Moving Children Toward a Better Life: Hispanic Mothers' Vision for Leisure Activity

MOVING CHILDREN TOWARD A BETTER LIFE:

HISPANIC MOTHERS‟ VISION FOR LEISURE ACTIVITY

by

Sue A. Anderson

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STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

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ABSTRACT

Background: Childhood obesity is epidemic, and Hispanic children bear a particularly high health burden because of it. Evidence suggests that obesity prevention is a better option than intervention. Because schools have decreased the amount of time spent in physical education classes, leisure time has become the time to engage in physical activity, which may prevent obesity. Social ecology theory posits that a person‟s interaction with the environment has a strong influence on health promoting behavior. Further, this theory suggests that cultural values also play a role. The extant literature points to the sedentary nature of Hispanic children. However, it does not provide a description of the activities that children engage in during their leisure time, or how they are influenced by their family, culture, and community‟s environment.

Purpose: The purpose of this study was to describe and provide an understanding of how leisure time is viewed by Hispanic families, and how family and culture influences Hispanic children‟s participation in leisure time activity. Two broad research questions were addressed: 1) How do Hispanic families describe leisure time activities? and 2) How do culture, family and the community environment influence a Hispanic child‟s participation in leisure time activities?

Methods: This ethnographic study incorporated photographs taken by English-speaking Hispanic mothers of children between 6 and 10 years old (n=10) as they engaged in leisure activities for one week. The participants engaged in photo-elicited interviews, describing the children‟s activities and performed initial data analysis by sorting the photos in the categories of activities.

Findings: Girls were more sedentary, engaging in intellectually stimulating and creative play activities inside, with family members or alone. Boys were more active, engaging in

unstructured play activities outside with family members or friends. The children engaged in these activities to promote their health, prepare for their adult lives, and for fun. Cultural tensions experienced by the children‟s parents had a profound influence on their leisure time choices and decisions. Activities were used to prepare the children for a better life, and to teach them to balance work and fun. Ultimately, the participants wanted their children to live a balanced life; one that is happy, healthy, and successful.

Relevance: The children engaged in purposefully planned leisure activities aimed to ensure their health, happiness, and success in the U.S. The participants acknowledged that to achieve a better life, the children must become expert multicultural navigators. While many of the activities were sedentary, they had important implications for the children‟s future. Health care providers must consider how patients view leisure time, and enlist their ideas in order to make children‟s activities more physically active.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The cost of obesity in terms of poor health and treatment dollars underscores the critical need for early preventive measures. In 2008, $147 billion (Finkelstein, Trogdon, Cohen, & Dietz, 2009) was spent to treat the many obesity-related comorbid disease states, which include coronary heart disease, hypertension, and stroke; Type 2 Diabetes; cancer of the breast, endometrium, and colon; liver and gallbladder disease; and musculoskeletal and sleep disorders (CDC, 2011b).

A rapid upswing in the prevalence of obese children and teenagers began in the 1980s, tripling from 5% to 15% in the 1990s (CDC, 2011a). Figure 1 summarizes the trend in childhood obesity from 1963 to 2008. This upward trend has continued, with approximately 17% of U.S. children currently considered to be obese (CDC, 2011b). Unfortunately obese children tend to become obese adults (Guo, Wu, Chumlea & Roche, 2002; Stovitz et al., 2010). Furthermore, obese children are at risk of developing obesity-related comorbid diseases which were once almost exclusively diagnosed in adults (Dietz, 2004). For example, 60% of overweight 5-10 year old children have at least one cardiovascular disease risk factor, such as increased blood pressure, hyperlipidemia, or hyperinsulinemia (Dietz & Gortmaker, 2001).

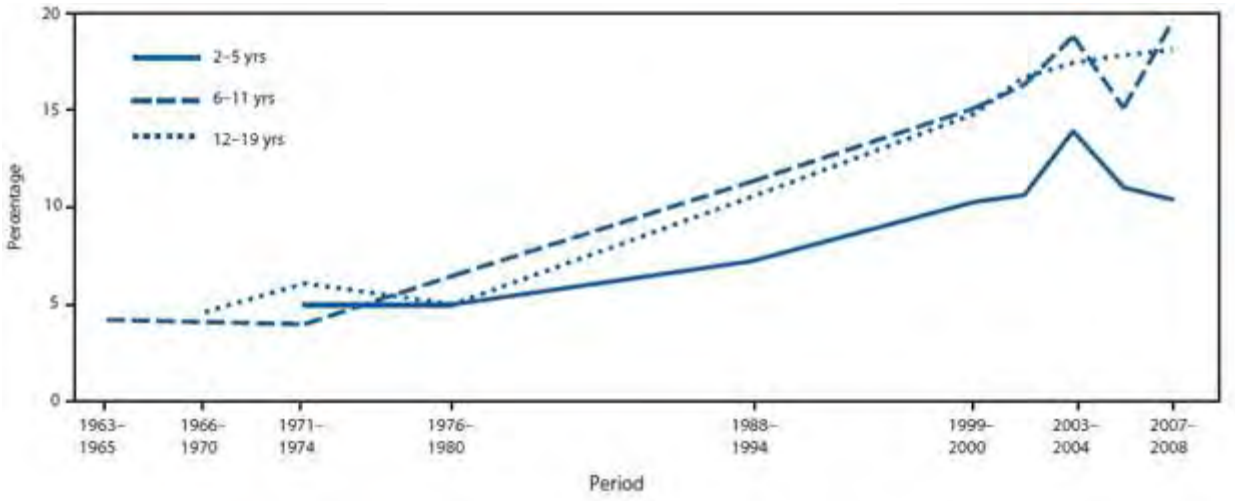


FIGURE 1. Prevalence of obesity among U.S. children and adolescents – 1963-2008 (CDC, 2011(a)).

Minority children are at especially high risk to be obese (Bell et al, 2011; Ogden & Carroll, 2010). Two major U.S. minority groups bear a very high burden of childhood obesity. Hispanic and black children have a much higher prevalence of obesity than non-Hispanic white children (Bell et al, 2011; CDC, 2011a; Ogden & Carroll, 2010). Data from the 2007-2008 National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES) revealed that adolescent Mexican American boys had a 26.8% obesity prevalence rate and non-Hispanic black adolescent boys had an obesity prevalence rate of 19.8% (Ogden & Carroll, 2010). Their non-Hispanic white counterparts had a 16.7% obesity prevalence rate. Minority girls also have higher obesity prevalence rates than their non-Hispanic white counterparts. Adolescent non-Hispanic black girls had the highest obesity prevalence rate, at 29.2%, while Mexican American girls had a 17.4% obesity prevalence rate. Non-Hispanic white adolescent girls had an obesity prevalence rate of 14.5%.

Obesity exacts a high cost to individual health (Dietz, 2004; Gordon-Larsen, Adair & Suchindran, 2007), which in turn creates a large financial burden on the U.S. health system

(Finkelstein, Trogdon, Cohen, & Dietz, 2009; Stagnitti, 2009). With 40% of U.S. deaths considered to be preventable (Kapustin, 2010), most are strongly tied to lifestyle choices such as overeating, sedentary lifestyle, and smoking (McGinnis, Williams-Russo, & Knickman, 2002). Of the $2 trillion that is spent on health care each year in the U.S., 95% of it is used to pay for the medical management of chronic disease (Kapustin).

It is estimated that up to 85% of obese children become obese adults who are at risk to develop chronic disease (Stovitz, 2010). Authors who have investigated childhood obesity have focused on diet, exercise, neighborhood characteristics, culture, and genetics as potential causes (Ariza, Chen, Binns & Christoffel, 2004; Dietz, 2004; Lutfiyya, Garcia, Dankwa, Young & Lipsky, 2008; Trevino et al., 1999). Unfortunately, intervention programs aimed at weight loss in children have seen limited success (Stice, Shaw, & Marti, 2006). Rather than intervening to help an obese child lose weight, it is far better to prevent the child from becoming obese in the first place (Dietz & Gortmaker, 2001). Primary preventive efforts are those that are designed to prevent a disease state from occurring (McKeown & Messias, 2006). Therefore, the prime time to begin preventive efforts is before children become obese (Dietz & Gortmaker, 2001).

Statement of Problem

Minority children are at very high risk to be obese (Bell et al, 2011; Ogden & Carroll, 2010) and are increasingly being diagnosed with comorbid diseases that were once only diagnosed in adults (CDC, 2011d; Dietz & Gortmaker, 2001; McCarthy et al., 2008). Obesity increases the risk of developing cardiovascular disease, cancer, liver and gallbladder disease, and musculoskeletal and sleep disorders (CDC, 2011b). Furthermore, obesity tends to follow children through adolescence and into adulthood (Guo, Wu, Chumlea & Roche, 2002; Stovitz et al.,

2010). Therefore, efforts to prevent the development of obesity must be aimed at children before they become obese (Dietz & Gortmaker, 2001). Yet, evidence suggests that current obesity prevention programs have met limited success (Stice, Shaw, & Marti, 2006).

Measures to prevent the onset of and mitigate the impact of obesity must be further investigated. Research points to a sedentary lifestyle, intake of high caloric foods with limited nutritional value, and a cultural bias for an overweight appearance as factors that place Hispanic children at high risk to develop obesity (Ariza, Chen, Binns & Christoffel, 2004; Cali & Caprio, 2008; Crawford et al., 2004; Dietz, 2004; Hackie & Bowles, 2007; Reifsnider, Allan & Percy, 2000a; Reifsnider et al., 2006; Rich et al., 2005; Singh, Yu, Siahpush & Kogan, 2008).

Preventive efforts should begin before a child becomes obese (Dietz & Gortmaker, 2001). A health promotion/risk reduction strategy that may prevent obesity from occurring, and potentially decrease health risks in the Hispanic population is leisure time physical activity. A description of the activities Hispanic children prefer to do in their leisure time has not been presented in the literature, nor has there been an explanation of why Hispanic children engage in leisure time activities and what benefits Hispanic parents believe they receive as a result of the activities.

Specifically the questions are:

1. How do Hispanic families describe leisure time activities?
    a. What behaviors constitute Hispanic children‟s leisure time, out-of-school activities?
    b. What are the characteristics of Hispanic children‟s leisure time activities?
    c. How do Hispanic families prepare, encourage and facilitate/assist with these activities?
    d. What descriptors do Hispanic families use to describe leisure time?

e. How do Hispanic families describe the health promoting benefits that result from participation in leisure time activities?

2. How do culture, family, and the community environment influence a Hispanic child‟s participation in after-school, leisure time physical activities?

   a. How do gender roles and cultural norms, values and beliefs influence Hispanic children‟s participation in leisure time physical activity?
   b. What activities do Hispanic family members as a whole engage in throughout the day and week?
   c. How do characteristics of the neighborhood, schools, and community (including geography, and climate) influence Hispanic children‟s leisure time physical activity?

One must question whether the limited success of prevention programs may be related to a lack of understanding about what Hispanic children enjoy doing in their leisure time, and how they are influenced by their family, culture, and their community environment. Investigation of these factors may lead to more culturally-appropriate, and perhaps more successful obesity prevention efforts.

Background

In 1998, 20% of citizens in only seven states were considered obese (CDC, 2009a; CDC, 2011b). By 2009, 20% of the population in 49 states was considered obese. A cluster of nine states located in the southeastern U.S. (Figure 2) had obesity prevalence rates greater than 30% (CDC, 2009a; CDC, 2011b).

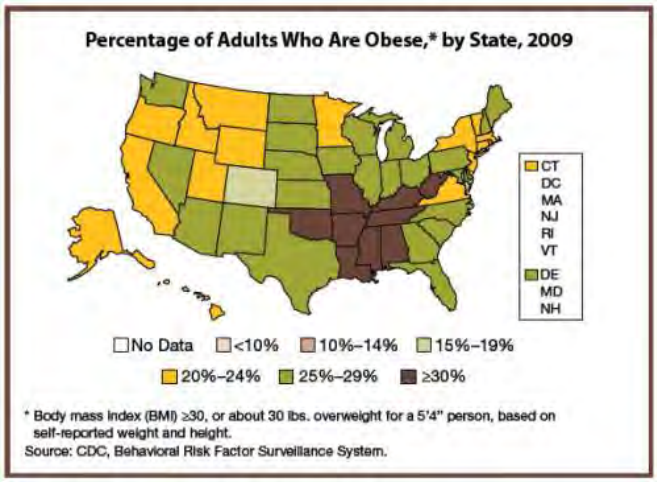


FIGURE 2. Percentage of obese adults in U.S., 2009 (CDC, 2011(b)).

The Racial and Ethnic Approaches to Community Health U.S. (REACH) survey data of adults living in 28 communities in 17 states were compared with the population surveyed in the 2007-2009 Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS) survey (Liao et al., 2011). Results of the REACH survey (Table 1) indicate that three of the four major U.S. minority groups have obesity prevalence rates higher than the BRFSS survey comparison group. Native American and Black women had the highest obesity prevalence rate, 45.5% and 44.8% respectively. Hispanic women also had an obesity prevalence rate higher than the comparison population, 36.8% vs. 26%. Like their female counterparts, American Indian men had the highest obesity prevalence, 46.2%. Hispanic men had a higher obesity prevalence than Black men (32% and 29.3% respectively). Both Hispanic and Black men had a higher prevalence of obesity than the BRFSS comparison population (28.6%).

TABLE 1. U.S. minority adults who are obese REACH, 2009

	Men	Women
Black	29.3%	44.8%
Hispanic	32%	36.8%
Asian/Pacific Islander	10.3%	6.7%
American Indian	46.2%	45.5%
BRFSS Comparison population	28.6%	26%

(Liao et al., 2011)

Freedman (2011) found a high prevalence of obesity across minority groups, and found that it persisted in all income groups. This is in contrast to other researchers who have reported that living in poverty increases the risk for childhood obesity (Dietz, 1998; Robert Wood Johnson Foundation (RWJF), 2011; Semmler, Ashcroft, van Jaarsveld, Carnell & Wardle, 2009). Freedman posited that obesity prevalence could be related to an intertwining of biology, social, and cultural factors that occur in a food-rich environment with few opportunities for physical activity.

As childhood obesity tends to persist through adolescence and into adulthood (Guo, Wu, Chumlea & Roche, 2002; Stettler, Kumanyika, Katz, Zemel, & Stallings, 2003), the percentage of obese adults will continue to rise. Prevalence rates for childhood obesity have more than doubled in every pediatric age group tracked by the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES) between 1976-1980 and 2007-2008 (CDC, 2010b). In the preschool population (age 2-5 years) the overweight prevalence increased from 5% to 10.4%. School-aged children (age 6-11) overweight prevalence increased from 6.5% to 19%; and in the school-aged adolescent population (age 12-19) the increase was from 5% to 18.1% (CDC, 2010b).

The Hispanic population is growing rapidly and is expected to be the largest U.S. minority by 2050 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008a). The Hispanic population shift is reflected in the

number of Hispanic children, who comprise 22% of U.S. children under the age of 18, a 13% increase from 1980 (Fry & Passel, 2009). Since the Hispanic population bears a large health burden due to the high prevalence of obesity, the high rate of obesity among the Hispanic population, and in particular among children, will quickly become a national health issue, increasing the need for health care in a system that is already stretched to its limits. Further, the rapid influx of Hispanic residents into the interior of the U.S. has caught many communities and health care systems unprepared to provide health promotion and care that is culturally appropriate. In the next section, the health and economic impact of obesity in the Hispanic population and to the U.S. health system will be discussed.

Obesity and its Impact on Hispanic Children

In the pediatric population, overweight and obesity are words used to describe excess body weight. These labels are based on the 2000 CDC Growth Charts for the United States and take into consideration weight in relation to height that correlates to body fatness, or the Body Mass Index (BMI). The BMI is intended to be used as an initial screening tool to identify individuals who may have increased body fat (CDC, 2009b; Flegal, Tabak, & Ogden, 2006). A child‟s BMI is plotted on the CDC BMI-for-age growth charts to obtain a percentile ranking, which shows the position of the child‟s BMI relative to children who are of the same age and gender (CDC, 2008b). Children are considered to be overweight if their weight is above the 85th percentile but less than the 95th percentile on the CDC Body Mass Index (BMI) for age growth charts. The cut point for pediatric obesity is equal to or greater than the 95th percentile on the CDC growth charts. If a child‟s BMI falls into an at-risk category, the CDC recommends further

assessments of overall health, diet, and physical activity in addition to skinfold thickness measurement.

