporting arena:

I want to be a part of it ... My wife is a bit concerned about how much time I spend on this. Even though I'm just assisting, it is a lot of work. I really enjoy being a part of this, and it makes me go watch even though it is another team that's playing. To be in the milieu. It gives me a lot (family 10).

Another parent talked at length about how welcoming the sporting group had been when he and his daughter came in for the first time, making them both feel like they belonged at once:

I knew a couple of the parents from before, but that was pretty much it. After that gathering, we felt like a part of the group at once. It was surprising really. Both me and my daughter agreed about how well we had been taken in.

[Researcher]: How important do you think that is?

Its alpha omega for succeeding and thriving. I didn't really have any interest in biathlon, but I've gotten a lot of input from the other parents [...] You do commit to something, sure. But I think it is fun, and that is probably why I bother doing it. (Father, family 6)

Additionally, the father spoke very positively about how he had gained a good friend in the trainer at the club as he himself had an official role with certain responsibilities:

We only had parent meetings together. But that's not really the place to meet, so we did not have much contact. But now we talk a lot, back and forth, so now it is like, we actually spend a lot of time together. (Father, Family 6)

In that context, it is interesting that the same parent also expressed some concerns that his daughter would quit at this specific sport, and how he had 'averted' her interest in a new sport:

I think it is fun as long as it lasts. Hopefully it lasts longer than the oldest (laughs) [...] She has talked about taekwondo [...] She wanted to do that, but we sort of averted that one before it got too interesting. (Father, Family 6)

5.2.3 The normativity of sport

As noted, sports played a big part in the families' lives. Indeed, the centrality, even pre-eminence, of sport in the families' lives was well illustrated by a mother who spoke of her frustration with other parents in her children's class in relation to her child's birthday where only half of the invited children attended because there was a football match that day:

They said I should understand that they could not withdraw their children from a football match. That I as a parent had to go into the website and check their schedule. I just said "there you see how strong the football is". (Mother, family 1)

This centrality of sport was manifest in group expectations or norms, regarding parental involvement and the children's sports participation.

Norms of parental involvement. Parents' comments about other parents' expectations within the youth sports arena was a recurring topic among the sample. It was clear that taking part in their children's sports was viewed as a requirement: "It is the same parents who are there and who are not there. Every time [...] It's how it is. And it's like that for voluntary work [dugnader] as well" (mother, family 4). Some parents also drew on examples of certain types of behaviour regarding what kind of parents they did not want to be: "I am not the one who yells the highest at the sidelines. I probably do more observations of the others and their behaviour (laughs), thinking 'I am never going there' " (father, family 6).

Norms of sports participation. Most parents viewed as a kind of cultural expectation that children do something 'sporty': "It's part of the culture at school and in the area. You should be active, and that's where their friends are" (mother, family 2). Football and gymnastics, in particular, were viewed as central to the local sporting culture, for both boys and girls; "It is how it has been in [the city] for a long time, pretty much everyone starts playing football right before starting at school" (father, family 7). Furthermore, it was apparent that the parents were sensitive to the expectation that sports participation should start early;

I remember when we first came here, it was almost like a 17. May celebration. A lot of people rushing towards the sports hall, and I didn't understand what it was. And it was 'childrens gymnastics'. I have the impression that all children in [the city] have been there. Everyone we know have been there. (Mother, family 5).

Many of the parents spoke specifically of their children's friends as significant in these expectations:

Of the friends he hangs around with most, I don't think there is anyone who doesn't do any physical activity. In the school district and the area where we live, it is a lot of families and children who are active. (Mother, family 2)

6. Discussion

Herein, the findings presented in chapter 5 will be compared and explained by use of earlier studies on the field. The discussion is organized to follow the presentation of results in chapter 5 in a linear order. Thus, the socialisation of sporting cultures is discussed first, before going into the reasons as to why parents invest so much time on their children's sports. At last, the findings is discussed in relation to the grand theories presented in chapter 3.

6.1 Primary and Secondary Socialisation of Sporting Habits

In chapter 2, several aspects of children's socialisation of sporting habits was presented, both in terms of discrepancies between findings and middle-range theories. Herein, these aspects will be discussed.

6.1.1 The role of a sporting trinity

As noted earlier, families play a particularly important role in the formation of sporting habits among children (Haycock, 2015; Pot et al., 2014; Stuij, 2015). For that reason, it is interesting to find most of the parents among the sample volunteering that they had little to do with their children's initial sporting enrolment. Rather, it seems that the sports clubs themselves did much of the work with this sample by reaching out to the families to recruit through kindergarten and the schools. This somewhat contradicts earlier findings regarding parents' role as the main drivers for sports enrolment (Wheeler, 2011), as well as the shift in (in)significance of sports organisations giving way to increasing popularity in individual 'lifestyle' sports (Vaage, 2009). That is not to suggest, however, that sports clubs are solely responsible for the high rates of sports participation among the children here. To elaborate, the omnipresence and associated visibility of sport and sports participation (see theme 'normativity of sports') seem to have been the 'spark' that generated interest among the children in the sample, resulting in sports enrolment as it were, in effect, 'pushing at an open door' in terms of the parents' predispositions to encourage their children's sports participation. Certainly, the parents clearly play an important part, not only in terms of enabling participation by providing instrumental support, but also by way of following up by being there for their children, monitoring their activity levels balancing requirements of activities and total workload. Thus, something akin to the sporting trinity (Green, Thurston, Vaage, et al., 2015)

discussed in chapter 2 seem to exist, where the sporting clubs and the schools, mediated by the strong sporting culture, are an important impetus for initial sporting enrolment (in the mainstream sports), while parents are the facilitators.

6.1.2 The influence of youth culture, individualization and parents

Indeed, it seems apparent from the findings in this study that parents represent only one (albeit a very important) dimension in the formation and development of children's sporting habits. The impact of (youth) culture, outside of primary socialisation in the family, on youngsters' sporting habits is demonstrated by their perceptions of the 'coolness' of some activities as suggested by the parents' "failure" to pass on their interest for traditional *friluftsliv*. This finding echoes Green, Thurston and Vaage's (2015) argument about the shift among Norwegian youngsters towards a more adventurous oriented lifestyle form of outdoor activities. However, despite the youngsters' reluctance towards traditional *friluftsliv*, they were (at the time of the interviews) all doing the same sports as their parents are or were involved in, including lifestyle sports such as horseback riding, jogging, biking and skiing. Accordingly, this suggests that parents play an part in the development of the 'I-identity' of their youngsters, a result of the individualization discussed earlier (Green, 2010). However, it should be noted that due to the relatively low number of participants and thus limited range of lifestyle and adventure sports in the sample, it might be argued that what is identified as lifestyle sports herein is too traditional to really be viewed as a 'niche' (Gard et al., 2012).