There is an association between rapid weight gain between the ages of 4 to 24 months and childhood and young adult obesity (Guo, Wu, Chumlea & Roche, 2002; Stettler, Kumanyika, Katz, Zemel, & Stallings, 2003). By the time Hispanic children are four years old, they are twice as likely to be overweight than their non-Hispanic peers (Dennison, Edmunds, Stratton, & Pruzek, 2006). Hispanic preschool-aged children (4-5 years old) have a higher prevalence of overweight than children in other racial and ethnic groups (Ariza, Chen, Binns & Christoffel, 2004). Mexican American adolescents have a higher prevalence of overweight than non-Hispanic white adolescents (Ogden et al., 2006). It is between the ages of 12-19 that large differences are seen, with black girls having the highest obesity prevalence, followed by Hispanic girls (Figure 3).

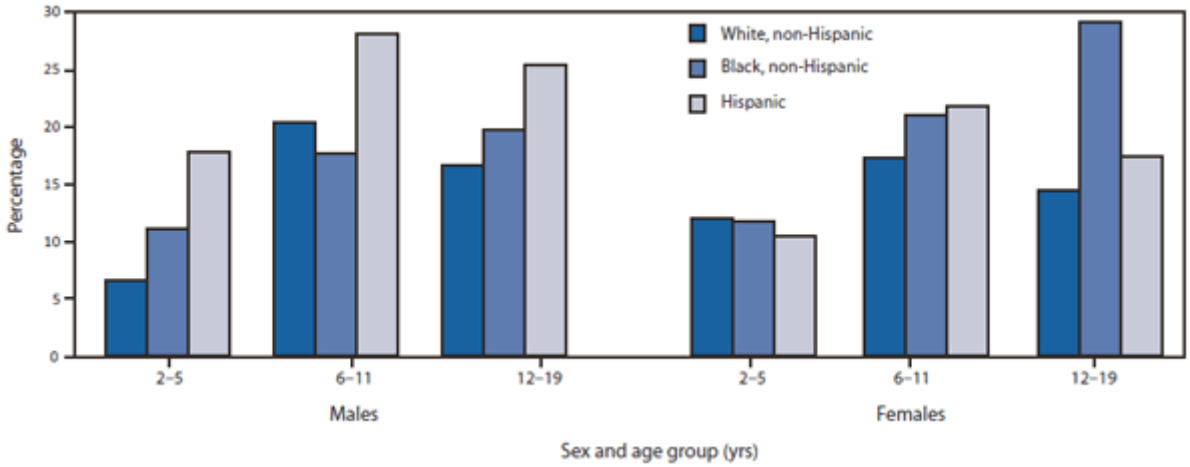


FIGURE 3. Prevalence of obesity among U.S. children and adolescents, by sex, age group, and race/ethnicity: 2007-2008 (CDC, 2011(a)).

Childhood obesity is linked to social and physical health problems. Obese children are often taller and mistaken to be older than they are (Dietz, 1998). This misjudgment of age often

leads adults to expect them to act older as well. In addition, obese children often are thought to be lazy and sloppy, and therefore are less desirable friends (Dietz). By the time they reach adolescence, the cumulative effect of the negative connotations of being obese is manifested in negative self-image, and low self-esteem (Dietz).

The cumulative effect of childhood obesity often results in more severe health consequences in adulthood (Gordon-Larsen, Adair & Suchindran, 2007). It is linked to precocious puberty and increases the risk for developing cardiovascular disease (Dietz & Gortmaker, 2001; RWJF, 2011). Obese girls entering puberty at a younger-than-normal age experience emotional stress, and are at a higher risk to develop breast cancer, diabetes, and heart disease (RWJF). Dietz and Gortmaker reported that 60% of the overweight children between 5 and 10 years old have one, and 20% have two or more cardiovascular disease associated risk factor such as hypertension, hyperlipidemia, or hyperinsulinemia. Developing Type 2 diabetes is associated with obesity (CDC, 2011e). Cardiovascular disease is the most common complication of the development of diabetes (CDC, 2011e). McCarthy et al. (2008) found that obese Latino and African American children in their study were more likely to have higher blood pressure and elevated serum cholesterol levels than their normal weight counterparts.

Type 2 Diabetes has been historically considered an obesity-related adult disease that was not diagnosed in children (Dietz & Gortmaker, 2001). However, its prevalence is on the rise with approximately 3,700 children diagnosed with the disease each year (CDC, 2011d) with 15% of new diabetes childhood and adolescent diagnoses being Type 2 Diabetes (Bell et al., 2011). Minority children tend to be diagnosed with it more often than non-Hispanic white children (CDC. 2011). Native American children have the highest rate of diagnosis, followed by African

American, Asian/Pacific Islander, and Hispanic children (CDC, 2011c). This is concerning because a diabetes diagnosis is associated with premature death and disease (Venkat Narayan, Boyle, Thompson, Sorenson, & Williamson, 2003).

While Hispanic adults‟ life expectancy is currently longer than their white and black counterparts (80.6 years), this trend could be reversed if the childhood obesity trend continues (CDC, 2010d; Olshansky et al., 2005). A 10-year-old Hispanic boy diagnosed with diabetes is projected to lose 19.3 life years and 32.3 quality-adjusted life years lost (Venkat Narayan, Boyle, Thompson, Sorensen & Williamson, 2003). A 10-year-old Hispanic girl diagnosed with diabetes fares only slightly better than her male counterpart, losing an estimated 16.1 years of life and 31.7 quality-adjusted life years (Venkat Narayan, Boyle, Thompson, Sorensen & Williamson, 2003). The risk of obesity to health and longevity must be addressed through prevention programs.

Risk Factors Associated with Obesity

At a most basic level, obesity is a physiological response that occurs when energy intake and energy output are not in balance (Egger & Swinburn, 1997). When a person consumes more dietary calories than are utilized through physical activity, weight is gained (CDC, 2011e). However, weight gain is attributable to more than a simple calories-in versus energy-out equation. A person‟s lifestyle, behaviors, and the environment in which he lives have been implicated as contributors to obesity(CDC, 2011b; Egger & Swinburn). Obesity is thought to be the result of a food-rich environment with unlimited access to high fat, high calorie foods combined with a gadget-loving, high tech environment that encourages a sedentary lifestyle (Egger & Swinburn). In addition, a cultural attitude of watching activities such as sports, rather

than actually participating in sports increases the likelihood of obesity (Egger & Swinburn). Egger & Swinburn recommend a paradigm shift in treatment of obesity from blaming individuals to viewing obesity as "normal physiology within a pathological environment" (p. 480).

Obesity prevention programs typically have had limited success. Much of the obesity prevention research has focused on school and community-based programs (Alhassan, Sirard, & Robinson, 2007; Leek et al., 2011; McKenzie et al., 1997; Springer et al., 2010; Stovitz, Steffen & Boostrom, 2008; Taverno, Rollins, and Francis, 2010). While some researchers have investigated the impact of the neighborhood (Ariza, Chen, Binns & Christoffel, 2004; Lindsay, Sussner, Greaney & Peterson, 2008), none have investigated physical activity preferences and behaviors within the home. Yet, most people prefer to engage in home-based physical activity because attending classes or exercise groups is inconvenient (Sallis & Owen, 1999).

Currently, the cause of obesity and its prevention is considered within the context of modifiable and non-modifiable risk factors. Non-modifiable risk factors are generally recognized as those that cannot be changed; modifiable risk factors are considered to be factors that people can change by taking an action (ProCor, 2011).

Non-modifiable and modifiable risk factors.

Non-modifiable risk factors associated with obesity include age, gender, genetics, certain diseases states, and ethnicity/race (CDC, 2011e). The tendency to be overweight or obese has some heritability (Fisher et al., 2007; O'Rahilly & Farooqi, 2006; Plourde, 2006), however, genes alone do not fully account for it. The increase in the prevalence of obesity indicates that the interaction between people and their environment plays an important role in the development

of obesity (Dietz, 2004; Freedman, 2011; Semmler, Ashcroft, van Jaarsveld, Carnell & Wardle, 2009). This interaction is considered to be associated with modifiable risk factors.

Modifiable risk factors are generally recognized as factors that people can change through action (ProCor, 2011). In terms of obesity, the major modifiable risk factors are related to a person‟s lifestyle and behaviors, and interaction within the environment in which he resides (CDC, 2011e). The lifestyle and behavioral choices most closely associated with the development of obesity are consuming too many calories and not exercising enough to burn off the consumed calories (CDC, 2011e). The environment contributes to the development of obesity because where a person lives has an influence on health decision making (CDC, 2011e). For example, impoverished neighborhoods may lack grocery stores so that residents lack access to more nutritious food choices, and may be unsafe, which discourages people from getting physical activity by walking. Policies that decrease the amount of time children engage in physical activity also can be considered modifiable.

The Complexity of Obesity Prevention

This research proposes that obesity prevention is very complex and must be considered in the context of the intersecting factors of family, culture, community environment, and public policy. Failure to understand this complexity in the Hispanic population may be an important reason that obesity prevention programs have had limited success. This study addresses the complexity of these nested factors.

Family and Cultural Influences

Family influence and experience within the home are major contributing factors in childhood health promotion and risk reduction (Novilla, Barnes, De La Cruz, Williams, &

Rogers, 2006). Children learn their culture by watching the adults in their lives (Spradley, 1979). The family serves as a buffer between individuals and society, and parents are a child‟s primary teachers (Friedman, Bowden & Jones, 2003). As young children spend most of their time within the family home, they are most influenced by those who reside in the home (Novilla, Barnes, De La Cruz, Williams, & Rogers, 2006). A role of family is to promote wellbeing of children, to teach children about health promotion behaviors and to model healthy lifestyle (Novilla et al.). Hispanic parents set the tone for physical activity for their preschool-aged children. When Hispanic parents are sedentary, their children tend to be sedentary as well (Ruiz, Gesell, Buchowski, Lambert, & Barkin, 2011). Yet, the influence of family and culture on leisure time activities has not been thoroughly researched, particularly in relation to their influence on Hispanic children‟s participation in leisure time activities.

Community Environment Influences

The environment in which a child lives has an impact on his participation in leisure time physical activities. Sallis and Owen (2002) reported that environmental factors that were positively associated with leisure time physical activity were support from family, peers, and their physician. Furthermore they reported climate and seasonal factors impact levels of leisure time activity. They noted that in addition to cultural factors, cognitive, emotional, and psychological factors have some influence on leisure time activities. For example, Hispanic families are three times more likely to live in poverty than non-Hispanic white families, living in neighborhoods with limited access to safe areas to play (Lutfiyya, Garcia, Dankwa, Young & Lipsky, 2008; Trevino et al., 1999).

Geographic location and the accompanying weather, which can range from hot and humid to cold and snowy, can create a barrier for participating in leisure time physical activity. For example, when immigrants from warm Latin American countries encounter the cold and snowy Midwestern winters, they may lack knowledge of how to be physically active in the snow, and have an inability to pay for winter-appropriate clothing (Ariza, Chen, Binns & Christoffel, 2004; Lindsay, Sussner, Greaney & Peterson, 2008).

Policy Influences

First Lady Michelle Obama focused the national preventive health spotlight on childhood obesity when she launched the "Let"s Move" initiative in February, 2010 (Let"s Move, 2010). "Let"s Move" is a prevention-oriented campaign that targets places where children spend the most of their time: at home, at school, and in their communities. This national initiative provides guidelines for healthier homes, schools, and communities, calling for improved nutrition and increased physical activity at home, in the community, and at school.

The "No Child Left Behind" policy is a national mandate to improve the academic performance of American children. In response to this mandate, many schools decreased the required amount of time that children spend in physical education classes and recess time in favor of in-class instruction (Anderson, Butcher, & Schanzenbach, 2011; Trost, 2007). While 69.3% of elementary schools in the country require some physical education, only 3.8% require daily physical education classes (Lee, Burgeson, Fulton & Spain, 2007). In Indiana, children in first through third grades are required to participate in a minimum of 105 minutes per week of health education and motor development activities (School Accreditation, 2008). The minimum amount of time spent in physical education drops to 75 minutes per week for children in fourth

through sixth grade (School Accreditation, 2008). By the time Indiana children enter high school, the requirement drops to two semesters of physical education, which are usually taken during the freshman year. This leaves leisure time, or time spent outside of school, as the prime time for children to engage in the recommended amount of physical activity.

Conclusion

Given the limited success of current efforts to address childhood obesity (Stice, Shaw, & Marti, 2006), more research is warranted, particularly studies that explore and describe the complex factors that impact prevention methods. Research already has addressed the effect of culture on what is seen as an acceptable body size of children (Crawford et al., 2004; Hackie & Bowles, 2007; Reifsnider, Allan & Percy, 2000a; Reifsnider et al., 2006; Rich et al., 2005) and nutrition (Echevarria & Pacquiao, 2008; Flores, Tomany-Korman, & Olson, 2005; Rollins, Belue, & Francis, 2010). However, the area that requires additional research is how the complex interactions within the family and community, within the context of culture, influences Hispanic children‟s leisure time physical activity.

Research Aims

The purpose of this research was to investigate the leisure time activity patterns of Hispanic children who reside in northern Indiana.

Therefore, this study addressed the following two questions and several sub-questions:

1. How do Hispanic families describe leisure time activities?
    a. What behaviors constitute Hispanic children‟s leisure time activities?
    b. What are the characteristics of Hispanic children‟s leisure time activities?

c. How do Hispanic families prepare, encourage and facilitate/assist with these activities?

d. What descriptors do Hispanic families use to describe leisure time?

e. How do Hispanic families describe the health promoting benefits that result from participation in leisure time activities?

2. How do culture, family, and the community environment influence a Hispanic child‟s participation in leisure time activities?

a. How do culture, family, and the community environment influence a Hispanic child‟s participation in leisure time activities?

b. How do gender roles and cultural norms, values and beliefs influence Hispanic children‟s participation in leisure time activity?

c. What activities do Hispanic family members as a whole engage in throughout the day and week?

d. How do characteristics of the neighborhood, schools, and the community influence Hispanic children‟s leisure time activity?

Significance

The U.S. Hispanic population is on the rise with 22% of children in the U.S. of Hispanic origin (Fry & Passel, 2009; U.S. Census Bureau, 2008a). Hispanic children have a high prevalence of obesity and increased risk to develop comorbid disease states (Dietz, 1998; Stovitz, 2010). Obese children become obese adults (Guo, Wu, Chumlea & Roche, 2002; Stovitz et al., 2010) who may develop obesity-related comorbidities that decrease quality of life and shorten the lifespan (Olshansky et al., 2005). Once comorbidities develop, they are very costly to

treat (Finkelstein, Trogdon, Cohen, & Dietz, 2009). Rather than wait until obesity has developed, it is far more logical to prevent it from occurring. The time to begin preventive efforts is in childhood (Dietz & Gortmaker, 2001).

The increased prevalence of obesity indicates that current intervention strategies are not working. Historically, obesity has been linked to non-modifiable and modifiable risk factors. A person‟s age, race/ethnicity, biology, or certain disease states are non-modifiable. The current assumption is that simple modifications in food intake and time exercising will lead to weight loss. This research proposes that obesity prevention may not be that simplistic. Instead, obesity may be linked to the complex interplay of culture, family, and the community environment. This must be investigated in order to develop culturally appropriate prevention strategies.

Theoretical Perspective

Social constructionism points to the social origin of meaning and the impact of culture as a guide to human behavior (Crotty, 2004). From this worldview, culture is the source of human thought and action, and without culture, humans would not be able to function. This research has a strong social constructionist slant because a primary assumption is that culture is the guidebook for making sense of life, including food intake, activity, body habitus and weight. The cultural rules learned in early childhood remain at the core of who a person is and many remain for a lifetime.

Children are taught cultural behaviors, values, and beliefs through symbolic interaction with the adults who are within their family (Zayas, Lester, Cabassa & Fortuna, 2005). Symbolic interactionism is a major sociological theoretical perspective proposing that (a) reality is in a relative state of flux, (b) social structure is an emergent process, (c) knowledge is constructed

using participatory methodological approaches and (d) ongoing social reconstruction is a goal of social practice (Shalin, 1986). Culture is the "inherited meaning system" (Crotty, 2004, p. 71) that is constantly constructed and changed through social interaction with others within the culture (Wuest, 2007).

A review of the literature has demonstrated that family is the primary health decision-making unit within the Hispanic culture (Galanti, 2003). This means that parents will set the tone in their families for what is done during the time spent in the home, outside of work and school. An assumption of this research is that the parents" cultural values and beliefs and the environment in which they reside have a strong influence on the entire family"s leisure time activities. An assumption of this research is that the complex interplay of culture, family, and the community environment exerts a powerful influence on leisure time activity choices and thus on obesity prevention. This assumption is a reflection of social ecology.