The significance of parents' sporting past on their youngsters' development of specific sporting interest is worthy of note. While very many parents in this sample had done sports growing up (some at elite level), a few parents conceded not having done any particular sporting activities. Whereas the sample size is too small and not representative to draw any inferences, this did not, however, seem to be an indicator of their youngsters' sporting participation. Thus, the findings here lend some support to that of Wheeler (2011), that becoming sporty children did not necessitate having sporty parents – contradicting findings of the importance of sports in the family (Haycock & Smith, 2014; Hayoz et al., 2017). An explanation of the inconsistent findings in the literature regarding the importance of having sports active parents may lie in the sports interest (that naturally follow being sports active) rather than being sports active in itself. To elaborate, even though they have not taken part in it themselves, parents may have an interest for sports, for instance by being influenced by networks of families in their locality (Wheeler, 2011). As such, they are still "inclined to pass

on their ‘love of sport’” (Green et al., 2005, p. 36) on to their children. Indeed, as previously mentioned, Haycock and Smith (2014) themselves attribute the participants lack of sports participation to family cultures of marginal attentiveness towards sports rather than the sporting behaviours of the parents in itself. Concerning parents’ current sporting habits, few reported being anything more than sporadically active, substantiating how parents pay greater attention towards their children’s physical recreation than their own (Green, Thurston, Vaage, et al., 2015).

6.2 Cultural Drivers for Parental Involvement in Youth Sports

Shifting attention towards why parents invest so much in their children’s sports warrants a discussion around ‘cultural’ drivers. Below, parents’ account of sports participation benefits is discussed before going into latent benefits and the role of expectations (in other words, social norms) of parents to be involved.

6.2.1 Concerted cultivation of extrinsic and intrinsic benefits

Most parents saw sports as a way to cultivate extrinsic benefits such as skills and traits important at other arenas than sports, and/or intrinsic benefits such as sense of mastery and its resultant activity enjoyment. Related to extrinsic benefits, there were a few examples in the present study where parents explicitly talked about the making of an independent child, which is worthy of attention, as it suggests that a few parents herein intentionally and strategically (at least to some degree) use sport to cultivate their children’s cultural and social capital for the future. Underscoring this point were the occasions where parents described the world as ‘tough’ – something apparent (in form of ‘competitive’) in the Stefansen et al. (2016b) study as well. The parents in question were also those with children outside the mainstream sports (thus having actively recruited them themselves). Accordingly, the present study points in the same direction as that of Irwin and Elley (2011); on a general level, the parents did not seem to use sports to cultivate their children grounded in future anxiety. Rather, such ‘intense cultivation’ were more of an irregular behaviour. That is not to say that the parents did not hold future hopes for their children. Indeed, the strong emphasis on the importance of education across the sample shows how the future was viewed as very important, but few expressed anything other than optimism towards their children’s school prospects. Thus, rather than being a strategic action grounded in future anxiety, it seems as if most of the parents took

advantage of the opportunity provided by their children's sports participation as a consequence of the clubs attracting them.

Nevertheless, it is worthy of note that three of the five sub-themes of '*parents' beliefs of sports participation benefits*' revolved around seeing sports as a way to avoid detriments, including ill-health, rather than capitalizing on the advantages said to be related to sports. Indeed, the ways many parents described good health (e.g. strong and healthy heart) and their reflections of the role of sports in that did not play a particularly significant part in reasons for facilitating participation – rather it was acknowledged as a positive latent benefit. It is also worthy of note that parents overall expressed difficulties in controlling their children's screen-time. Certainly, screen-based devices such as iPad, phones and gaming consoles captured a big portion of the youngsters' lives, which according to some parents, had implications for their leisure physical activities, for both organized and unorganized sports. Taken into account the perceived benefits of knowing what their children were doing (under adult supervision) and the fear of exclusion, it is proposed here that parents' anxiety about the future takes second-place to a type of anxiety revolving around the here-and-now (or, at least, the near future) aspect of the children's lives.

The aspect of exclusion warrants some attention. While earlier studies have shown parents to value the extrinsic benefits of increasing social networks through sports (Wheeler, 2011), the stories in the present study regarding what might be termed marginalisation, even 'exclusion', suggests that our understanding needs to be more nuanced. It suggest that the normalisation for participation in youth sports captured here is not only about participation but also the *type* of participation. Indeed, those not being part of one of the mainstream sports (dominantly football) are viewed by their parents as being at risk of social marginalisation (if not exclusion), not just within sports but at school and leisure as well. Thus, as parents seem keenly aware of this fact, the strong norm for parental involvement might be partly contributing to anxiety about the here-and-now well-being of their children. This is underscored by the parents' emphasis on the intrinsic benefits of sports participation.

Certainly, the role of psychological well-being seemed to be particular important benefits as perceived by the parents, as it stands as the strongest (in terms of prevalence) reported perceived benefit of sports across the sample herein, expressed through their values of sense of mastery, enjoyment and general happiness. Similar findings was done by (Stefansen et al., 2016a, 2016b) as well. This is interesting as it stands somewhat in contrast to sports studies abroad, where extrinsic benefits seem to play a more important role, like in England (Wheeler, 2011, 2013; Wheeler & Green, 2012), and even stronger in United States

(Coakley, 2006). This may suggest then, that the pervasiveness of the view that sport is something important intrinsically is an area where Norway differs from sporting culture abroad (outside of Scandinavia), where sports participation is lower to that of Norway (Coalter, 2012). Based on the findings here, an explanation for the difference in the value-orientation towards sports might be due to the high prevalence of parents with a sporting past, meaning they have experienced these intrinsic benefits themselves.