Social Ecology

Ecology is a word that describes the interrelated nature of organisms and their environment. The word environment is a multi-dimensional concept that refers to the space outside of the person. The environment can be thought of as physical or social, perceived or actual, with distinct attributes such as temperature or space or as a construct, such as the social climate or behavior (Sallis & Owen, 2002). Social ecology is a way of viewing the person-environmental relationship in terms of cultural, social, and institutional contexts (Sallis & Owen, 2002; Stokols, 2000). Ecological models propose that health behaviors are influenced by many multiple levels of different factors (Sallis & Owen, 2002). Bronfenbrenner (1986) proposed an ecological systems theory, introducing interactions within the microsystem, mesosystem, and

exosystem. At the microsystem level, a family‟s intimate interactions, such as socialization, cultural values instruction, and child development occurs. At the mesosystem level, Hispanic family members interact with settings such as schools, family members, and work. For example, interaction with a school system may have an impact on what activities family members participate in. The exosystem is the level from which a family is affected through political actions, economic forces, and mainstream cultural beliefs (Sallis & Owen, 2002). It is at this level that policies such as "No Child Left Behind" and mainstream cultural beliefs that differ from the family‟s beliefs exert an influence on leisure activities.

This research posits that the complex interplay between microsystem interactions within the family, and the family‟s interactions at the meso- and exosystem levels have a profound influence on leisure time activities. Having an understanding of these variables may enable the development of prevention programs that are tailored to the cultural beliefs of people who will use them.

Linking Social Ecology to Hispanic Children's Leisure Time Activity

Hispanic children are most influenced by their parents, who transmit their cultural knowledge, values, and beliefs within the context of family. An assumption of this research is that Hispanic children engage in leisure time activity based on what their parents believe about the world. This belief is shaped through the cultural lens in which the parents see the world. Simply stated, the microsystem family interactions are influenced by cultural beliefs, which has an impact on what activities a child is permitted to do. At the mesosystem level, a parent‟s work experiences and a child‟s siblings and friends also have an influence the types of activities that children will engage in. Their ability to participate in leisure activities also is influenced by the

environment in which they live. Issues such as parental work schedules and income, and community resources and program availability determine whether a child will be able to participate in leisure time activities. Finally, at the exosystem level, policies, parental knowledge about what resources and activities are available in the community influences whether a child will engage in activities. Figure 4 proposes a conceptual model linking the social ecology model to Hispanic children‟s leisure time activities.

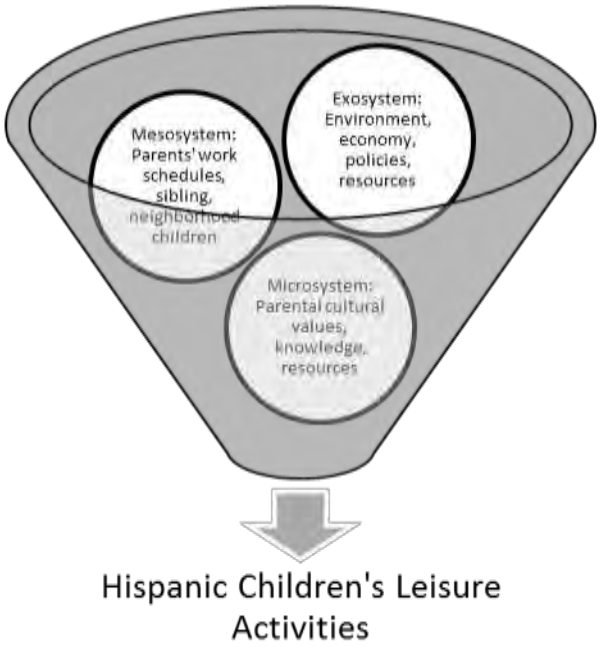


FIGURE 4. Proposed conceptual social ecology model of Hispanic children‟s leisure time activity.

Summary

Obesity is linked to the development of several preventable diseases such as diabetes, cardiovascular disease, cancers, and musculoskeletal disorders. Children who are obese often are stigmatized and are diagnosed with diseases that were traditionally only diagnosed in adults. While all obese people are at risk to develop these comorbid diseases, minority children are

particularly affected. Hispanic children are increasingly diagnosed with Type 2 Diabetes and the metabolic syndrome. Both disease states ultimately lead to a reduced quality of life and shortened lifespan. In addition, the high prevalence of obesity-related diseases has created a financial burden on the U.S. health system.

Obesity prevention has historically been viewed as changing modifiable risk factors so that non-modifiable risk is decreased. However, obesity prevention and treatment is more complex than eating fewer calories and exercising more. Social ecology theory posits that a person‟s ability to engage in health promoting behavior hinges on his interaction with his environment. Therefore, to better understand obesity prevention, it is vital to explore and describe the complex interplay between the family, culture, and community environment on leisure activity.

Leisure time physical activity has been identified as a modifiable risk factor and a way to promote health (CDC, 2011b,f; CDC, 2010c; CDC, 2009c,d). Physical activity research with the Hispanic population has primarily focused on sedentary behavior in adults and children. The overwhelming conclusion has been that Hispanic adults and children are very sedentary during their leisure time. Yet, there is little research about the reasons for these sedentary behaviors and the familial, cultural, and environmental context of their activities. Research that describes the behaviors that Hispanic children engage in during their leisure time and explains how they are influenced by their parents‟ cultural values, their family, and the environment in which they reside may provide evidence to create culturally appropriate prevention programs. In the next chapter, a literature review of leisure time physical activity will be presented.

CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Obesity is epidemic, particularly in minority children, which leaves them vulnerable to chronic diseases such as Type 2 Diabetes, the metabolic syndrome, dyslipidemia, hypertension, and cardiovascular disease, which traditionally were considered to be adult diseases (CDC, 2011b; Dietz, 2004). In response to the sharp rise in childhood obesity, public policy and programs urge children to engage in daily physical activity (CDC, 2009d; Let‟s Move, 2010; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2010). The CDC (2009d) recommends that children engage in at least one hour of moderate to vigorous physical activity each day. Yet schools have decreased the amount of time that children spend in physical education classes and playing at recess (Anderson, Butcher, & Schanzenbach, 2011; Trost, 2007). In response to public policy that calls for improved academic performance, this leaves a child‟s leisure time as the prime time to engage in the recommended amount of physical activity.

In the previous chapter, the impact of childhood obesity in the Hispanic population underscored the importance of early prevention methods. The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the leisure time activity literature with a focus on the Hispanic culture. This review will provide information about leisure activity patterns of the U.S. as a whole. Furthermore, the impact of Hispanic cultural values and the community environment on leisure time and physical activity patterns will be presented. Understanding this complex interplay of context on risk may guide health care providers to develop culturally appropriate prevention strategies, which is of particular interest to nurse practitioners, who have an obligation to provide preventive health education that is developmentally and culturally appropriate (National Organization of Nurse Practitioner Faculty, 2002).

U.S. Leisure Time

In 2009, adult Americans with children spent most of their day working (8.7 hours) or sleeping (7.7 hours) (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2011a). They spent the majority of the remaining hours in their day caring for others or doing chores around their homes. Leisure time, or the time that they were not attending to responsibilities related to work, others, and home, amounts to only 2.6 hours per day. When considering all U.S. persons who are older than 15 (those with and without children), the amount of leisure time increases to an average of approximately five hours daily (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2011b). In general, men had slightly more available leisure time than did women. Men had about 5.5 hours of available leisure time compared to 4.9 hours for women (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2010). Of the roughly five available hours a day for leisure activities, only an average of 19 minutes were spent engaging in sports, exercise, or recreational activities. Men were more likely to participate in exercise, sports, or recreational activities, spending approximately two hours engaging in them. When women did participate in exercise, sports, or recreational activities, they spent approximately 1.4 hours engaging in them. Figure 5 summarizes U.S. adult work day time use patterns.

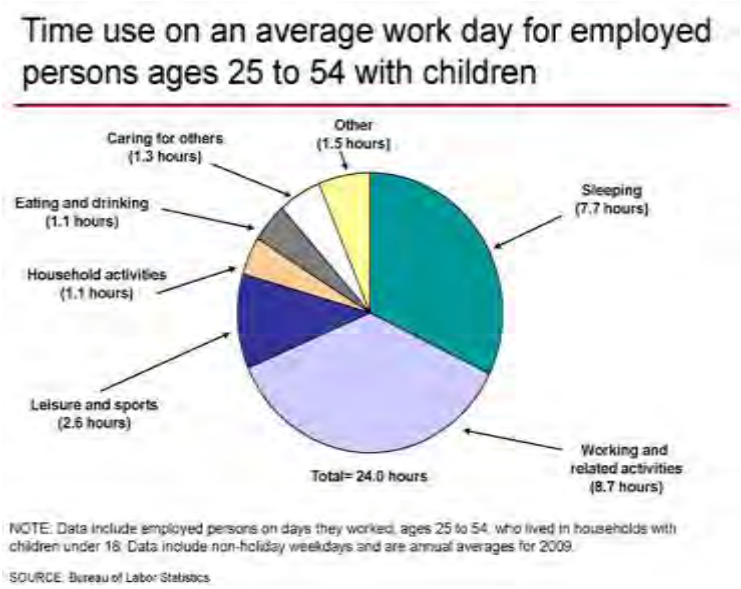


FIGURE 5. Work-day time use of adults (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2011(a))

The remaining leisure time activities were more sedentary, with the majority of time spent watching television (2.8 hours), followed by socializing and communicating (38 minutes) and playing computer games (23 minutes) (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2011b). Figure 6 summarizes the leisure time activities of U.S. people who are older than 15. The Bureau of Labor Statistics report on leisure time activity is consistent with data from the CDC which indicate that 36.2% of U.S. adults report no leisure time physical activity and only 18.4% of children meet the 2008 CDC Guidelines for Aerobic Activity (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2010). The decline in the amount of physical activity can be attributed to jobs that are less physically-demanding, the advent of labor-saving devices within the home, and an infrastructure that requires the use of automobiles rather than encouraging walking (Brownson, Boehmer, & Lake, 2005). In addition to automobiles, labor-saving devices such as the television remote

control, elevators, escalators, and garage door openers have been cited as reasons for Americans decreased level of physical activity (Poston & Foreyt, 1999).

Figure 6. Leisure time activities of U.S. people older than 15

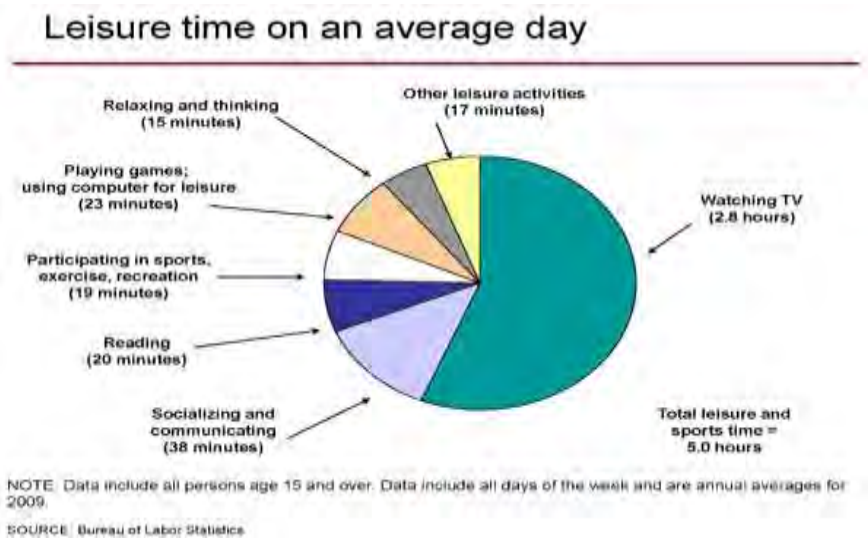


FIGURE 6. Leisure time activities of U.S. people older than 15 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2011(b)).

Leisure Time Activities in the Hispanic Population

Hispanic adults have less available leisure time than the rest of the population (Adams, Baskerville, Lee, Spruiell & Wolf, 2006). In 2003, Hispanics had 3.9 hours of daily leisure time compared to 4.7 hours available to the white population and 4.6 hours available to the black population (Adams, Baskerville, Lee, Spruiell & Wolf). By 2009, the amount of available leisure time had increased slightly. Hispanics in 2009 had an average of 4.7 hours of daily leisure time available, which was less than the 5.99 hours available to black people, and 5.17 hours available to white people (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2010). The sedentary leisure time activities that Hispanic adults reported enjoying are watching movies, shopping, and listening to music.

Physically active behaviors that Hispanics reportedly enjoy are running, hiking, swimming, and football (Adams, Baskerville, Lee, Spruiell & Wolf).

While Matthews et al. (2008) found that Mexican American men between the ages of 20 to 39 are the least sedentary group of adults in the U.S., NHANES III reported that 74% of Mexican American women and 65% of Mexican American men do not participate in any leisure time physical activity (Caballero, 2005). These seemingly disparate results may be due to the types of jobs held by Mexican American males; employment requiring a high degree of physical labor (Berrigan, Dodd, Troiana, Reeve & Ballard-Barbash, 2006; Crespo et al., 2000). This also might explain why, as a group, Mexican American adults have lower levels of leisure time physical activity (Berrigan, Dodd, Troiana, Reeve & Ballard-Barbash, 2006; Crespo et al., 2000). It is likely that after a long work day, they are physically exhausted, and are too fatigued to participate in leisure time physical activity.

Latina women also may have work schedules that make it difficult to participate in leisure time physical activity. D"Alonzo and Sharma (2010) found that immigrant Latina women often work long hours, engaged in extremely physically demanding jobs in order to support their children. After working all day the women return home and are expected to attend to their domestic and child care responsibilities. Their demanding schedules leaves very little time for proper nutrition, rest, or exercise. Because the women"s employment and home responsibilities were so time consuming, they viewed leisure time as being "a luxury that they could not afford" (p. 241).

Having an understanding of the leisure time activity patterns of adults is important, because those patterns have an impact on children living within the home. Children learn

patterns of living from their parents and early lifestyle patterns associated with physical activity and nutritional intake follow a child into adolescence and adulthood (Rich et al., 2005). Therefore, one of the aims of this study is to gain an understanding of how children‟s leisure time activities are influenced by their parents.

Leisure Time Physical Activity: A Modifiable Risk Factor

The review of leisure time literature indicates that U.S. adults do not have an abundance of free time. They spend most of their time awake either working or attending to household duties. This busy schedule begs these questions: What is physical activity? How much leisure time physical activity is suggested to promote and maintain health? Does the physical activity need to be completed in one session? To answer these questions, the U.S. government has issued guidelines that suggest a minimum amount of leisure time activity for adults and children.

Physical Activity Guidelines

Public health policy recommends that adults and children engage in daily physical activity as a health promoting action (CDC, 2009 c,d). Those recommendations are summarized in Table 2. Physical activity is health enhancing movement of the body produced by skeletal muscle contractions and increases energy expenditure above a basal level (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (USDHHS), 2008). Leisure time physical activities are health enhancing movements that occur outside of one‟s job, household, or transportation duties.

TABLE 2. CDC physical activity guidelines for children, adolescents, and adults.

	Adults	Children/Adolescents
Aerobic	2.5 hours/week of moderate intensity aerobic activity or 75 minutes/week of vigorous intensity aerobic activity or An equivalent mix of moderate and vigorous intensity activity Activity should be sustained for at least 10 minutes and spread throughout the week.	One hour every day of moderate to vigorous intensity activity, should include vigorous activity at least three days/week. No period of activity is too short to count toward meeting the guidelines.
Strengthening Exercise	**Muscle Strengthening:** Two or more days week with each muscle group exercise repeated 8-12 times per set. As strength is gained, more sets should be added.	**Muscle Strengthening:** At least three days/week – moderate to high level effort working major muscle groups. **Bone Strengthening:** At least three days/week – activities that produce force on bones to promote bone growth and strength.

CDC, 2009 (c&d)

In general, adults are advised to engage in moderate activity for 2.5 hours of vigorous activity for 75 minutes each week. The CDC recommends that the activity should be sustained for at least 10 minutes and spread throughout the week. Adults are advised to perform muscle strengthening activities on two or more days of the week, exercising major muscle groups 8-12 times per set. As the strengthening exercises become easier, adults are advised to add more sets to their exercise routine. Children and adolescents are advised to engage in moderate to vigorous intensity activity for at least one hour per day. On at least three days a week, they are advised to engage in vigorous intensity exercise. Furthermore children are encouraged to perform muscle and bone strengthening exercises on at least three days of the week.

Intensity is defined by the CDC (2009c) as the effort that it takes to do an activity. When a person is engaging in moderately vigorous activity, the CDC (2009c) states that he should be able to talk, but not sing. When using a numeric perception ranking of activity level, the CDC

(2008a) ranks moderate intensity activity at 5 to 6 on a 0-10 scale. Zero on that numeric scale would be sitting, and 10 is rated at the highest level of activity. Vigorous activity would rank at 7-8 on the scale and would cause a person to breathe much harder, the heart to beat much faster than normal, and say no more than a few words with pausing for a breath (CDC, 2009c).

U.S. Population Meeting Physical Activity Guidelines

The U.S. population falls far short of the physical activity guidelines. For example, in 2008, 36.2% of adults reported no leisure time physical activity (USDHHS, 2010). Of adults who engaged in physical activity, 43.5% reported meeting aerobic activity guidelines, and 21.9% met muscle strengthening guidelines. Only 18.2% met the recommendations for both aerobic and muscle strengthening guidelines. Minority adults mirror the total U.S. population in terms of getting enough physical activity. The REACH survey results (Table 3) revealed that Black and Hispanic women were most likely to report engaging in no leisure time activity in the previous month (31.6% and 30.9% respectively) (Liao et al., 2011).

TABLE 3. Minority adults who reported no leisure time physical activity during the preceding month REACH, U.S. 2009

	Men	Women
Black	28.5%	31.6%
Hispanic	26.6%	30.9%
Asian/Pacific Islander	23.6%	25.6%
American Indian	27.7%	26.3%
Comparison population	21.5%+	25.6%

Liao et al., 2011

Children also have difficulty meeting the CDC guidelines. Only 18.4% of children and adolescents meet the CDC guidelines for aerobic activity (USDHHS). Data were not available to determine how many children were meeting muscle and bone strengthening guidelines. Evidence suggests that even fewer minority adolescents meet the guidelines. In 2009, 19.4% of white

adolescents, 17% of black adolescents, 15.8% of Asian adolescents, and 15.7% of Hispanic adolescents engaged in the recommended amount of leisure time exercise (USDHHS, 2010).

Evidence suggests that as children age, their time spent engaging in moderate to vigorous physical activity declines (Troiano et al., 2008). Results from the 2003-2004 NHANES indicate that boys between 6 and 11 years old engaged in 16 minutes per day of vigorous activity; girls of the same age obtained 10 minutes per day (Troiano et al., 2008). Children in this age group obtained at least an hour each day of moderate-intensity activity. There was a sharp decline in the amount of moderate or higher intensity activity in children who were between 12 and 15 years old. At 16 years old, the time children spent engaging in vigorous activity had declined to three minutes or less per day.

Factors Influencing Leisure Activities in Hispanic Children

The theoretical framework of social ecology posits that a person‟s health promotion choices are influenced by family, culture, and the community environment in which he resides. Hispanic children live within a culture that places a high priority on the family and have beliefs about gender roles that may influence their leisure time activities. Furthermore, Hispanic children often have immigrant parents, which means that the culture that is lived within the home may be different than what is experienced in the community. Other community characteristics that may have an impact on leisure time physical activity include socioeconomic status and the climate. In the next sections the influence of family, gender, acculturation, and the environment on leisure time activity will be explored.

The Influence of Family

Children are taught how to live their lives by their parents (Spradley, 1979). Parental role modeling sets the stage for a child‟s risk for obesity (Gordon-Larsen, Adair & Suchindran, 2007) and for their leisure time physical activity patterns (Welk, 1999). Across all racial and ethnic groups, a child‟s risk of being an obese adult is greatly increased if his or her mother is obese (Gordon-Larsen, Adair & Suchindran, 2007). Latino children whose parents are overweight tend to be overweight themselves (Elder et al., 2010). These parents may provide less support for their children to engage in physical activity, and set fewer activity-related limits on their children (Elder et al., 2010).

Since preventive efforts should be started in early childhood before a child becomes obese, much of the research has centered on parents and their preschool-aged children. Several studies have investigated parental influence on toddler and preschool-aged children‟s risk for obesity and activity level. Some research has focused on parental nutrition and level of knowledge (Hoerr, Horodynski, & Lee, 2006; Worobey, Pisuk, & Decker, 2004). The findings from these studies indicate that children mirror their parents‟ nutrition patterns: parents with poor nutrition tend to have children with poor nutrition. When parents receive focused education about health and nutrition, the quality of children‟s nutrition improves.

Parents act as important role models for their children‟s leisure time activity through four socialization processes (Welk, 1999). Parents act as a source of encouragement; provide direct assistance through involvement in physical activity with their children; facilitate participation by making it easier for children to engage in physical activity; and model physical activities by their actions (Welk).

This influence may be even more pronounced in Hispanic families. An important cultural consideration when designing prevention programs is that the Hispanic culture tends to prioritize the family as a whole over individual members. This means that nurses must consider the parent-child dyad as one unit, rather than as two separate individuals (Lindsay, Sussner, Greaney, & Peterson, 2009). Hispanic women have primary responsibility for making decisions within their homes and tend to make health-related decisions for their family (Zoucha & Purnell, 2003). Because they are making health-related decisions, it is necessary to consider what they believe about their children‟s activity. Mendelson (2003) found that Mexican American women recognized that recreation and exercise is important for their child‟s health promotion. The women believed that it was so important that they would sacrifice by reducing the amount of food they purchased to sustain their family‟s recreational activities. While the women in Mendelson‟s study cited structured activities such as walking or attending a gym as important for their own health maintenance, they felt that more unstructured activities provided enough exercise to promote their children‟s health. A major difficulty reported by these women was a limit on their children‟s unsupervised outside play due to unsafe neighborhoods.

Hispanic parental sedentary activity levels have been positively correlated with their preschool-aged children‟s daily sedentary activity levels (Ruiz, Gesell, Buchowski, Lambert & Barkin, 2011). Neighborhood characteristics may have an important influence on the activity level of Hispanic children. For example, Latina mothers of preschoolers have indicated that they are more sedentary in the U.S. than they were in their home countries, citing more opportunities to be active in their home country (Lindsay, Sussner, Greaney, & Peterson, 2009). They preferred that their children get physical activity through active play, but noted that their

children‟s opportunity for engaging in active play is limited by weather, neighborhood safety, and work and life commitments that limit available time for going to parks. Bad weather was cited as a barrier to utilizing nearby parks, and high cost was seen as a barrier to joining health clubs (Lindsay, Sussner, Greaney, & Peterson).

Parental involvement in leisure time activity also influences the activity of older children. Fuemmeler, Anderson and Mâsse (2011) found that school-aged children who have two parents engaging in moderately vigorous physical activity tend to have higher levels of physical activity. They also found gender specific correlations to activity levels: girls with very active mothers tend to be active, while boys with active fathers tend to be more active. Parents‟ activity levels had the most influence on their children‟s activity when they were not in school.

Just as educational efforts aimed at Hispanic parents of preschool-aged children had positive results, they also have been found to be effective for families with school-aged children. Echevarria and Pacquiao (2008) reported that a culturally and linguistically appropriate nutrition and physical activity education program for parents of school-aged children resulted in improved nutrition and increased physical activity for all family members. This study aims to extend this knowledge by gaining an understanding of how Hispanic family members influence children‟s leisure time activities. In addition, fundamental cultural beliefs embedded within the family must be considered. Gender role beliefs may have some impact on children‟s leisure time activities.

The Influence of Gender

Participation in leisure time physical activity may be strongly influenced by cultural values associated with gender. In one study, Hispanic college-aged women were less likely to have exercise role models, were more likely to adhere to cultural rules for acceptable physical

activity, and view family responsibilities as a barrier to participating in physical activity (D‟Alonzo & Fishchetti, 2008). Hispanic girls may receive less parental support for participating in sports viewed as more masculine (D‟Alonzo & Fischetti). While both U.S. and foreign born Hispanic women in the study cited family responsibility as a barrier for participating in physical activity, foreign born women were less likely to have participated in competitive sports and vigorous activities. Therefore, some types of vigorous physical activity, such as soccer, may be viewed as less acceptable for girls and women by the Hispanic culture.

Beliefs about male tendencies and abilities also have been shown to contribute to the types of activities children will engage in. Glassman, Figueroa, and Irigoyen (2011) found that Latino parents believed they could reduce their young children‟s risk of obesity through enrollment in swimming and gym classes. However, the parents believed that boys are more inclined to be active, thus at less risk to be obese than girls. This finding highlights the need to consider the influence of gender on Hispanic children‟s leisure time physical activity.

The attributes that the Hispanic culture places on boys and girls may be reflected in where children are permitted to play. The Hispanic culture views males are as stronger, wiser, and braver and are thought to have more self-confidence (Wood & Price, 1997). Females, on the other hand, are thought to be more fragile and in need of protection (Duong Tran & Garcia, 2009). Rich et al. (2005) found that Hispanic parents of girls were less likely to report having a safe place to play than parents of sons. These findings may indicate that parents of girls may prefer to keep their daughters inside engaged in traditional female role associated play, where they can be watched over and kept safe.

In terms of physical activity, gender-associated attributes exert an influence which encourages boys to participate in more vigorous activities than girls. Stovitz, Steffen and Boostrom (2008) found that Hispanic girls engaged in less physical activity and had lower levels of team sport participation than non-Hispanic white girls. On the other hand, the authors reported that while Hispanic boys participated in strength-training more often than non-Hispanic white boys, they also watched more hours of television.

Cultural beliefs about gender have been shown to influence children‟s leisure time activity levels. Hispanic parents in one study believed boys had a tendency to be more active, and consequently be at less risk to be obese. Other studies reported that boys engaged in more active behaviors and team sports than girls. Another study found that there are gender-appropriate types of activities, and very active sports such as soccer may not be considered to be appropriate for Hispanic girls. They may adhere to cultural rules that require females to care for others before self, may not have exercise role models and less parental support for certain types of exercise. This study aims to extend this knowledge by describing and gaining an understanding about the activities that Hispanic boys and girls do in their leisure time.

The Influence of Acculturation

Acculturation is a process in which values and behaviors are transferred from one culture to another through first-hand contact (Cuéllar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995; Negy & Woods, 1992). Behavioral evidence of acculturation is expressed through language spoken (Cuéllar, Arnold, & Maldonado). Acculturation in the leisure time literature is often measured through the person‟s primary spoken language and generational status.

The literature suggests that the level of acculturation impacts children‟s participation in leisure time activities. In one study the influence of language spoken and gender was related to participation in organized and team sports in 4th, 8th, and 11th grade Hispanic children. Springer et al., (2010) found that Spanish speaking Hispanic girls across 4th through 11th grades were less likely than their English speaking counterparts to engage in organized physical activity programs or organized team sports. Likewise, Spanish speaking boys in the 8th grade were less likely to participate in team sports than their English speaking counterparts. The authors posited that the Hispanic cultural values of modesty, familism, and machismo may have contributed to the girls‟ activity levels. They cited gender-associated feelings of embarrassment by their appearance in gym clothing, dominant men who did not want them exercising with other men, and caring for family before self as potential factors that decreased girls‟ activity levels. Another study reported that immigrant Hispanic children who were born to immigrant parents were half as likely as U.S. born white children with both U.S. born parents to participate in regular physical activity (Singh, Stella, Siahpush, & Kogan, 2008). Additionally, immigrant Hispanic children with immigrant parents are 99% less likely to participate in sports than their white U.S. born counterparts.

Immigration generation and language spoken seem to have some influence on a child‟s risk for obesity and participation in after school clubs and sports. Taverno, Rollins, and Francis (2010), found that first and second generation Hispanic immigrant children who were non-English speaking were more likely to be obese and less likely to participate in afterschool clubs. Furthermore, first generation non-English speaking Hispanic children were less likely than third generation English-speaking children to participate in afterschool and weekend sports. Third-

generation Hispanic English-speaking Hispanic children had higher activity levels than non-English speaking first generation children.

Making an assumption that participating in popular teams sports such as soccer or baseball provides enough physical activity may be erroneous. In one study, less than 25% of children aged 7-14 who played soccer or baseball/softball received the recommended 60 minutes of moderate to vigorous physical activity (Leek et al., 2011). In practices for both sports, boys in the study obtained approximately 11 minutes more of moderate to vigorous activity than girls. Soccer players received more of moderate to vigorous physical activity than baseball players.

There may be a positive leisure time activity benefit associated with not speaking English reported by Taverno, Rollins, and Francis (2010). Non-English speaking children were less likely than English-speaking children to have more than two hours of screen time in a day. The authors defined screen time as the amount of time the children in their study spent each day playing video games, watching television and videos. They cited not speaking English as a protective mechanism against sitting in front of a screen for long periods.

Social ecology theory posits that a person‟s interaction with the environment influences health promoting behaviors. Hispanic children of immigrant parents live between two cultures: the family that may be undergoing an acculturative process, and the mainstream culture that they are exposed to when they are in school and engaged in activities with other non-Hispanic children. What has not been reported in the literature, and is an aim of this study is if the process of acculturation has an influence on children‟s leisure time activity.

The Influence of Community and Environment

The environment impacts the ability to participate in leisure time activities in two ways: through the community‟s socioeconomic level (Lutfiyya, Garcia, Dankwa, Young & Lipsky, 2008; Zhu & Lee, 2008) and geographic location and weather (Ariza, Chen, Binns and Christoffel, 2004; Lindsay, Sussner, Greaney, & Peterson, 2009). For example, the availability of sidewalks and bicycle paths, exercise facilities and swimming pools for exercise in inclement weather, and perceived neighborhood safety all influence the type and amount of leisure time physical activity that people participate in (CDC, 2011b). While characteristics have an influence on an entire community‟s ability to participate in leisure time physical activity, specific characteristics may have a greater impact on Hispanic children‟s leisure time activities.

Weather conditions are a significant barrier to Hispanic children‟s participation in leisure time physical activity. Immigrants who are from warmer weather climates may lack an understanding of ways to be physically active in snowy or rainy weather (Lindsay, Sussner, Greaney, & Peterson, 2009). Lindsay, Sussner, Greaney, and Peterson investigated the influence of social context on Latino children‟s nutrition, sedentary and physical activity patterns. They reported that diet, sedentary and physical activity patterns are most influenced by neighborhood safety, weather, access to recreational facilities, closeness of supermarkets, and cost of food. Furthermore, Latino parents may lack the financial resources to purchase clothing that is suitable for cold, snowy winter weather (Lindsay, Sussner, Greaney, & Peterson).

In another study, Hispanic children aged 5-6 who lived in Chicago were found to spend most of their day indoors. Ariza, Chen, Binns and Christoffel (2004) hypothesized that the children in their study, in addition to living in unsafe Chicago neighborhoods, may have been

hesitant to play outside in inclement weather. In addition, low-income Hispanic families may lack the financial resources to purchase appropriate winter clothing for their children (Lindsay, Sussner, Greaney & Peterson, 2008).

Ariza, Chen, Binns and Christoffel (2004) reported that Hispanic children in their study who watched television for longer periods also tended to be overweight. While the authors did not make this link, it seems that children who spend long hours indoors, as the children in their study did, may spend more time watching television. Other researchers have linked long hours of television viewing to the development of dental caries (Russ, Larson, Franke, & Halfon, 2009). This is possibly due to the sweet snacks and carbonated beverages that children consume while watching television.

Spending more time outside does not guarantee that children will engage in more active behaviors when they play. Latino preschoolers in one study wore accelerometers and were given an extra hour of outside recess time (Alhassan, Sirard, & Robinson, 2007). During their recess time, the children were free to play as they wanted, and had access to a sandbox, on a jungle gym, swing sets, seesaws, and with balls and tricycles. Yet, findings indicated that these children remained sedentary for 90% of their day and did not significantly increase their activity levels when given more time outside to play. Other researchers also found that Mexican American and European American preschool and elementary school students were highly sedentary during their recess time (McKenzie et al., 1997).

While researchers have linked lower socioeconomic status neighborhoods with reduced physical activity (Ariza, Chen, Binns & Christoffel ,2004; Lutfiyya, Garcia, Dankwa, Young & Lipsky, 2008; Trevino et al., 1999), other researchers have found living in urban public housing

was positively linked to more outside play and increased television watching. Tolbert-Kimbro, Brooks-Gunn and McLanahan (2011) found that young children living in urban public housing and in neighborhoods with higher levels of physical disorder were more likely to play outside and watch television than other children. They speculated that perhaps the children were less likely to be enrolled in daycare or preschool, had more unstructured time, and that their mothers were at home and able to supervise their children in outside play.