6.2.2 Latent benefits for the parents

The narratives of the parents revealed how the parents experienced and valued the benefits they themselves gained from their children's sports participation. Indeed, it is clear that youth sport was seen as an important social arena for the parents, where bonds of different types could be and were formed and established. There is little existing research discussing 'sociability' and other latent functions for the parents as a potential factor for their involvement in their children's leisure sports involvement (see Bach (2014), presented in chapter 2). While the extent to how highly the parents spoke of these experiences varied, almost all valued it as something positive, and a few saw it as an essential part of their involvement underscoring the potential that lay therein for sports clubs in terms of sports participation and/or parental involvement interventions. Nevertheless, it is important to reflect on the potential detrimental effects as well. However based on researcher's interpretation, the occasion of a parent actively averting his child's interest in other sporting activities may be an example of how possible parental pressure towards the children's participation come to exist as a result of parents more-or-less consciously recognising the latent benefits that they accrue by becoming 'too invested'. In this regard, parental pressure is well researched within youth sports and linked with negative enjoyment for sports and loss of motivation on the part of children (Anderson, Funk, Elliott, & Smith, 2003; Kanters, Bocarro, & Casper, 2008; Sánchez-Miguel, Leo, Sánchez-Oliva, Amado, & García-Calvo, 2013). Furthermore, with the Bach (2014) study in mind, there is the possibility of a social exclusion effect among the parents as well, for those who do not possess the resources in terms of time to involve as much in their children's sports. However, further research needs to be done on the phenomenon of sociability among parents in Norwegian youth sports to provide further knowledge on the topic.

6.2.3 Normalisation within youth sports

As pointed out by Trussell and Shaw (2012), parenting is a phenomenon that moves from the private institution of the home to be a public act observed by others, having implications for the creation of ‘good parenting’ norms. Indeed, talks among the parents in this study about who did or did not partake in carpooling, voluntary work (dugnader) or what they perceived as deviant behaviour on the sideline lends support to that statement. Thus, as Wheeler and Green (2012) hypothesise, parents themselves have a part in the reproduction of the normalisation of parental involvement.

In Norway, the normalisation for parents’ involvement in their children’s sports participation (among both working- and middle-class) is equally followed by a normalisation for children to be sports active (Stefansen et al., 2016a, 2016b). Such expectations was obvious here as well, demonstrated by parents’ talk about their children’s participation. Indeed, the parents’ strict sense of the importance of doing something rather than doing nothing, or be sedentary, is well illustrative of the norm for a physically active leisure in Norwegian culture in general (Green, Thurston, & Vaage, 2015; Green, Thurston, Vaage, et al., 2015; Stefansen et al., 2016a). Relatedly, the strong impact sporting clubs seemed to have in recruiting through ‘marketing’, by way of sending general informational letters home with the children, raises the question whether this would have worked at the same strength elsewhere, were sports is less embedded in the culture. The aggressive and persistent marketing of recreational activities in England (Evans & Davies, 2010) entails reasons to doubt it would.

The high sports participation rates in Norway in general may also have implications that could explain why parents succumb to the ‘cultural logic’ of sports involvement. The increasing popularity of sports participation may have led to a democratisation of sports as discussed earlier, leading to sports and/or health outcomes (such as being sporty and slim) now being viewed as *deficits* for those who do not comply with the norm (Evans & Davies, 2010). Indeed, the parents’ emphasis within this sample on being physically adept and avoiding ‘being fat’ supports this view. Arguably, parents therefore may feel more pressured to invest their capital in their children’s sports, painting a picture of a ‘corporealisation of childhood’ (Evans & Davies, 2010).

6.3 Structural Drivers for Parental Involvement in Youth Sports

The purpose here is to discuss the findings in light of the theories distinction (Bourdieu, 1984) and omnivorousness (Peterson & Kern, 1996). That is to say, if the findings suggests that parents' involvement in their children's sports is manifested in 'structural' drivers such as reproduction of middle-class interests.

It was evident that the amount of economic capital warranted to facilitate participation was dependent on the type of sports. Nevertheless, none of the parents among the sample expressed any explicit worries about the costs related to the sports. This is not surprising, taken into account the affluence among the families in this sample. Yet, it still may suggests that the previously demonstrated significant role of economic capital for sports participation (Green et al., 2005; Haycock & Smith, 2014) is less significant in Norway. However, that is not taking into account the wider role of economics, such as income inequalities and its wider socio-psychological effects on sports participation (Coalter, 2012), or the potential for investing and exchanging economic capital into other forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Nevertheless, the parents clearly found sports to be a worthwhile investment, at least for a range of short and medium term goals, and seemingly prioritised their children's sports over their own needs.

Notwithstanding the insignificant role of economic capital, cultural capital seemed to play an important part herein. Most prominent were the instances of those who had been involved at elite sports who made use of their experiences in coaching roles, but more interestingly, these experiences also seemed to be reasons for parents being careful about not pushing their children too hard. Thus, an embodied cultural capital consisting of sporting expertise and experiences of the potentially demanding and competitive nature of sports seemed to be a mediator in forming their children's sporting habitus through practices and strategies. That is not to say that those without elite sports experiences are dispossessed of the opportunity to form their children's habitus, but it may be hypothesised that the aforementioned embodied cultural capital together with an institutionalised cultural capital in term of status give this group an advantage in socialising their children into sports.

Young Norwegians have been described as 'the quintessential sporting omnivores' (Green, Thurston, Vaage, et al., 2015). The existence of omnivorousness is apparent within this study in terms of not only *variety* of types of participation, but also the *parents' values* of wide sporting repertoires. Seeing this in relation with the discourses of 'clumsiness' and importance of diversity there is some support here to the claim of omnivorousness as a new

marker of distinction (Stefansen & Aarseth, 2011; Vincent & Ball, 2007). Indeed, adding the importance of ‘children’s gymnastics’ in the vicinity and the norm of doing two different types of activities it seems to exist a ‘group habitus’ (Green, Thurston, Vaage, et al., 2015) for versatility as a marker for ‘being sporty’.

It is important to be clear on what is being suggested here; there is little evidence on the volition of the parents to secure their class interests. The low prevalence of ‘intense’ concerted cultivation grounded in future anxiety underscores this point. Rather, it is evident that the parents are more concerned with ‘here-and-nearest future’ than the anxiety around social reproduction for longer future interests (such as getting a well-paid job). Moreover, the strong agreement among the sample over the needlessness of procuring the most expensive equipment for their children foregoes the volitional act of distinction and taste (Bourdieu, 1984).

The apparent lack of anxiety on the part of the parents towards their children’s futures may be explained by socio-economic factors. Studies which have found parents generally tend to intentionally and strategically invest in their children to secure their future interests (e.g. Coakley, 2006; Vincent & Ball, 2007) have been conducted in countries with far higher socio-economic inequalities than Norway (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, s.a). Following Wilkinson and Pickett’s (2009) argument, greater inequalities leads to a more individualistic society, where success is seen as a personal achievement and strength, which further leads to more competitive attitudes. Thus, in countries like Norway, where the inequalities are smaller, the sense of competitiveness appears somewhat smaller (albeit not entirely absent), which may result in less anxiety about the future.

7. Conclusion

Contrary to the expectations that might be derived from the literature presented in chapter 2, the parents herein did not seem to play a particularly important role in initiating enrolment into sports. Rather, the local sporting clubs and the strong sporting culture is suggested to have been the impetus for initial sporting enrolment in the early years, while the parents facilitated by way of parenting strategies and practices in addition to laying foundations for ongoing participation, irrespective of the source of their initial interest. Moreover, the sporting culture was also shown in how susceptible parents and their children was to general marketing for recruitment – suggesting little needs to be done to generate interest. Furthermore, the parents' strong emphasis on intrinsic benefits underscores the uniqueness of Norwegian sport culture compared to that abroad, where sports participation is lower to that of Norway (Coalter, 2012).

As suggested by Stefansen et al. (2016b), the increasing parental involvement in youth sports may be contributed to by the parents' upbringing in a society with increasing opportunities for sports. This seems true for most of the parents in this sample, thus leading to the parents possess a wider form of embodied cultural capital, which seems to have formed a 'group habitus' of versatility in terms of wide sporting repertoires as the new 'sporty'. This seemed again to have been internalised by the families, creating a similar 'family habitus' (Coakley, 2006), where sports works as an important vehicle to deliver on these outcomes, with the sporting trinity as a chauffeur. With Birchwood et al.'s (2008) revelations of the importance of habits formed during childhood in mind, there is basis then for suggesting that through a mix of parental facilitation, sporting clubs and the strong Norwegian sporting culture, something similar to the 'sporting trinity' after Green, Thurston, Vaage, et al. (2015) strengthens children's sporting predispositions, providing foundations for further sports participation for years to come

This study suggests there is reason for optimism regarding sustained high sports participation rates in Norway. However, in terms of implications for policy-makers or interventions to increase sports participation rates with the goal of improving health outside of Norway, this study uncovers some concerns. While Green, Thurston, Vaage, et al. (2015) recognises how the socio-economic advantages of Norway makes it "unrealistic as a benchmark for sports participation elsewhere" (p. 300), they see "some optimism around parental involvement" (p. 285). The findings here suggests that while parents play an important part in the formation of their youngsters' sporting habits, it happens in interaction with a deeply embedded sporting culture that may just exist *because* of the high participation

rates. This is a predicament as it may render interventions less effective in countries where sports participation is lower. However, in terms of thinking ‘it have to start somewhere’, what better place than here?

7.1.1 Limitations and future research

Inevitably, the thesis has some limitations. First, it is important to note that the concept of socialisation has its limitations in how it tend to oversimplify how individuals are influenced as it overlooks the role of interpretations, or even rejections, of what is learned (Green, 2010). Second, it is also important to note that the analysis here does not provide any definitive conclusions towards why parents invest so much time on their children’s sports participation, rather it provides some plausible connections in the deeply complex web of structural and cultural drivers for parental involvement. Third, due to constraints in terms of time, the number of interviews means that it is likely that some insights have been unobserved – thus theoretical saturation may not have been achieved (Bryman, 2015). Fourth, while the findings are discussed partly in terms of class specific behaviour, this thesis did not go into analysis of differences between social classes. Thus, due to the low representation of working-class in this sample, it remains unanswered whether the behaviours found here are limited to the middle-class only.

When it comes to directions for further research, there is a need for more knowledge concerning the phenomenon of sociability among parents in Norwegian youth sports, both in terms of positive and negative effects. Furthermore, while gendered parenting in youth sports have received much attention abroad, no such work is done in Norway. At last, as parents in this study was found to be struggling to cope with the impact of screen-based devices on their physical activity levels, further research on this phenomenon could be of importance.

8. References

- Anderson, J. C., Funk, J. B., Elliott, R., & Smith, P. H. (2003). Parental support and pressure and children's extracurricular activities: relationships with amount of involvement and affective experience of participation. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology, 24*(2), 241-257. doi:[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0193-3973\(03\)00046-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0193-3973(03)00046-7)
- Bach, D. (2014). Parenting among wealthy Danish families: a concerted civilising process. *Ethnography and Education, 9*(2), 224-237.
- Ball, S. J. (2010). New class inequalities in education: Why education policy may be looking in the wrong place! Education policy, civil society and social class. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy, 30*(3/4), 155-166. doi:10.1108/01443331011033346
- Bennett, T., Savage, M., Silva, E., Warde, A., Gayo-Cal, M., & Wright, D. (2009). *Culture, class, distinction*. New York: Routledge.
- Birchwood, D., Roberts, K., & Pollock, G. (2008). Explaining differences in sport participation rates among young adults: Evidence from the South Caucasus. *European physical education review, 14*(3), 283-298.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 280-291). Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J.-C. (1990). *Reproduction in education, society and culture* (4th ed.): Sage.
- Brannen, J., & Nilsen, A. (2006). From Fatherhood to Fathering: Transmission and Change among British Fathers in Four-generation Families. *Sociology, 40*(2), 335-352. doi:10.1177/0038038506062036
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology, 3*(2), 77-101.
- Bryman, A. (2015). *Social research methods*: Oxford university press.
- Charmaz, K. (2014). *Constructing grounded theory* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.
- Coakley, J. (2006). The good father: Parental expectations and youth sports. *Leisure studies, 25*(2), 153-163.
- Coalter, F. (2012). Game Plan and The Spirit Level: the class ceiling and the limits of sports policy? *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics, 5*(1), 3-19. doi:10.1080/19406940.2012.656690
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (4th ed.): Sage publications.
- Dixon, M. A., Warner, S. M., & Bruening, J. E. (2008). More than Just Letting Them Play: Parental Influence on Women's Lifetime Sport Involvement. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 25*(4), 538-559. doi:10.1123/ssj.25.4.538
- Dorsch, T. E., Smith, A. L., & McDonough, M. H. (2015). Early socialization of parents through organized youth sport. *Sport, Exercise, and Performance Psychology, 4*(1), 3-18. doi:10.1037/spy0000021
- Elias, N. (2000). *The civilizing process*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Engström, L.-M. (2008). Who is physically active? Cultural capital and sports participation from adolescence to middle age—a 38-year follow-up study. *Physical education and sport pedagogy, 13*(4), 319-343.