The community and environment have a direct influence on participation in leisure time activities through characteristics such as neighborhood safety and the weather. Weather has the potential to influence participation because conditions can be too severe to be outside, and parents may lack the funding and knowledge to purchase weather appropriate clothing. Furthermore, community safety and access to resources directly influences the ability to engage in leisure time physical activities. This research seeks to gain an understanding of how the leisure time activity patterns of Hispanic children who live in North Central Indiana are influenced by their community.

Summary

This literature review leads to the conclusion that U.S. residents, as a whole, live a sedentary life. This is due, in part, to labor saving technological advances. The Hispanic segment of the population is the most sedentary in their leisure time. Approximately 30% of Hispanic adults report no leisure time physical activity. However, this may be a reflection of characteristics of their jobs, which tend to be more physically demanding. Yet, their sedentary leisure time activity patterns may place their children at risk. Parents serve as powerful role models for their children through their own lifestyle choices and leisure activities. Hispanic

children have been found to be sedentary when inside and outside, and at recess during the school day. Furthermore, they may be less likely to participate in clubs and sports after school.

Cultural values have been tied to activity patterns by the literature. Hispanic families tend to be very close knit, and children whose parents are sedentary tend to be more sedentary themselves. Hispanic gender roles may have some influence on leisure time activities; girls are thought to be more fragile and in need of protection, which may result in girls being less physically active than boys. The environment in which a person resides also can influence participation in leisure time activity. Cold and snowy weather and unsafe neighborhoods have been cited by Latina mothers as reasons their children play inside more than outside. Furthermore, a lack of money may result in more indoor play during the winter as the family may lack funds to purchase warm clothing.

What has not been fully identified in the literature is a description of exactly what activities Hispanic children enjoy doing in their leisure time. Most of the extant literature dichotomizes the children‟s behavior between active or sedentary. There has not been a description of the actual behaviors that Hispanic children enjoy doing and participate in during their leisure time. Furthermore, the literature reports that parents who participate in leisure time activities with their children tend to have more active children. The literature has not provided an understanding of the role family plays in Hispanic children‟s leisure time activities, the influence that is exerted by their culture and community, or the benefits that the children receive from participating in those activities. This study aimed to provide the description of Hispanic children‟s leisure time activities, and an understanding of the influence of family, culture, and the community.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

This qualitative study employed ethnographic methods, incorporating participant-produced photography. This study was designed so that Hispanic mothers could provide a description of their children‟s leisure time activities, the benefits the children receive from their activities and how the children are influenced by their culture and environment. By taking photographs of activities that the Hispanic mothers believed are important in their children‟s lives, and participating in photo-elicited interviews about their pictures, study participants were able to tell their story as they believed it needs to be told.

Qualitative research is a holistic way of learning about the life experiences of human beings (Munhall, 2007a) and is based on the belief that there are "multiple, constructed realities; the knower and the known are inseparable, inquiry is value-bound and all generalizations are bound by time and context" (Burns & Grove, 2007, p. 62). Qualitative research approaches attempt to explore, describe, and explain a world that is ever-changing and without order by applying systematic methodological approaches to understand interpretations and meanings that frame participants‟ experiences. For nurse researchers, qualitative research permits "reaching out to people, listening to what they have to say, and then using that knowledge to make a difference in their lives" (Corbin, 2009, p. 36).

In qualitative research, the researcher and participant co-create knowledge and understanding: as participants share their stories with the researcher, new knowledge is constructed through identification of key concepts and themes. The knowledge gained in qualitative research "reveal(s) what had been concealed;" makes that which has been implicit,

explicit so that this knowledge can be used to create social understanding, action and change (Munhall, 2007b, p. 11).

Reflection on Hispanic Children's Leisure Time Activity

As I watched my undergraduate nursing students enthusiastically present a physically-active health fair module to elementary students who attend a school that serves a large Mexican American population, I was very puzzled by the lackluster response from the children. Their teacher turned to me and said "I am always amazed that these children don't know how to play." I thought perhaps the issue was not so much that Mexican American children do not know how to play, but more that we were developing interventions through a very Anglo-oriented lens. Perhaps we were asking children to participate in activities that they were not familiar with or possibly, did not fit with their familial and cultural values.

In order to develop culturally-relevant physical activity interventions, we first need to understand what activities Hispanic children enjoy doing, and to place those activities within the context of the family, culture, and environment in which they reside. To truly understand this phenomenon, I felt that it was important not to stand on the outside of the Hispanic culture looking inward and deciding what activities are important to the children but rather allow the families and culture to speak for themselves, to tell the story of leisure time activity. Participatory methods incorporating participant-produced photographs, blended with the methodological techniques of ethnography is one way to give Hispanic mothers a voice, a way to tell their story of leisure time activity through the research process.

Reflexivity

In ethnography, the researcher is the data collection instrument. Reflexivity is a process in which the researcher is aware of herself in the study, with the informants, the data and with the study (Wolf, 2007). Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest frequent self-monitoring during the course of a study in the form of a reflexive journal. In this study, I maintained a personal journal in which I acknowledged my assumptions about the world, and engaged in frequent conversations with my dissertation chair. The specific assumptions that I noted during the course of this study included:

1. I am a Family Nurse Practitioner with many years of experience. I tend to view the world from a nursing/medical frame of reference. I am trained to assess situations, develop differential diagnoses, a treatment plan, and follow up.
2. Coming from this nursing/medical model, I am trained to have beliefs about certain activities. For example, I have been trained to equate sedentary activity with poor health.
3. Further, I am trained to come to conclusions, make diagnoses, and provide suggestions for improvement. Often I would find myself observing activities, assessing the participants‟ statements and stories, and viewing the photographs taken by the participants from an assessment-diagnosis-intervention framework that I am so clinically oriented to.
4. Therefore, it was challenging at times to silence my nursing training and allow the story to emerge as the participants intended to tell it. By keeping a personal reflexive journal

and having many conversations with my dissertation chair, I was continually aware of the influence of my training.

In addition to the journaling process, the research design was developed to address these potential biases in order to assure that the participants‟ stories were the ones that ultimately informed the results and interpretations of this study. In subsequent sections of this chapter, I describe specific activities designed to safeguard against these biases (member checks, modification of the ethnographic process so that participants were active in both data collection and analysis, audits by my dissertation chair, and clarifying participant interviews). In addition, the individual stories of each participant are presented in chapter IV, so that you, the reader, are able to judge for yourself the authenticity of the conclusions and interpretations offered in this study.

Ethnography

Ethnography is a qualitative research methodology that developed in anthropology to describe and understand cultures from an insider‟s perspective (Fetterman, 1998; Spradley, 1979). Spradley defined culture as a system of meaningful symbols that reflect the knowledge acquired by people that is used to “interpret experience and generate social behavior” (p. 5). Culture is a broad concept which encompasses behavior, customs, lifeways, ideas, beliefs, and shared knowledge within a social group of people. Spradley notes that symbolic interaction is embedded in culture, as people use their cultural knowledge to interpret meanings, which ultimately shape behavior. Culture is described by Spradley as providing cognitive map- making skills that help people navigate through the ambiguity of day-to-day life.

Ethnographers provide cultural descriptions that foster understanding of the human species (Spradley, 1979). This description is the result of making cultural inferences based on language, actions/behaviors, and objects used (Spradley). Rather than describe what is unusual about a group, the ethnographer attempts to explicate the routine, predictable daily lives of research participants by engaging in activities appropriate to the situation and observing the activities, physical aspects and people (Fetterman, 1998; Spradley, 1980). In order to do this, ethnographers conduct prolonged fieldwork engaged in participant observation, learning how people act, hear, see, speak, and think (Spradley). The ethnographer is holistically oriented, attempting to describe as much about a culture as possible, in context by placing observations into a larger perspective (Fetterman).

Much of the existing literature describes highly sedentary leisure time behavior in Hispanic children (Alhassan, Sirard, & Robinson, 2007; Stovitz, Steffen & Boostrom, 2008; McKenzie et al., 1997; Springer et al., 2010). This study described Hispanic children‟s leisure time physical activity patterns within the context of family, culture, and their community‟s environment through the cultural lens of their mothers. This method honors Spradley‟s (1979) admonishment to human behavior researchers: “Before you impose your theories on the people you study, find out how those people define the world” (p. 11).

Modification of Spradley's Ethnographic Method

The method of participant observation described by Spradley (1979, 1980) was modified in several ways for this study. Typically, participant-observation is conducted by the researcher using data collection methods designed to capture relevant behaviors and their characteristics (Spradley, 1980). However, Spradley (1980) also noted that there are participant-observation

situations in which direct researcher participation is inappropriate. I believe that is inappropriate for unaccompanied adults to sit at playgrounds and observe children as they play. Furthermore, I believe that it was vital to gain an emic perspective of the children‟s leisure activities. Therefore, the participants were actively involved in the research data collection process by taking photographs of their children as they engaged in various leisure time activities throughout a week; they conducted the participant-observation, noting the behaviors that were most important and central to their description of leisure activities in Hispanic children.

A camera is an inanimate object that provides a highly-sensitive reflection of the photographer‟s attitude (Collier & Collier, 1986). The resulting photograph provides an image of what the photographer considers to be reality. Rather than depicting one ultimate truth, photographs tend to portray multiple meanings (Oliffe, Bottorff, Kelly & Halpin, 2008). Collier and Collier describe photographs as cross-cultural "communication bridges between strangers that can become pathways into unforeseen environments and subjects" (p. 99). Photographic techniques are used to conduct scientific, historical and social dimension research (Harper, 2002).

The use of participant-produced photographs for this study was based on the Photovoice philosophy, which is an approach that enables research participants to show how they "define the world" (Spradley, 1979, p.11) by using a camera (Wang & Burris, 1997). "Photovoice gives cameras to people who might otherwise not have access to such a tool, so that they may record and catalyze change in their communities, rather than stand as passive subjects of other people‟s intentions and images" (Wang & Burris, pp. 370-371). Based on the Freirian principle of providing visual images (line drawings and photographs) to allow people to begin discussions

about their social and political lives, “Photovoice takes this one step further so that the images of the community are made by the people themselves” (Wang & Burris, p. 370). This form of data collection honors the expertise of mothers within their homes and in their children‟s lives.

Visual images are useful in performing exploratory fieldwork, helping to improve the quality of ethnographic fieldwork, providing a fairly objective view of the culture and providing cross-cultural data (El Guindi, 2004). Photos provide a conversational starting point and reference point about what has been captured in the photo (Collier & Collier, 1986). Photography was very useful for this research because it enabled prolonged engagement with the culture, while providing a visual medium which captured leisure time activities as they happened. The activities that the mother chose to photograph provided an *emic* perspective into what she considered to be both routine and important in her child‟s life.

The data analysis process also was modified. Typically, ethnographic data analysis is conducted by the researcher or research team (Spradley, 1980). Participants are not directly involved in the process of sorting, coding, categorizing, describing, and interpreting data. However, in order to assure credibility and transferability of these findings and to ensure that cultural interpretation of the data was authentic and credible, the data analysis process was designed to be more reciprocal and interactive. Participants and researcher co-participated in the analysis process; developing a culturally relevant description and explanation of leisure activities in Hispanic children. In this study, the participants were actively involved in initial data analysis by naming/coding the leisure activities represented in the photographs, sorting/categorizing their children‟s activities into culturally relevant groups, and then defining and describing those categories.

Summary

As discussed in the first two chapters, a wealth of research has demonstrated that the Hispanic population bears a huge health burden due to obesity and a lack of physical activity (Bell et al, 2011; CDC, 2011; Guo, Wu, Chumlea & Roche, 2002; Ogden & Carroll, 2010; Olshansky et al., 2005; Stovitz et al., 2010). While researchers have investigated Hispanic children‟s leisure activities levels (Alhassan, Sirard, & Robinson, 2007; Stovitz, Steffen & Boostrom, 2008; McKenzie et al., 1997; Springer et al., 2010) and the influence of parental knowledge and participation (Ciampa et al. ,2010; Echevarria and Pacquiao, 2008; Fuemmeler, Anderson and Mâsse, 2011; Lindsay, Sussner, Greaney, & Peterson, 2009; Ruiz, Gesell, Buchowski, Lambert & Barkin, 2011; Wolman, Skelly, Kolotourou, Lawson & Sacher, 2008), there has been very little description of what activities the children do at home in their leisure time, or an explanation of what benefits their parents believe they receive from them, or how the children‟s chosen activities are influenced by their family, culture, and environment.

The two broad questions proposed by this research were:

1. How do Hispanic families describe leisure time activities
2. How do culture, family, and the community environment influence a Hispanic child‟s participation in after-school, leisure time physical activities?

These questions were best suited to be explored through qualitative methodologies. Ethnography is the most appropriate methodology because it seeks to describe and understand a culture from the *emic*, or insider‟s perspective (Spradley, 1979). In order to do this, ethnographers co-create an accurate cultural description by working with participants. This ethnographic research incorporated the participants as co-creators of knowledge, as they were

actively involved in the research process by taking photographs of their children engaging in activities throughout the week. The photographs provided a visual-image starting point for the participants to describe what leisure time activities their children engaged in. Photo-elicited interviews gave the participants the opportunity to show what activities their children engaged in, explain why the children were doing the activities, and then describe the benefit that the children received from them.

Ethical Considerations

Approval for this study was obtained from the University of Arizona"s Human Subjects Protection Program (HSPP) (Appendix A) and the College of Nursing"s Departmental Review Committee. Approval from the university"s HSPP was obtained before the research process was started.

Ethics of Photography

In any photographic method, invasion of privacy is the main ethical risk. Wang & Redwood-Jones (2001) reported four kinds of invasion: invasion of private space, disclosure of embarrassing facts about individuals, being placed in a false light and use of a person"s likeness for commercial benefit. An additional ethical consideration for this study was the inclusion of the participant"s child, who was asked to provide verbal assent before any pictures were taken.

Invasion of private space and confidentiality.

Invasion of private space extends to public areas if the person is not aware that he is being photographed (Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001). While it is legal to take photographs of people who are in public places, a camera gives the photographer the power to create meaning that may not have been intended. For example, the news media rely heavily on photographs of

people in many life situations that occur in daily, public life. In research, even though it is legal to take photographs of people in public places, it is not ethically neutral.

For this research, participants were asked to focus their photographic efforts on their children engaged in leisure time activities. The initial informed consent included assent from the study participants to photograph their children and for permission to be interviewed for the purposes of research. The consent also required the participants to decide whether to allow photographs of their children to be used for public presentations/publication or to refuse display of their photographs publically. All participants agreed to let the researcher use their pictures in public presentations and publications.

Disclosure of an embarrassing fact.

Occasionally photographs are taken that depict an embarrassing act (Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001). Examples that were cited included photographs that depict illicit and illegal behavior that could be incriminating. Wang & Redwood-Jones refused to use any photographs that might disclose embarrassing facts about photographed individuals. In this research, it was unlikely that participants would take a photograph that would depict their children engaged in embarrassing acts. However, participants received instruction to take pictures of their children engaged in activities that they would feel comfortable with others seeing. They were advised to avoid taking pictures of the children engaged in "private situations" such as in the bathroom, bedroom, or while bathing. They also were advised to take pictures of their children only if they were appropriately dressed.

If a photograph of a child was deemed to be inappropriate, the photograph, negative, and any computer image would have been destroyed. The researcher informed participants that as a

Registered Nurse, she is legally obligated to report any illegal acts directed toward a child, such as physical or sexual abuse. However, there were no inappropriate or abusive photographs submitted in this research project.

Being placed in a false light.

Photographs sometimes place the subject of the photo in a bad light (Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001). This can occur when what is depicted by the picture is contradictory to the subject‟s fœlings and thoughts. For example, a photograph may portray a child crossing the street alone, which could reflect negatively upon the parent. However, it is possible that just outside of the frame of the photo the child‟s father was three steps behind the child. When a photograph is taken that places a person in a negative light, the authors suggest careful scrutiny of why the photo was taken and what it portrays prior to using it. In this research project, there was one picture of a participant‟s child, busily coloring a picture while sitting in front of a fully-stocked liquor cabinet. The researcher did not want this family placed in a false light and decided to blur the cabinet behind the girl.

Use of pictures for commercial benefit.

Research participants can release his/her right to the image reflected in a photograph. If released, that image may then be used in the future at the discretion of the photographer, even if that means the photographer can earn income from its use. To prevent use of the person‟s likeness for future commercial benefit, Wang & Redwood-Jones (2001) suggest giving ownership of the negatives produced in the course of the research project to the participants. This means that the photograph cannot be sold by the researcher in the future for commercial gain. At the photo-elicited interview, the negatives were returned to the participant. At the end of this

research project, the CD and all pictures will be destroyed. Furthermore, all participants in this study were given the choice of either not permitting or permitting their photographs to be used in publications and presentations. All participants elected to allow their photographs, with the children‟s faces and identifying characteristics blurred, to be used in publications and presentations.

Ethics of photography of children.

Children were not required to sign an informed consent to be photographed, because they were not considered to be of legal age to do so. However, a second type of verbal assent was used. Participants were asked to read a script explaining in developmentally appropriate language why the pictures were being taken, and to assure the children that they could refuse to have their pictures taken. The minor‟s verbal assent script may be found in Appendix H. Participants were reassured that if their children did not wish to be photographed, they could withdraw from the study. All children agreed to be photographed.

In order to protect the confidentiality of children who were photographed by participants in the research project, all faces and identifying characteristics were blurred by using the Photoshop Gaussian blur setting at 74.4 pixels. This degree of blurring was chosen by the researcher, who experimented by blurring some of her own family photographs. This degree of Gaussian blurring obliterated all facial and other identifying characteristics of photographed people and places. Identifying characteristics that were blurred include house and license plate numbers, city names on plaques, street names, and t-shirt emblems.

Ethics of Research with Immigrant Populations

Rigor in nursing research has at its foundation a "profound reverence for human beings and their experiences" (Munhall, 2007c, p. 501). When doing research, the nursing therapeutic imperative of advocacy takes priority over the research imperative to advance knowledge. For this reason, the researcher made a purposeful decision to only collect basic demographic data from the study participants. The data that were collected included very basic information such as age, education level, and employment level. Data that could potentially place participants in legal peril, such the participants‟ or family members‟ length of residency in the state and country and immigration status were not collected as part of this study.

Setting

The setting for the research was Elkhart, Marshall, and St. Joseph counties in North Central Indiana. Collectively, these counties are in an area locally known as "Michiana," because of their proximity to the Michigan state line (Figure 7). These counties have small and medium sized cities surrounded by rural areas. The interviews for this study were conducted in South Bend, which is the county seat of St. Joseph County; Elkhart, which is the county seat of Elkhart County; Goshen, which is a small city located in Elkhart County; and Bremen, which is a rural town located in Marshall County. While Indiana as a whole has a much smaller Hispanic population than western states, Northern Indiana counties have a higher percentage of Hispanic residents than the rest of the state. This is due in large part to the Recreational Vehicle, pre-fabricated housing, and vegetable processing industries that are located in Northern Indiana.

FIGURE 7. Map of "northern Indiana" counties (Source: projectfuture.org)

Current census data indicate that the Hispanic population currently comprises 6% of the Indiana population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011), and is expected to grow to 8% of the population by 2030 (Kinghorn, 2008). Northern Indiana counties are projected to experience a large increase in the Hispanic population. In 2008, the Hispanic population in Elkhart County was estimated to be 14.4%; and 6.4% of St. Joseph County"s total population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009). The Hispanic population in St. Joseph County tends to reside within the South Bend and Mishawaka city limits. The Hispanic population in Elkhart County has settled in Elkhart and Goshen, a smaller rural city. Table 4 summarizes the Census data for the Northern Indiana counties that were data collection sites.

TABLE 4. Hispanic population of U.S., Indiana, and selected counties.

Area	**Census Year 2000**	**Census Year 2009 Estimate**	**Census 2010**
U.S.	12.5%	15.8%	16.3%
Indiana	3.5%	5.5%	6%
Elkhart County	~9%	15.1%	14.1%
Marshall County	~6%	9.1%	8.4%
St. Joseph County	~5%	6.5%	7.3%

U.S. Census Bureau, 2011

Information from a health fair attended by Hispanic residents in Northern Indiana demonstrated that 61% had less than a high school education and in 2008, 84% reported that they were without health insurance, which was an 8% increase from 2007. Residents who attended the health fair also reported significant barriers accessing health care, with 49% reporting that the high cost and language barriers prevented them from accessing primary care services (L. Quintero, personal communication, March 3, 2009).

Recruitment of Participants

Hispanic mothers of school-aged children between 6 and 10 were considered to have the best experiential fit for this study due to the central role they play in their families, making them the best experts to describe and explain their family‟s activities. Children between 6 and 10 years of age typically are very dependent on members of their family to engage in activities (Sallis & Owen, 1999). Spradley (1979) suggested that novice ethnographic interviewers can be overwhelmed by interviewing participants who do not speak the same language. For this reason, only English-speaking Hispanic participants were recruited for this study.

Two cultural brokers from the community facilitated the recruitment process (Appendix B). A cultural broker is a person who acts as a bridge between two groups of people in order to produce change (Jezewski, 1990). Cultural brokers for this research were selected from people who are in the researcher‟s professional network and frequently interact with members of the Hispanic community through an outreach organization and an area school. The researcher provided a training session with the cultural brokers, explaining the purpose of the research, inclusion and exclusion criteria, and the research plan. The cultural brokers were then given a recruitment flyer (Appendix C), which they were asked to distribute to potential participants. The

flyer explained the research, inclusion criteria, and the researcher‟s contact information to potential participants. The researcher also distributed the flyer to potential participants.

Women who were interested in participating contacted the researcher by phone and e-mail. During this initial contact, the researcher read a screening script (Appendix D) describing the research, explained what the participant would be asked to do, and asked questions to determine whether the participant met the inclusion criteria. Those who agreed to participate and met the inclusion criteria were enrolled in the study.

The inclusion criteria for this study were:

1. English-speaking and reading women who self-identify as being Hispanic.
2. Willing to complete demographic and acculturation questionnaires.
3. Have at least one child who is between the ages of 6 and 10.
4. Agree to take photographs over the course of a week of their child engaged in leisure time activities.
5. Agree to obtain verbal assent from her child prior to taking any pictures.
6. Agree to meet with the researcher up to three times for a total of about five to six hours for audio-taped interviews.
7. Hispanic mothers who are not currently nursing students of the researcher, who is a nursing faculty member at Indiana University South Bend.

Once enrolled, a meeting date and time was arranged in a participant-selected setting at the convenience of the participant. A copy of the informed consent was sent to the woman prior to the first meeting (Appendix E).

Eleven Hispanic mothers with school-aged children were recruited to participate in this study. While total saturation perhaps never occurs (Corbin & Strauss, 2008), participants were recruited until theoretical saturation occurred (Agar, 1980). One woman withdrew from the study for unknown reasons before she had taken any photographs, leaving 10 study participants. As small compensation for participating in this study, participants received a $10 Wal-Mart gift card and a small photo album containing their pictures and negatives.

Data Collection Methods

Language is the basis for ethnography‟s core tasks of discovery and description (Spradley, 1979). Data are collected through fieldwork, where ethnographers collect data through prolonged participant observation and interviews. This interaction provides an insight into how insiders describe their world, and allows ethnographers to describe the culture in the insiders own terms. For this study, four primary data collection methods (1. demographic and acculturation questionnaires; 2. participant produced photographs; 3. participant interviews, and 4. field notes) were used to describe the leisure time activities that Hispanic children engage in, and to gain understanding from a cultural, familial, and environmental context why the children engage in the activities and what benefits the children receive from their activities.

Preliminary Participant Meeting and Enrollment

Spradley (1979) notes that ethnographic interviewing has two complementary, but distinct processes: developing rapport and eliciting information. The first meeting with the participant served several purposes: to provide the participant with time to have her questions answered and then sign the informed consent form, complete demographic and acculturation questionnaires, learn to use the camera, and to develop rapport. After she signed the informed

consent form and completed the questionnaires, she was given instructions on how to use the camera and asked to call the researcher when she was finished taking photographs. When these details had been addressed, the researcher established rapport by expressing a genuine interest by engaging in a conversation about the participant‟s family and life experiences.

Demographic and Acculturation Questionnaires

Participants completed two questionnaires after agreeing to participate in the study and signing the informed consent form: a demographic questionnaire and an acculturation level questionnaire. Demographic questionnaire data included age, marital status, employment status, number of children, and education level (Appendix F).

Participants also were asked to complete the 30-question Acculturation Rating Scale of Mexican Americans II (ARSMA-II) (Cuéllar, Arnold & Maldonado, 1995) (Appendix G). The multidimensional measure of acculturation has parallel versions of English and Spanish questions. All participants completed the English version of the scale. The ARSMA-II utilizes a Likert-type rating scale and assesses acculturation based on cultural heritage and ethnic behaviors, ethnic identity and classification, ethnic interaction, and language use and preference. The ARSMA-II also prompts participants to report their religious preference, education level and country in which it was completed and generational status.

The scale consists of subscales that measure Anglo and Mexican orientation (Cuéllar, Arnold & Maldonado, 1995). Acculturation level is determined by scoring the 13 Anglo-Oriented Subscale items, and 17 Mexican-Oriented Subscale items. Once the acculturation score is determined, the participant is placed into levels of acculturation. The levels described by Cuéllar, Arnold and Maldonado are very Mexican oriented; Mexican oriented to approximately

balanced bicultural; slightly Anglo oriented bicultural; strongly Anglo oriented and very assimilated; Anglicized. The ARSMA-II had good reliability with a Cronbach‟s Alpha score of 0.87 for the total scale, 0.86 for the Mexican Oriented Subscale, and 0.88 for the Anglo Oriented Subscale (Cuéllar, Arnold & Maldonado). Concurrent validity was established by using the original ARSMA and had a Pearson product moment correlation coefficient of 0.89 (Cuéllar, Arnold & Maldonado).

Photography

After the participants completed the questionnaires, they were provided with more details about what they were being asked to do, using the script in Appendix I. Participants were instructed to take pictures of their child engaged in his (her) normal, and fun before or after-school activities for one week. The participants were told that the pictures could be of anything that she considered being activities, either inside or outside activities such as sports, exercise, or play. The participants received a single-use Kodak camera with 27 exposures, which are easy to use, have a built-in flash, and produce high quality photographs that are in focus. One participant declined to use the provided single-use camera, and chose to use her own digital camera instead. She provided the researcher with a compact disc of her pictures which were then printed. The photographic settings were chosen by the individual participants. Participants took photographs inside their homes, outside in their yards and neighborhoods, at sports fields, and around their communities, capturing their child‟s leisure time activities.

Participant Interviews.

Ethnographic interviews are described as “speech events,” conversations that seek to uncover purpose, offer explanation, and answer questions (Spradley, 1979, p. 55). The purpose

of the interview is to uncover the cultural knowledge of the participant. Questions are selected that collect information about how cultural knowledge is described and organized in addition to the dimension of meaning of events and objects within the culture.

The use of photographs during an interview has had positive results (Harper, 2002). Researchers have reported that photo-elicited interviews permit longer interviews with less fatigue and repetition (Harper). Use of photographs has helped to sharpen the memory of participants, reduce areas of misunderstanding, and provide a different kind of information that "connect(s) core definitions of the self to society, culture and history" (Harper, p. 13). Human beings respond differently to visual images and text. Harper states that this is because the areas of the brain that process visual information are evolutionarily older than the areas that process verbal information. Exchanges that incorporate visual processing stimulate more of the brain‟s capacity than exchanges based solely on words (Harper). Photographs are often polysemous, which means that they contain multiple meanings which often are uncovered during the interview process (Clark-Ibáñez, 2004). Photo elicitation invites participants to demonstrate their expertise and take the lead in the interview (Collier & Collier, 1986).

Photo-elicited semi-structured interviews were conducted at the second meeting with each participant to capture the mother‟s description of her child‟s leisure time activities and to explain the rationale for her child‟s participation in the activities. After the photographs were developed, the interviews occurred in a place of the participant‟s choosing and were digitally recorded. Participants chose to be interviewed in quiet rooms in public libraries and in their homes. One interview was started at a participant‟s home, and ended in a secluded area of an indoor soccer arena. The interviews lasted for approximately 1 to 2 hours.

Spradley (1979) describes three types of ethnographic interview questions in the Developmental Research Sequence: descriptive, structural, and contrast. Initial interviews are descriptive in nature, and begin with a grand tour question. For this study, the grand-tour question that started each interview was "When you took this picture, what story did you want to tell?" The interview continued, asking the participant to describe each photograph in detail, using questions such as: (a): "What activity is shown in the photo and why was this activity chosen?" (b):"What does this activity do for your child? If he/she couldn"t do this activity, what would it mean to your child?" (c): "Would a boy (or girl) be doing this same activity?" (d):"Would your child be doing this same behavior when she is older? How might this change?" After allowing the participant to fully describe the photographs as they chose, probing questions were used to elicit further detail.

Structural questions require some explanation, which expands and places the topic in context, which helps the ethnographer understand what people know and how they organize the knowledge (Spradley, 1979). Spradley advocates the use of the card-sorting technique because it allows the participant to think about the differences between activities and promotes elicitation of folk terms for the categories of activities. In this study, a modified card sort was used to drive the structural questions. Specifically, participants were instructed to group the photos according to the types of activities and then naming these groups. They were then asked to discuss goals for the child when he/she did the activity, and what benefits she believed her child received from it. For example, one mother grouped together several pictures of her daughter reading and writing. As she described the individual pictures, she said that her daughter was reading and writing just

for fun. When these photographs were grouped into a category, she explained that her daughter‟s fun reading activity was a means to become better educated.

Contrast questions help the ethnographer understand the meaning of an action by learning how it is different from other actions. For this study, contrast questions were used to understand which activities were considered to be appropriate for boys and girls, and if those activities would be different after the child entered puberty.

Each interview was concluded when the participant had discussed each photograph in detail and thoroughly explained the photographic groupings. The full interview guide is Appendix J.

Field Notes

Ethnographic field notes describe the "who, what, when and where" of the interview, use of space and artifacts, and the physical and social aspects the interview (Wolf, 2007). In addition, field notes are used to reflect on social events and participant conduct. Spradley (1980) suggests creating a fieldwork notebook that contains an immediate condensed account of the fieldwork, an expanded account that includes more detail, a personal journal, and analytic and interpretive notes. Spradley suggested that each researcher create an field note organization that works for the research.

This study utilized four types of field notes.

Participant observation (photographs) notes.

Notes were kept throughout the inductive process of photographic participant observation. The notes began as very general and descriptive in nature, and then became more focused, and finally were about very selective observations. Notes described the acts, actors,

behaviors, location, and objects that were viewed in the pictures. These notes also were used as prompts about some of the photographs, as a way to remember to ask questions about particular photographed activities.

Interview description notes.

These field notes were written after the photo-elicited interviews were finished. More details were recorded about what the participants said about the activities depicted in the photos. Additionally, vivid descriptions of the interview settings were recorded; describing the sights, sounds, and smells that stood out and details about interactions between the people who were present during the interview were recorded. These field notes were very helpful because they helped to refine photo-elicited interview questions as the process progressed, provided insight during the analytic process, and description for the written product.

Personal reflexive journal notes.

A brief personal journal was kept to record some of the research experiences. This journal helped me work through frustrations with the research process, and provided me with a place to document my personal observations and occasional epiphanies that occurred during the research process. This helped me to be aware of my feelings and keep them out of analytic process.

Analytical notes.

Throughout the analytic process, I kept legal pads and notebooks close at hand and kept copious field notes. It was in these notes that I brainstormed, created tables, drew links between behaviors, and recorded hunches based on the iterative coding process.

Data Analysis

The goal of ethnographic data analysis is to provide "thick description" that enables the reader to "see the social action in context" (Wolf, 2007, p. 312) and to resolve discrepancies in inconsistent data. Data analysis in ethnographic research is the search for patterns in the relationships among pieces of a culture as they are conceptualized by the insiders (Spradley, 1979). Descriptive ethnographic analysis typically proceeds in a systematic fashion organizing the various components of observed phenomena.

Spradley"s (1979) Developmental Research Sequence was used in this study. Components of ethnographic data analysis begin with choosing and interviewing study participants which provides rich description of the cultural scene. The sequence then progresses through identification of domains, taxonomic and componential analysis, which sets the groundwork for building cultural themes and theoretical relationships. The steps of the Developmental Research Sequence and how they were applied to this study are summarized in Table 5. All data collected during the research process were analyzed to discover cultural meaning (Spradley).

Demographic and acculturation data were analyzed to allow descriptive reporting of the average and range of age of the participants and children photographed for this study, the participants" education and employment status, and acculturation level. Because the participants were a homogenously acculturated group, acculturation data were eliminated from the analysis process.