-
- Evans, J., & Davies, B. (2010). Family, class and embodiment: why school physical education makes so little difference to post-school participation patterns in physical activity. *International journal of qualitative studies in education*, 23(7), 765-784.
- Furstenberg, F. F., Jr. (2010). On a new schedule: transitions to adulthood and family change. *Future Child*, 20(1), 67-87.
- Gard, M., Hickey-Moodey, A., & Enright, E. (2012). Youth culture, physical education and the question of relevance: after 20 years, a reply to Tinning and Fitzclarence. *Sport, Education and Society*, 18(1), 97-114. doi:10.1080/13573322.2012.690341
- Gillies, V. (2005). Raising the 'meritocracy' parenting and the individualization of social class. *Sociology*, 39(5), 835-853.
- Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding reliability and validity in qualitative research. *The qualitative report*, 8(4), 597-606.
- Green, K. (2010). *Key Themes in Youth Sport*. London: Routledge.
- Green, K., Smith, A., & Roberts, K. (2005). Young people and lifelong participation in sport and physical activity: a sociological perspective on contemporary physical education programmes in England and Wales. *Leisure studies*, 24(1), 27-43.
- Green, K., Thurston, M., & Vaage, O. (2015). Isn't it good, Norwegian wood? Lifestyle and adventure sports participation among Norwegian youth. *Leisure studies*, 34(5), 529-546.
- Green, K., Thurston, M., Vaage, O., & Roberts, K. (2015). '[We're on the right track, baby], we were born this way'! Exploring sports participation in Norway. *Sport, Education and Society*, 20(3), 285-303. doi:10.1080/13573322.2013.769947
- Grix, J. (2002). Introducing students to the generic terminology of social research. *Politics*, 22(3), 175-186.
- Harwood, C. G., & Knight, C. J. (2015). Parenting in youth sport: A position paper on parenting expertise. *Psychology of sport and exercise*, 16, 24-35.
- Haycock, D. (2015). *University Students' Sport Participation: The Significance of Sport and Leisure Careers*. Unpublished PhD thesis. University of Chester. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10034/600537>
- Haycock, D., & Smith, A. (2014). A family affair? Exploring the influence of childhood sport socialisation on young adults' leisure-sport careers in north-west England. *Leisure studies*, 33(3), 285-304.
- Haycock, D., & Smith, A. (2016). Youth, sport and leisure careers. In K. Green & A. Smith (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Youth Sport* (pp. 42-54). Oxon: Routledge.
- Hayoz, C., Klostermann, C., Schmid, J., Schlesinger, T., & Nagel, S. (2017). Intergenerational transfer of a sports-related lifestyle within the family. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 1012690217702525. doi:10.1177/1012690217702525
- Irwin, S., & Elley, S. (2011). Concerted cultivation? Parenting values, education and class diversity. *Sociology*, 45(3), 480-495.
- Johnston, D. D., & Swanson, D. H. (2006). Constructing the "Good Mother": The Experience of Mothering Ideologies by Work Status. *Sex Roles*, 54(7), 509-519. doi:10.1007/s11199-006-9021-3
- Kanters, M. A., Bocarro, J., & Casper, J. (2008). Supported or pressured? An examination of agreement among parent's and children on parent's role in youth sports. *Journal of sport behavior*, 31(1), 64.
- Kirby, J., Levin, K. A., & Inchley, J. (2011). Parental and peer influences on physical activity among Scottish adolescents: a longitudinal study. *Journal of Physical Activity and Health*, 8(6), 785.
- Kvale, S., & Brinkmann, S. (2015). *Det kvalitative forskningsintervju* (3rd ed.). Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS.

-
- Lareau, A. (2003). *Unequal childhoods: Class, race, and family life* (2nd ed.). Berkeley: University of California Press
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1986). But is it rigorous? Trustworthiness and authenticity in naturalistic evaluation. *New directions for evaluation*, 1986(30), 73-84.
- Maxwell, J. A. (2012). *A realist approach for qualitative research*. California: Sage Publications.
- Merton, R. K. (1967). *On theoretical sociology: five essays, old and new*. New York: Free Press.
- Ning, W., Gao, Z., & Lodewyk, K. (2012). Associations between socio-motivational factors, physical education activity levels and physical activity behavior among youth. *The ICHPER-SD Journal of Research in Health, Physical Education, Recreation, Sport & Dance*, 7(2), 3.
- Norwegian Ministry of Culture. (1999). *Idrettslivet i endring: om statens forhold til idrett og fysisk aktivitet*. (Meld. St. 14, 1999-2000). Retrieved from <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/stmeld-nr-14-1999-2000-/id192652/>.
- Norwegian Ministry of Culture. (2011). *Den norske idrettsmodellen*. (Meld. St. 26, 2011-2012). Retrieved from <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/meld-st-26-20112012/id684356/sec1>.
- Norwegian Ministry of Health and Care Services. (2015). *Folkehelsemeldingen - Mestring og muligheter*. (St.meld. nr. 19, 2014-2015). Retrieved from <https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/7fe0d990020b4e0fb61f35e1e05c84fe/no/pdfs/stm201420150019000dddpdfs.pdf>.
- Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports. (2015). *Idrettspolitisk dokument 2015–2019*. Retrieved from <https://www.idrettsforbundet.no/om-nif/idrettspolitisk-dokument-2015-2019/>
- Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports. (s.a.). Retningslinjer for ungdomsidrett. Retrieved from <https://www.idrettsforbundet.no/tema/ungdomsidrett/retningslinjer-for-ungdomsidrett/>
- Oliver, P. (2010). *The student's guide to research ethics* (2nd ed.). Berkshire: McGraw-Hill Education.
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (s.a). Inequality. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/social/inequality.htm>
- Patton, M. Q. (2015). *Qualitative research & Evaluation Methods* (4th ed.). London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Perrier, M. (2013). Middle-class Mothers' Moralities and 'Concerted Cultivation': Class Others, Ambivalence and Excess. *Sociology*, 47(4), 655-670. doi:doi:10.1177/0038038512453789
- Peterson, R. A. (1992). Understanding audience segmentation: From elite and mass to omnivore and univore. *Poetics*, 21(4), 243-258.
- Peterson, R. A., & Kern, M. R. (1996). Changing highbrow taste: From snob to omnivore. *American Sociological Review*, 61, 900 - 907.
- Peterson, R. A., & Simkus, A. (1992). How musical tastes mark occupational status groups'. In M. Lamont & M. Fournier (Eds.), *Cultivating Differences* (pp. 152-186): Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Pot, N., Verbeek, J., van der Zwan, J., & van Hilvoorde, I. (2014). Socialisation into organised sports of young adolescents with a lower socio-economic status. *Sport, Education and Society*, 21(3), 319-338. doi:10.1080/13573322.2014.914901

- Reay, D. (2004). 'It's all becoming a habitus': beyond the habitual use of habitus in educational research. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 25(4), 431-444. doi:10.1080/0142569042000236934
- Roberts, K. (2009). *Key Concepts in Sociology*. London: Palgrave.
- Roberts, K. (2016). Youth leisure as the context for youth sport. In K. Green & A. Smith (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Youth Sport* (pp. 18-25). Oxon: Routledge.
- Sallis, J. F., Prochaska, J. J., & Taylor, W. C. (2000). A review of correlates of physical activity of children and adolescents. *Medicine and science in sports and exercise*, 32(5), 963-975.
- Sánchez-Miguel, P. A., Leo, F. M., Sánchez-Oliva, D., Amado, D., & García-Calvo, T. (2013). The importance of parents' behavior in their children's enjoyment and amotivation in sports. *Journal of human kinetics*, 36(1), 169-177.
- Seippel, Ø., Strandbu, Å., & Sletten, M. A. (2011). Ungdom og trening. Endring over tid og sosiale skillelinjer. *NOVA report*, 3, 2011.
- Shaw, S. M., & Dawson, D. (2001). Purposive leisure: Examining parental discourses on family activities. *Leisure Sciences*, 23(4), 217-231.
- Shih, Y.-P., & Yi, C.-C. (2014). Cultivating the Difference: Social Class, Parental Values, Cultural Capital and Children's After-School Activities in Taiwan. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 55-75.
- Skille, E. Å. (2010). Competitiveness and health: The work of sport clubs as seen by sport clubs representatives - a Norwegian case study. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 45(1), 73-85. doi:doi:10.1177/1012690209352395
- Stefansen, K. (2007). Familiens rolle i reproduksjonen av ulikhet. Kunnskapsbidrag fra kvalitative studier av foreldreskap. [Family's role in reproduction of inequalities. Contribution of knowledge from qualitative studies of parenting]. *Sosiologisk tidsskrift*, 15, 245-264.
- Stefansen, K., & Aarseth, H. (2011). Enriching intimacy: The role of the emotional in the 'resourcing' of middle-class children. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 32(3), 389-405.
- Stefansen, K., Smette, I., & Strandbu, Å. (2016a). "De må drive med noe": Idrettens mening i ungdomstida, fra foreldres perspektiv. In Ø. Seippel, M. K. Sisjord, & Å. Strandbu (Eds.), *Ungdom og Idrett* (pp. 154-172). Oslo: Cappelen Damm akademisk.
- Stefansen, K., Smette, I., & Strandbu, Å. (2016b). Understanding the increase in parents' involvement in organized youth sports. *Sport, Education and Society*, 1-11.
- Stempel, C. (2005). Adult Participation Sports as Cultural Capital A Test of Bourdieu's Theory of the Field of Sports. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 40(4), 411-432.
- Strachan, L., Côté, J., & Deakin, J. (2009). "Specializers" versus "Samplers" in Youth Sport: Comparing Experiences and Outcomes. *The Sport Psychologist*, 23(1), 77-92. doi:doi:10.1123/tsp.23.1.77
- Stuij, M. (2015). Habitus and social class: a case study on socialisation into sports and exercise. *Sport, Education and Society*, 20(6), 780-798. doi:10.1080/13573322.2013.827568
- Støckel, J. T., Strandbu, Å., Solenes, O., Jørgensen, P., & Fransson, K. (2010). Sport for children and youth in the Scandinavian countries. *Sport in Society*, 13(4), 625-642. doi:10.1080/17430431003616332
- Sullivan, O., & Katz-Gerro, T. (2007). The omnivore thesis revisited: Voracious cultural consumers. *European sociological review*, 23(2), 123-137.
- The Norwegian National Research Ethics Committees. (2016). *Guidelines for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences, Humanities, Law and Theology*. Retrieved from

https://www.etikkom.no/globalassets/documents/english-publications/60127_fek_guidelines_nesh_digital_corr.pdf