Triangulation is a term borrowed from trigonometry that refers to finding the location of a point by using measurements from two other points (Williamson, 2005). When used in

research, it refers to using different types of data collection methods in the study of the same question (Duffy, 1987). For this study data triangulation reflected the use of multiple data collection methods in order to answer the research questions (Williamson). Data were collected through demographic and acculturation questionnaires, photography, interviews, and field notes. All of the data were analyzed separately, and then triangulated to derive domain, taxonomic, componential structures and cultural themes.

Domain and Taxonomic Analysis

Domain and taxonomic analysis provided a basic structure that describes the children‟s leisure time activity. When reviewing the observational (photographic) data, interviews, and field notes it became apparent that: the children engaged in different types of activities; that there were specific family roles influencing the children‟s activities; and there were reasons that children engaged in certain activities.

TABLE 5. Application of Spradley‟s developmental research sequence (1979, 1980)

Step	Application
1. Locate a social situation	Leisure time was the chosen social situation for this research, with a focus on the children‟s activities, and how they are influenced by their family, culture, and community environment.
2. Locate an informant	Participants were recruited through cultural brokers. Spradley (1979) notes that "good informants know their culture so well they no longer think about it," (p. 47). Chose English-speaking Hispanic mothers with children between ages 6-10.
3. Interviewing an informant	Developed rapport; friendly conversations with an explicit purpose to learn about the children‟s leisure time activities. Explained the project, encouraged participants to explain their children‟s activities in their own terms
4. Making an ethnographic record	Field notes, photographs, audio-recorded interviews, card sort technique.
5. Asking questions: Descriptive, Structural, Contrast	Participants were asked to describe their photographs, card sort them into categories, and explain how the behaviors might be different for boys and girls, and for older children. See interview guide, Appendix I.
6. Analyzing ethnographic interviews	Iterative analysis of photographs, transcripts, and field notes to uncover cultural meaning through use of symbols and categories.
7. Making a domain analysis	Use of participant‟s photographic card sort and naming categories. Data triangulation: photos, participant category names, coded transcripts, and field notes. Included cover terms, included terms, and semantic relationships. Three domains derived: family roles in activities, types of activities, and reasons for participating.
8. Making a taxonomic analysis	Iterative coding of transcripts, analysis of photographs – assisted development of internal structure of domains of family roles in activities, types of activities, and reasons for participating.
9. Making a componential analysis	Comparative analysis across genders with multiple matrices of types of activities, family roles, cultural values and reasons for behaviors.
10. Discovering cultural themes	Between-participant data analysis. Inductive coding process with spotlight on cultural values and beliefs.

In the first analytic step, the researcher engaged in the inductive method of participant observation of the photographs described by Spradley (1980). The photographs were first viewed to gain a general, descriptive overview of the photographs. After gaining this descriptive perspective, the researcher engaged in a more focused observation of each set of photographs. They were analyzed and indexed according to the participants‟ categories and names for those categories, and according to the actors, activities, and location. It became immediately apparent that the photographs depicted boys and girls engaged in activities either alone or with other people. They also engaged in active or sedentary behaviors that were either inside or outside. The children were photographed engaging in many different types of behaviors, such as playing with dolls and water guns or riding horses or bicycles. Behaviors were deemed active if the child was photographed engaging in behaviors that involved energy-expending movement such as running, walking, and jumping. Sedentary behaviors were those activities in which the children were photographed in a sitting or standing position that did not depict much movement.

Finally, observation was more selective as the researcher triangulated the interview and photographic data. This technique helped place the children‟s photographed activities within the context of the participant‟s story. This contextualization helped the researcher to understand the photographs. For example, one photograph was of a boy who was sitting on the ground. It was initially indexed into the sedentary category of activities. However, as the participant told the story of that picture, she described it as her son running up and down a river bank, learning to skip stones across the water. Based on her story about the picture, it was moved into the active category. The interviews also clarified who the children were photographed participating with. The participants identified the other people as family members or friends.

Interview data were then coded using the qualitative analysis program Atlas.ti to help identify the roles that the family played in the children‟s activities and the reasons the children engaged in the activity. As each interview was read, the researcher kept notes about the different roles and reasons that were presented by the participants. The data, which included the interview transcripts and the resulting names from the participants‟ card sort were initially coded broadly, using the codes “definition of leisure,” “family input” and “activity rationale” and “activity meaning.” After this initial coding session, the results were separated and analyzed according to the child‟s gender. As with the initial review, the researcher entered hunches into her field notes which led to the more specific codes outlined in the taxonomy. The data were again analyzed using the codes: “bonding,” “building self,” “communicate,” “creative expression,” “encourage,” “facilitate,” “facing fears/testing limits,” “ fun and relaxation,” “health,” “life preparation,” “participate with,” “role model,” “safety monitor,” and “socialize.” Definitions of these codes are found in Appendix K.

Componential Analysis

After domain and taxonomic analysis were done, componential analysis helped to compare activities across gender. This process was completed by again reviewing the observational and transcript data. The participants were asked during the interviews to contrast the photographed behaviors. For example, if she photographed her son riding a bicycle, she was asked “If your son were a girl, would he be doing the same behavior?” “If your son were older, would he still be doing the same activity?” The researcher created another large matrix that included all of the activities that the participants photographed, the reasons for their behaviors, the benefits of their behaviors, family roles in the activities, and the contrasts between boys and

girls (Appendix L). Ultimately, this level of analysis helped to clearly delineate activities that were considered “boy,” “girl,” or “boy/girl” activities.

Cultural Theme Analysis

Iterative analysis of data included in the three major domains led to the abstraction of cultural themes. This final analytic step highlighted the cultural values and beliefs that were discussed by the participants. Codes that emerged from the data analysis included “tensions,” “preparatory activities,” “health,” “(cultural) maintenance,” “safety monitor,” “duty activities” and “fun activities.” The data were again analyzed using these codes. The outcome of this level of analysis was the discovery of the underlying cultural themes that are fully described in Chapter V.

Spradley‟s (1979) Developmental Research Sequence enabled the researcher to develop a description of Hispanic children‟s leisure time activities as the participants intended. It also helped to organize their stories into a coherent whole through the cultural themes derived from the data.

Data Security

Each participant was assigned a random number that was linked to her name and contact information. Each camera was assigned a random number that corresponded to the participant. The list of participant‟s contact information and camera numbers were kept in a locked file cabinet in the researcher‟s office. Only de-identified data were electronically-stored on the researcher‟s password-protected computer.

When the participants finished taking the photographs, the researcher collected the camera and had the film developed by Sam‟s Club. Two sets of photographs and a CD were

produced from the camera. One set of photographs was used by the researcher during the interview and analysis phases. For organization purposes, each photograph was assigned a three- to four-digit number, which was written on the back of the photo. The first number corresponded to the random number assigned to each participant. The second number corresponded to the picture‟s sequential number on the negative. This permitted the researcher to easily locate the transcript data about individual pictures. This organizational method also enabled the researcher to quickly reassemble pictures into a set when they were sorted into categories during analysis. The second set of photographs and negatives were placed in a small photo album and given to the participant as a gift. The CD was used to load the photographs onto the researcher‟s password-protected computer.

Audio-taped interviews were transcribed by the researcher and a professional transcriptionist. During the analytic phase, photographs, transcripts and analyzed material were sent to the dissertation chairperson via encrypted e-mail. At the end of the research project, the participant database, including names, contact information, and photographs were shredded. The CDs with the participants‟ photographs were destroyed.

Maintaining Rigor in Qualitative Research

Rigor in qualitative research relates to the openness, thoroughness of data collection, adherence to a philosophical perspective and consideration of all data in the theory development phase (Burns & Grove, 2007). Ethnographers tend to follow the criteria established by Lincoln and Guba (1985). The four criteria followed by ethnographers are credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

Credibility

The criterion of credibility refers to how well the intended focus of the study is reflected in the data and analysis. Credibility occurs when the study presents such a faithful description and interpretation of the experience that the people who live it or read about it recognize the experience (Sandelowski, 1986). Among several methods to establish credibility, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that the researcher engage in prolonged engagement, peer debriefing and member check. Prolonged engagement allows the researcher to learn the culture, develop rapport and establish trust. It permits the researcher to see the full scope of the problem being studied. Peer debriefing helps to keep the process honest and requires the researcher to engage in discussions with a disinterested peer. The debriefing helps to probe the researcher‟s biases, explore meanings and clarify interpretations. Debriefing also provides direction for developing hypotheses, provides a push for the researcher to move forward, and a way for the researcher to clear the mind. Member check is a critical step in establishing credibility and means that the researcher presents categories, interpretations and conclusions to members of the stakeholding group for their reaction. This permits the researcher to determine if the findings are recognizable to the stakeholding group (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

For this study, photographs, transcripts, and analytic notes were sent to the chair of my dissertation committee as they were available. She read transcripts, checked coding, and parallel coded the interviews. At certain points throughout the research project, discussions about the meaning of the data were held with the dissertation chair. I also followed strategies suggested by Chiovitti and Piran (2003) which included inviting the study participants to guide the inquiry process and initial data analysis by sorting their photographs into categories and naming the

categories. The participants‟ category names and description of the children‟s activities were reflected in the codes used to analyze the data. Another strategy to enhance credibility suggested by Chiovitti and Piran that was used in this research is the use of a personal reflexive journal. Journaling permitted the researcher to self-monitor the emotions she experienced during the research process.

Transferability

Transferability occurs when the study findings fit situations outside the research and when the readers feel the study findings are meaningful and applicable to their own situation (Sandelowski, 1986). In order to establish transferability, the researcher provides thick description of the phenomenon (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). However, the final judgment of transferability rests with the reader (Lincoln & Guba). To enhance transferability, Chiovitti and Piran (2003) suggest that the researcher delineate the parameters of research in terms of sample, setting. Strategies that were utilized in this research include discussing the demographics of the participants, describing the setting characteristics, and providing the participants‟ individual photographic story in Chapter IV.

Dependability

Lincoln and Guba (1985) stated that dependability "seeks means for taking into account both factors of instability and factors of phenomenal or design induced change" (p. 299). This means that data can change over time and can be affected by changes in interviewing over time and decisions during the analytic process (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). For this study, dependability was established by creating a clear audit trail, which includes the creation of a fieldwork notebook that consists of field notes, personal notes, photographs, transcribed

interviews, coding schemes, themes and indicators (Wolf). My dissertation chair has continuously audited the process of data collection, analysis, and interpretation by conducting weekly discussions to assure dependability.

Confirmability

Confirmability is established through auditability, truth value, and applicability (Sandelowski, 1986). This occurs when the participants recognize their story in the outcome and when the decision trail of the study‟s researcher can be followed by another researcher. Another researcher should reach similar conclusions when considering the researcher‟s data, perspective and situation (Sandelowski). To achieve confirmability, the research should provide a thick description of the findings that enable the participants and other researchers to reach a similar conclusion (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). To meet this criterion, Lincoln and Guba suggest a clear audit trail that enables an auditor to see that the study‟s findings were grounded in the data. Strategies recommended by Chiovitti and Piran (2003) include keeping very clear notes which clearly describe the research decision-making process. For this study, member checking with the participants were completed. They confirmed that the findings and interpretation of the data were consistent with the story they intended to tell. As one participant listened to the study‟s finding, she frequently smiled and nodded, saying “yes, that‟s right.” At the conclusion of the conversation she said “yes, that sounds just like us. I think you got it right.”

Conclusion

This ethnographic study provides a description and understanding of Hispanic children‟s leisure time activities through the use of participant-produced photography. Ten English speaking Hispanic mothers of at least one child between the ages of 6 and 10 were asked to

photograph their children engaged in leisure time activities over the course of one week. After the film was developed, the participants met with the researcher to discuss her photographs in detail. Questions were asked that enabled an exploration of the research questions:

1. How do Hispanic families describe leisure time activities?
2. How do culture, family, and the community environment influence a Hispanic child‟s participation in leisure time activities?

Spradley‟s (1979) Developmental Research Sequence provided the strategy for analyzing the observational (photographic), interview, and field note data. The results of the data analysis will be presented in Chapter V. The participants‟ photographs and stories will be presented in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER IV: STUDY PARTICIPANTS AND CONTEXT

Ten women were interviewed between September, 2010 and April, 2011. Five of the mothers took pictures of their sons while five took pictures of their daughters‟ activities. All participants except one chose to use the single-use 35 mm camera provided. That participant chose to use her digital camera and provided the researcher with a compact disc of her photos.

This chapter provides a summary of the sample as well as an individual account of each participant‟s description of her child‟s leisure time activities, accompanied by representative photographs. The participants are presented in the order in which they were interviewed.

The work of ethnographers is to describe a culture from the insider perspective and to understand how insiders live their lives (Spradley, 1979). These photographs and stories represent the participant‟s stories as they intended to tell them. Pseudonyms for the participants and their children were chosen by the author. The participants‟ children and their friends‟ faces and identifying characteristics were blurred in order to protect their confidentiality. The participants‟ quotes, representing the *emic* perspective, are presented in italics.

Sample Description

Nine participants in this study were of Mexican descent and one was from Colombia. Of the 10 participants, nine were first-generation immigrants, and one was a third-generation Mexican American. The women were between the ages of 27 to 45 years old, with the mean age of 33. There were five boys and five girls who were considered to be the school-aged children whose leisure time activities would be chronicled and photographed. The children ranged in age from 6 to 9 years old, with a mean age of 8. Most of the participants had more than one child, so the target children often were photographed with their siblings.

Five of the participants had either attended or graduated from college, four had graduated from high school, and one had a 6th-grade education. Half of the women in the sample are employed full-time, while three are part-time workers. Two of the participants are full-time mothers who were not employed outside of their homes. Although 8 of 10 participants were observed speaking Spanish to their children, a majority indicated that they speak both English and Spanish either almost always or very often.

The participants‟ acculturation level was very similar, with half of the sample being more Mexican oriented to approximately-balanced bicultural and the other half being slightly Anglo oriented bicultural. The similarity in acculturation level made this a very homogenous group. Because of the group‟s homogeneity, and based on advice from a cultural expert who discussed the study‟s preliminary findings with the researcher at the Western Institute of Nursing‟s annual conference, acculturation data were excluded from the analysis process.

The Participants

Sofia

Sofia‟s two-story house sits on the sunny side of the street in an upper middle-class neighborhood. The green lushness of her lawn is accented by rose bushes gently swaying in the breeze. On first glance, the large front windows were open and the white curtains were billowing as the cool fall wind swept through the home. As Sofia answered her door, a golden-doodle puppy pranced a happy dance at her feet. A smile warmed her face as she welcomed me inside. "Would you like a bottle of water? I have one right here for you," she said to me. I felt instantly welcome. Sitting at her spotless kitchen table, Sofia explained that she is a married 37-year-old woman who completed high school in Mexico, and attended college for one year in the United States. She is the full-time mother of three boys who are 9, 6, and 2 years old.

The boys frequently play in the large back yard. During the interview, the two- year-old old fell down and could be heard crying in the backyard. He ran wailing into the kitchen for his mother‟s comfort. Sofia wiped his tears, kissed the injured area and gently said "I‟m right here… right here." With the kiss and reassurance that he would be fine, the little boy immediately stopped crying and ran back outside to play.

Sofia took 21 pictures that she sorted into three categories: *Outside play*; *Playing inside*; and *Relaxing*. *Outside Play* contained 14 photos and constituted the largest of the three categories. All of the photographs in the outside play were taken in the family‟s yard, with the exception of one photo that was taken on a soccer field at the boys‟ school. The boys spend more time in o*utside play* when the weather is good. A majority of the outside photographs depict active play, such as riding bicycles, scooters, skateboards, soccer, and running in the yard with their father and friends. Other outside photographs show the boys playing with neighborhood

children, walking the family‟s puppy, and exploration of nature. Being outside gives the boys the freedom to interact with other children, provided time to explore their world, and have fun.

Playing inside was described as the alternative to outside play, and the boys spend more time inside with inclement weather. When playing inside, the boys are less active, and spend more time engaged in imaginative and creative play. Sofia‟s category of *indoor play* had five photographs. These photographs were more sedentary, with the boys practicing the piano, playing with a train set, and pretending to be a spy. The r*elaxing* category included two photographs that were difficult to see. Sofia said that they were of the boys watching television and playing games. The boys spend time bonding together and with their parents while unwinding.

Sofia guides her children in their activities, seeking a balance between work, responsibility, exercise, creative endeavors, and fun. Sofia and her husband are actively involved in their children‟s leisure time activities, whether it‟s soccer, video games, or playing the piano. She believes that her sons‟ unique personalities guide their activities, where one son is more outgoing and competitive, the other is a bit more reserved.