- Trussell, D. E., & Shaw, S. M. (2012). Organized youth sport and parenting in public and private spaces. *Leisure Sciences*, 34(5), 377-394.
- Vaage, O. (2009). *Mosjon, Friluftsliv og Kulturaktiviteter. Resultater fra Levekarsundersøkelsene fra 1997-2007* (Report 2009/15). Retrieved from https://www.ssb.no/a/publikasjoner/pdf/rapp_200915/rapp_200915.pdf
- Vincent, C., & Ball, S. J. (2007). Making up the middle-class child: families, activities and class dispositions. *Sociology*, 41(6), 1061-1077.
- Vincent, C., Ball, S. J., & Kemp, S. (2004). The social geography of childcare: Making up a middle-class child. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 25(2), 229-244.
- Vincent, C., Braun, A., & Ball, S. J. (2008). Childcare, choice and social class: Caring for young children in the UK. *Critical Social Policy*, 28(1), 5-26.
- Vincent, C., & Maxwell, C. (2016). Parenting priorities and pressures: furthering understanding of 'concerted cultivation'. *Discourse: Studies in the cultural politics of education*, 37(2), 269-281.
- Vincent, C., Rollock, N., Ball, S. J., & David, G. (2012). Being strategic, being watchful, being determined: Black middle-class parents and schooling. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 33(3), 337-354. doi:10.1080/01425692.2012.668833
- Weed, M. (2009). Research quality considerations for grounded theory research in sport & exercise psychology. *Psychology of sport and exercise*, 10(5), 502-510.
- Wheeler, S. (2011). The significance of family culture for sports participation. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 47(2), 235-252.
- Wheeler, S. (2013). *Patterns of Parenting, Class Relations and Inequalities in Education and Leisure: A Grounded Theory*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Department of Sport and Exercise Science. University of Chester. United Kingdom.
- Wheeler, S., & Green, K. (2012). Parenting in relation to children's sports participation: generational changes and potential implications. *Leisure studies*, 33(3), 267-284.
- Widdop, P., Cutts, D., & Jarvie, G. (2014). Omnivorosity in sport: The importance of social capital and networks. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 51(5), 596-616. doi:10.1177/1012690214541101
- Wilkinson, R. G., & Pickett, K. (2009). *The spirit level: Why more equal societies almost always do better*. London: Allen Lane.
- Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case Study Research: Design and methods* (4th ed.). Los Angeles: Sage.

Appendix I
Interview Guide

Intervju Guide

Informasjon om intervjuet

- Båndopptaker
- Konfidensialitet / Anonymitet / Frivillighet
- Hvilket barn intervjuet skal gjelde
- Rekkefølgen av spørsmål
- Det er ingen rette eller gale spørsmål, og dere kan velge å ikke svare
- Noen spørsmål kan synes å være like
- Definisjon på fysisk aktivitet / idrettsdeltakelse i denne sammenheng
- Åpen for spørsmål

Potensielle oppfølgingsspørsmål:

- Kan du fortelle meg hva du mener med _____?
- Kan du fortelle meg mer om _____?
- Kan du forklare _____?
- Kan du gi meg et eksempel på _____?
- Du sa _____, kan du fortelle meg hvorfor du tenker dette?
- Du har ikke nevnt _____, har du noen synspunkter på dette?

Dato: **Tid:**

Intervju nummer:

Informasjon om familiebakgrunn

Familiens etternavn: _____

Familemedlemmer: _____

Tilstede: _____

Bo-område: _____

Foreldres utdanning: _____

Yrke: _____

Arbeidstimer: _____

Husstandens inntekt: _____

Ekstra informasjon: _____

Semi-Strukturert Guide

<p>Familiens uke</p> <p>1. Kan du beskrive en typisk uke for deres familie på daglig basis?</p>	<p>-Hva gjør hvert familiemedlem, og når gjør de det? -Travelt? -God tid til oppfølging?</p>
<p>2. Hvordan ser fritiden til ditt barn ut?</p>	<p>Lekser Venner</p>
<p>Barns deltakelse</p> <p>3. Hvilke fysiske fritidsaktiviteter bedriver ditt barn med? a. Hvorfor disse aktivitetene? b. Hvor gjøres de? c. Reisetid? d. Med hvem?</p> <p>4. Bedrev han/henne med noen andre type aktiviteter før?</p>	<p>Organisert/Uorganisert</p>
<p>5. Hvordan ble han/hun introdusert for denne/disse aktivitetene?</p>	
<p>6. Hvilke andre typer aktiviteter kunne du ønsket at ditt barn skulle deltatt på hvis du kunne bestemt? a. Gjør dere noen uteaktiviteter sammen i familien? b. Hvis relevant, hvorfor? c. Hvis relevant, hvor kommer dette fra?</p>	<p>Friluftsliv?</p>
<p>7. Hvordan var din deltakelse i fysisk aktivitet når du var på ditt barns alder? a. Hvor mange og hvilke aktiviteter? b. Hvis forskjellig, hvorfor? c. Hvordan var dine foreldre involvert i din fysiske aktivitet? d. Hvor aktiv er du nå?</p>	<p>Aktiv fortid? Interessert i sport?</p>
<p>8. Er det noen andre forskjeller i forhold til hvordan du ble oppdratt og hvordan du oppdrar dine barn i sammenheng med fysisk aktivitet?</p>	
<p>WHY</p> <p>9. Hvorfor er det viktig for deg at barna er i fysisk aktivitet? a. Hvorfor er dette viktig? b. Hvordan har du kommet frem til dette?</p>	<p>Aktivitetsglede? Utvikling? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fysiske evner • Personlige evner • Sosiale evner </p>

10. Hvilke mål har du med dine barns fysiske aktivitet?	
11. Hvordan forstår du helse i forbindelse med fysisk fritidsaktivitet?	
12. Hvilke helsefordeler tenker du at fysisk aktivitet bidrar til? a. Hvor viktig er dette helseaspektet for deg i forhold til ditt barns fysiske aktivitet? Hvorfor?	
13. Hva tror du har påvirket ditt barn til å drive med fysisk aktivitet?	
14. Hvordan har din rolle vært? a. Hvordan har du gått frem for å oppnå dette?	
15. Hvordan går du frem for å sikre at de ikke gir seg?	
Støtte	
16. Gjør du noen aktiviteter med ditt barn? a. Hvis ja, hva? b. Hvis relevant, hvilken foreldre gjør hva?	
17. Har du/dere noen spesielle roller i hans/hennes fysiske aktiviteter på noen måte? a. Hvis relevant – hvilken forelder gjør hva?	Coaching? Other roles?
18. Hvordan støtter dere hans/hennes fysiske aktivitet ellers? a. Hvis relevant – hvilken forelder gjør hva?	Transport Kjøpe utstyr Betale medlemskaper Se på treninger/kamper Gi tilbakemeldinger / Tips
19. Hvordan gir du/dere bekreftelser/ros og kritikk? a. Kan du komme med noen eksempler?	Verbal ros Belønninger
20. Er det noe som hindrer dere i å utføre den støtten dere ønsker som foreldre?	
21. Hvordan er samholdet med de andre foreldrene i idrettsgruppene?	
Påvirkninger	
22. Hva tror du har påvirket deg til å utøve din støtte i ditt barns fysiske aktiviteter på?	Oppvekst
Hva tror du har påvirket ditt barn til å drive med fysisk aktivitet?	Forventninger/Normer?

23. Med tanke på det å oppdra barn inn i fysisk aktivitet, hvordan vil du beskrive området dere bor i?	
24. Bor det andre familier i nærheten som er involvert i de samme aktivitetene? a. Hvilke forhold har dere til familiene rundt? b. Er det et samhold blant familiene i området?''	
25. Har barnet ditt venner som ikke er fysisk aktive/deltar i noen form for idrett?	

Appendix II

Informed consent letters to the parents

Informasjonsskriv om masterprosjekt: Foreldres rolle i deres barns fysiske fritidsaktiviteter

Kjære Foreldre ved 7. klasse på Hanstad Barne- og Ungdomsskole,

Jeg vil sette stor pris på om dere setter av noen minutter av deres tid til å lese dette brevet som handler om en forskningsstudie som skal gjennomføres.

Jeg er masterstudent ved Høgskolen i Innlandet på Elverum og jeg ønsker å finne ut av arbeidet dere foreldre legger ned i forbindelse med deres barns deltakelse i fysiske fritidsaktiviteter (organisert og/eller uorganisert). I den sammenheng er jeg interessert i å prate med deg/dere om dette for å få en forståelse av **hvordan dere bidrar i deres barns fysiske fritidsaktiviteter.**

Deltakelse i studien vil medføre et kort intervju med deg og eventuelt din partner (om aktuelt). Jeg tar gjerne imot begge foreldre, eller én – hva enn som er mest passende for deg/dere. Intervjuet vil sannsynligvis ikke ta mer enn én time, og vil bli utført på et tidspunkt som du/dere velger. Intervjuet kan gjennomføres hjemme hos deg, på Høgskolen (Terningen Arena), eller andre steder om ønskelig.

Under intervjuet vil følgende bli tatt opp: Generell bakgrunnsinformasjon om deg/dere. Deres barns deltakelse i fysiske fritidsaktiviteter og din/deres rolle i dette. Disse spørsmålene er på ingen måte en test – jeg er kun interessert i å høre om deres synspunkter og erfaringer.

Intervjuet vil bli tatt opp på lydbånd. All informasjon som samles, og alt som blir sagt om deg/deres familie er taushetsbelagt og behandles fortrolig. Ingen navn eller annen gjenkjennbar informasjon vil bli nevnt i en eventuell publisering. Det er kun jeg og min veileder som vil ha tilgang til opplysningene som hentes inn om deg. All informasjon vil bli slettet ved studiens slutt Juni 2017.

Deltakelsen er frivillig, og du kan når som helst trekke deg uten å oppgi noen grunn. Dersom du trekker deg vil alle opplysninger bli slettet. Studien er meldt til og godkjent av Norsk Senter for Forskningsdata. Studien avsluttes 30.06.2017, og all identifiserbar data vil bli slettet ved dette tidspunktet.

For å melde deg på ta kontakt med meg på telefon eller e-mail.

Kontaktinformasjon:

Patrick Foss Johansen

Tlf:

E-post:

Har du spørsmål om studien er det bare å ta kontakt.

Samtykke til deltakelse i studien

Jeg har mottatt informasjon om studien, og er villig til å delta

(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

Appendix III

Process of analysis

Meaning unit	Condensed Code	Focused Code	Thematic Code
You have to be able to manage everything too. Both her and us. So, we have to be carefull, make sure it isn't too much. (Father, family 6)	Careful not to take on too much	Family and child's workload	Ensuring balance
We have a rule of maximum two different activities. They can't do too much, because the total workload would be too big (Mother, family 2).	Limit amoung of activities.		
We try to be aware of the total workload. If I notice that she's generally tired or irritable, then we sit down and talk about if it is too much. Because, there are a lot of activities, and I try to be aware of the fact that it is OK to be a bit bored, to find something to do on her own. We don't have to go to practice at six o'clock every time. (Mother, family 4)	Aware of child's total workload. Good to be bored	Monitoring workload	
None of us have done it, but she was introduced through a note in kindergarten. That's where it started, really. (Father, family 6)	Introduced through note	Sports club recruiting	Recruiting
He was introduced to gymnastics through the 'children's gymnastics group' (Father, family 3)	Introduced through sports		
I have not been the impetus, so it's not like it's me they got it from (laughs) (Father, family 10)	Parents not the impetus	Parents not recruiting	

Appendix IV

Approval from Norwegian Centre for Research Data

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, <http://pvo.nsd.no/prosjekt>.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 30.06.2017, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Kjersti Haugstvedt

Amalie Statland Fantoft

Kontaktperson: Amalie Statland Fantoft tlf: 55 58 36 41

Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Kopi: Patrick Foss Johansen

Personvernombudet for forskning



Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar

Prosjektnr: 51073

INFORMASJON OG SAMTYKKE

I følge meldeskjemaet skal deltakerne i studien informeres skriftlig og muntlig om prosjektet og samtykke til deltakelse. Informasjonsskrivet er godt utformet, men du må informere deltakerne om at prosjektet avsluttes

30.06.2017.

INFORMASJON TIL BARNA

Selv om det er foreldrene som skal intervjues, mener personvernombudet av barna deres også bør informeres om prosjektet ettersom det er barnas fritidsaktiviteter som er tema.

INFORMASJONSSIKKERHET

Personvernombudet legger til grunn at dere behandler alle data og personopplysninger i tråd med Høgskolen i Hedmark sine retningslinjer for innsamling og videre behandling av forskningsdata og personopplysninger.

PROSJEKTSLUTT OG ANONYMISERING

I meldeskjemaet har dere informert om at forventet prosjektslutt er 30.06.2017. Ifølge prosjektmeldingen skal dere da anonymisere innsamlede opplysninger. Anonymisering innebærer at dere bearbeider datamaterialet slik at ingen enkeltpersoner kan gjenkjennes. Det gjør dere ved å slette direkte personopplysninger, slette eller omskrive indirekte personopplysninger og slette digitale lydopptak.