> *"Kevin will do anything, jump out of anything, try anything… and then he, he"s very competitive so he does it and he does it to do good. And David.. he"s a little bit more introvert, so you know, he has a little bit of a harder time than Kevin."*

Sofia believes that being outside has many benefits for her children. Not only are they engaging in physical activity, but they are interacting with other children, teaching them to get along with others. Another benefit is that they learn skills,

responsibility, and are introduced to the world around them, both of which build self-esteem and confidence.

"Oh, they're outside, they play with other kids, they get physical activity. They learn, you know, they get more ability to ride bikes and all that, so which I think is good. If they were not doing this, they would probably just be sitting inside home watching TV and they would be missing out on making friends, and you learning to socialize and to behave with other kids and what you're doing and what you don't do. If they would not know how to ride a bike or play soccer…that would be bad … (because) when they go to a party and when they play with other kids they would not know what to do and would probably feel bad about themselves. (It builds their) self-esteem."

Being outside occurs year-round for Sofia's sons; however they spend much less time outside when the Indiana weather turns cold and snowy. She allows the boys to self-limit how much time that they are outside, stating *"I just let them go out and then when they're cold they'll come in. I'll just make sure their gloves don't get wet and that they're not freezing."* Exploration of the outside world teaches her sons about themselves and provides confidence to seek out new experiences.

"He loves bugs. David loves running and jumping and being outside. Kevin, he'll play a little, but I'd look and he's probably digging a hole or exploring or something like that…. And the more activities you try, you know, you are willing to try new things too, I think."

Indoor activities also have important benefits for her children. One indoor activity, playing the piano, provides a learning atmosphere, and gives the boys with a sense of accomplishment. Both the piano and imaginative play provides an outlet for their creativity. There are types of indoor activities that must be done before the boys move on to other activities. Sofia said that her boys must complete their chores, homework, and practice

before they have free time. The boys decide how long it will take them to complete the required activities, which has an impact on free time. This teaches the boys time management skills. She claims that household chores, home work, and piano lessons teach her sons time management. After the boys have completed these tasks, they have free time.

"....They ... get home, they have their homework, they have their lessons, they play outside. Like today, we go to soccer and then by the time they come back they gotta take a shower. It"s really they watch television the time that they decide to because if David takes 20 minute doing his homework he has more free times, but if he just goes around and does this and does that, you know, if it takes him an hour, and hour and a half to do his homework, then he chose that. They have to do certain things and then they can do whatever they want."

Playing with toys inside the house is beneficial for Sophia"s children. Rather than sitting around watching television, her sons are creating stories as they play with the toys. Creating stories as they play with toys is beneficial to Sofia"s children.

"So this makes Kevin healthy, even though it might not seem that there is a lot, he may move around a lot... he goes around the, the train track. It makes him healthy, being creative, to coming up with the story and things that happen and so I think this help more with creativity since they"re inside doing things."

Cecelia

The halls of the white, one-story Pastoral Center buzzed with the sound of laughter and Spanish as people bustled through its halls to attend classes. The Catholic Church is a central meeting place for the Hispanic community. Many who were visiting the Pastoral Center were there to learn English. Cecelia is a volunteer within the Hispanic community, helping out at health fairs and teaching classes to new immigrants. She cares deeply for the growing Hispanic population in her town, and does what she can to help new residents adjust to their new life. Cecelia is a 45-year-old single mother who emigrated from Colombia. She earned her Master‟s Degree in Colombia, and now works in a day care center.

Cecelia has a 9-year-old daughter, Beatrice, who often accompanies her mother to her volunteer activities. While her mother is teaching her class, Beatrice will sit quietly and do her homework, read books, or play with her Barbies. She sometimes writes on a classroom whiteboard in English, offering a welcome to class attendees. Cecelia seeks to strike a happy

balance in Beatrice‟s life, saying that she wants her to have fun, not get too stressed out, and to grow up to be a responsible and self-sufficient adult.

Cecelia‟s sorted her 25 pictures into five categories. “*Nine years (old)- learning and developing identity*” was the largest category, containing almost half of the pictures. Cecilia defined this category stating that these are activities that are fun, yet supplement Beatrice‟s education. Ultimately, through these activities Beatrice is able to learn and explore the possibilities in her life. Beatrice was photographed in mostly sedentary activities such as solitary games such as Jump the Peg and Rummy Que, puzzles, reading for fun, watching television, and writing on a white board at her mother‟s class.

“*Normal girl – outside*” contained seven pictures of Beatrice engaged in more active outside behaviors. She was photographed riding a bicycle, and playing ball with her cousins. In one photograph, Beatrice was standing in front of her house, talking to her friends after school. Cecelia said this category of pictures provide evidence of the normal activities of a child having fun. She said that Beatrice enjoys riding her bike and playing with friends. When Beatrice is outside on her bicycle, Cecelia said she always follows close behind. She said it is not safe for Beatrice to be outside without supervision.

There were three photos of Beatrice “*learning to care for self.*” Beatrice was photographed helping her mother make empanadas for a local festival and folding laundry. Cecelia said these activities give Beatrice responsibility in her home. More importantly Cecelia did not want Beatrice to enter adulthood without the necessary skills to take care of herself. There were two pictures in the “*Playing with toys*” category and were of Beatrice playing with Barbies. One of the pictures was in Cecelia‟s bedroom, where Beatrice often likes to play. The

other picture was taken in the office of the Hispanic outreach organization where Cecelia frequently volunteers. Cecelia said that Beatrice plays with the Barbies to entertain herself. The final category was named "*Spiritual Time*" by Cecelia and contained one picture, that of Beatrice standing outside of the Catholic Church that they attend. Cecelia said she would have taken more pictures, but she couldn"t do so inside the church. Spirituality was seen as a way for Beatrice to be grateful for what she has and to help her in her adult life.

Learning and developing identity is a very important task for Beatrice. Cecelia described the pictures in this category as capturing Beatrice"s transformation from a little girl into a more grown-up version of her daughter. She is interacting with her world, asking questions, and discovering who she can be. Cecelia does not want her daughter to grow up too fast, and emphasized that the pictures she took of Beatrice are normal 9-year-old girl activities. Her goal for Beatrice is to learn to have fun, and not get frustrated by activities that are supposed to be fun.

"*There is no, reading like because she needs reading for school, everything, she"s reading because she likes it. This is… now, she"s doing one is for sciences, it"s on theback (of the book), like the body, but she love it. She"s like "Ma, this one is for the brain. I look for the bones, how many bones the body have?" She"s so excited now because she learn more about the body, but she just enjoys learning…Whatever she"s doing, whatever she plays, don"t forget she needs to play well. I"m like you have nine years, are a good girl, and do what make you happy. Whatever you doing, you still happy. If you"re not happy, you no do it,"*

While Beatrice has free time to decide which leisure time activities she will engage in, Cecelia also includes activities that will help prepare Beatrice for her future. Cecelia has begun

including Beatrice in cooking and laundry chores which give her some responsibilities within the home and teaches her how to take care of herself when she is an adult.

"She"s doing laundry.I do laundry for the children, doing like socks, like towels, like some…(folding). It was everything (both Cecelia and Beatrice"s dothes). And now, like two months ago, she was doing everything, me and like your clothes and the closet and everything. Sometime I doing my laundry in the morning. But I take it all in the bed. When she coming home from school she"s doing everything, her homework, and she finished, she doing work because it is work for her. I think she need responsibility in my house."

Beatrice enjoys helping Cecelia in the kitchen, which is not only a life preparatory chore, but also a way for her to bond with her mother. Cecelia sometimes makes foods to sell at church festivals, and Beatrice helps make the food and assists her mother at the festival. Cecelia said that while Beatrice willingly helps in the kitchen, she makes sure that those chores are developmentally appropriate and safe. As Beatrice grows up, Cecelia says that she will be doing more complex jobs such as using the stove. Cecelia says that she realizes she won"t always be there for Beatrice.

"Sometime I talk about when she leave for …college…My niece, all time says "Ma, what you doing for pasta? What you doing for" … you know? She got 21 years! And I try to encourage her learn something, whatever, not too much yet, she"s doing vacuum, sometimes she"s cleaning, she takes out the trash. Yes because it"s sheand me and if something"s wrong with me, she would do herself."

Cecelia provided one picture of Beatrice standing outside of her church, saying it is not acceptable to take a camera inside. She said that spiritual health is important for Beatrice"s development and that she makes sure they attend Mass together. Initially they had attended a Spanish-speaking Mass, but recently began attending an English-speaking Mass

"I come to church…every Sunday I come to church. But you know I can"t takea picture inside…(It"s a) different time for no school, time. She like it. Now I coming for English Mass, because in Spanish, many noises and she like coming this time. (She likes the English Mass) because it"s more quiet."

Lucia

The two story home stands on a quiet street with tall trees that are brandishing a riot of fall color. The house has an archway between the main house and garage, allowing fallen leaves to swirl in eddies on the ground, singing clickety-clack as they careen in their dance with the wind. Lucia and her daughter, Grace, pull up in their car, and gather the bits and pieces that mark Grace"s day at school. Inside the house, the television plays a movie as Lucia"s male friend attends to his baby. Cats race to greet Grace, waiting to have their ears scratched and food bowl filled. Grace gently picks up one purring cat and rubs its head in a greeting.

Lucia took 23 pictures that she sorted into four categories. "*In a group with friends outside*" was the largest category with 13 pictures. The pictures illustrated a mix of active and sedentary behaviors. Grace was photographed outside, playing, hide-and-go-seek, jumping rope, and running around the yard. There were some less active outside behaviors of Grace driving an all-terrain vehicle, playing with bubbles, sitting on a driveway, and of Grace"s friend sitting on a tricycle. Two of the category"s pictures were inside, and were of Grace playing with Lucia"s male friend"s baby. Lucia said the outside activities are fun for Grace, who enjoys playing with her friends. They also help her build confidence and self-esteem. The inside photographs of Grace playing with the baby are a way for Grace to help out and learn to nurture.

"*On her own*" contained six pictures and showed Grace in sedentary behaviors, such as playing with cats, collecting, scrubbing, and counting acorns from the backyard, and sitting on a porch swing. Lucia said that Grace takes responsibility for the cats by feeding them and cleaning their litter box. The cats also provide Grace with an opportunity to care for animals and learn to nurture. Solitary activities provide Grace with some down time that allows her to think.

There were two pictures in the "*On computer*" category, taken as Grace played math games. Lucia said she makes sure Grace is safe on the computer and the games allow her a stress-free time to supplement her education. "*With Mom*" had one picture of Grace helping to make muffins for the family. Lucia said that she enjoys this time with Grace, which allows her to ask questions.

Lucia believes that Grace receives many benefits from fun interaction with her friends. By running around the yard with her friends, Grace gets physical activity and builds endurance to run and jump, according to Lucia. In addition, Lucia said that Grace"s time with friends enables her to build social skills, self-confidence and self-esteem.

Caring for the cats is important for Grace, because she learns responsibility and to nurture and care for living beings. Lucia said it is important for Grace to spend time with her cats and alone, because it gives her some quiet time to think.

"With the animals, that"s healthy emotionally, she"s trying to relate to other beings, not human beings, but living things. Well, like playing with animals and everything, she nurtures ,em and she has that desire, so you know, she achieves that with animals. She likes her own time just like I do. When she"s by herself it gives her time to kind of think."

Grace also spends some time on her family"s computer playing educational games. In order to make sure Grace is safe; Lucia turns the computer on and loads the games for her. Lucia monitors Grace"s computer activity for safety and checks her scores.

"She asks me to look over her scores cause she gets scores with her games. Well, these (computer) games are educational for her, she also plays games for entertainment, but these ones in particular, she can see her progress as far as she"s, likerounding numbers, she can see whether or not she"s mastered that level or not. I think it allows her to do it at her own pace, and I'm not sitting there looking over her shoulder. She does that at school enough, so I just let her do it at her own pace….If she"sgetting some good scores on her games, then she"s fæling emotionally confident."

Lucia also believes that it is important that she and Grace spend time together alone and when her friends visit. They collaborate to decide which duties Grace will do in the home, but Grace usually chooses to do the ones she enjoys. Lucia said that Grace helps out by putting her things away, helping prepare meals, feeding the cats and cleaning the litter box, doing her homework and reading, and helping clean dishes after meals. Grace is rewarded for doing her chores by earning tickets to place in a reward jar, which she save for special treats, ranging from a favorite dessert to a movie with her mother.

"She"s out here bonding with mom. I try to make sure that we"retalking through things and she"s asking questions, just learning together. I mean when I am involved, I try to help her out, answer questions she has when I'm with her, you know, they ask a lot of questions too."

Andrea

The sound of the referee‟s whistle reverberated off of the walls of the indoor soccer field. At the first step inside the sliding doors, the familiar smell of the indoor soccer field greeted those coming to play and watch. Andrea had just driven the 10 miles to the soccer field in record time, cutting through back roads and down highways. The quick trip served as evidence that she had driven the same route many times before and knew it by heart. Once inside, her son quickly ran to the soccer field, peeling off a layer of jackets and gloves as he ran to assume his place with his team. Andrea talked to me with one eye always on the soccer field. As her son made one of several goals, Andrea‟s voice blended with a hundred others as she cheered him on. As she shouted out her encouragement, her smile was as bright as her eyes.

Andrea chose to provide 41 digital photographs that she sorted into 16 categories. Her 16 categories were a reflection of three larger categories. The largest photographic category was about "*spending time with family."* This category included pictures of: *9th birthday, Church,*

First Friday of the Month, Learning About Old Days and Dinner at a Restaurant, Bible Study, School, Eating Cereal, Fun Day at Wave pool, Outside in pool, and Fun Day at the Park on Bikes. The family category contained 27 pictures, which were of the family at church, celebrating birthdays, participating in the small town‟s monthly festival, in indoor and outdoor pools, and activities that they did as they rode their bicycles around a park. To Andrea, these pictures represented the importance of family in the life of her children.

The second category, "*cultural heritage,*" was described as a *Trip to Mexico, Outdoor on a horse in Mexico, Celebrating Grandma's birthday, and Celebrating Quinceañera*. There were seven pictures in this category which were of Andrea‟s son with his family in Mexico, riding a horse, and dressed up to participate in a friend‟s quinceañera. To Andrea, it is important that her children know their cultural heritage, because she believes it gives them more choices in their lives.

There were nine pictures in the "*doing what is good for him"* category which were described by Andrea as *Chess Practice* and *Championship Soccer Finals.* Andrea photographed her son playing chess and soccer, which she said provides him with physical and mental exercise.

Andrea said that she works long hours in a customer-service related job. The time she spends at her job sometimes creates some stress, as she strives to make time for all of her children. She said she will do what she has to do to support her children, yet that her family always comes first. She said:

"I understand parents that they work and stuff like that, but if you know your kid"s birthday is coming I think if you just ask for a few hours and show up there, you"ll seea big difference. I see other kids with my kids and they even get excited when they see me because they know I always take them something, that I never forget them…"

Andrea lives in a small town that offers many activities for families. On the first Friday of the month, the town merchants have sales, and vendors sell different types of food. Family activities range from car and motorcycle exhibitions to music, from hula hoops to finding good books to read. Residents of this small town congregate downtown on these First Fridays to greet friends and have fun. Andrea said she enjoys taking her children to the downtown area for these activities.

"Here is the first Friday of the month. Here in downtown they do, like all the stores have like sales and they have like hotdogs, music and a bunch of stuff. It"s nice So you just walk and you want to buy anything, you buy it or you just listen to music or something and they love it. They also see other people and their friends and stuff like that. "Hey hi" and stuff like that .They"rehappy when I take them out and do different things, they are happy they"renot just sitting."

Andrea said that being grounded in the church and religious training provides her son with a moral compass, which will assist him in making good choices in his life and teaches him to be thankful for what he has. Andrea"s family attends weekly Mass at the community"s Roman Catholic Church and her son attends a weekly Bible school offered by a Mennonite church where they teach children about manners, and respect.

"Well, like I tell him, that every day, not only Sundays, but every day we need to give thanks to God because what we have, and I tell him every night too, you've got to be very thankful for what you guys have and you know what He does, gives to us, and you know, He's always first, and then family, and then the rest is third. He says sometimes "I don't wantto go to church," ... but you know, I say "as long as you're living here in my house then you are going to church" ...,'cause if you are 100% spiritual in what you're doing then you won't have a problem…On church you don't (have an option). Yeah, I'm the law."

Being strongly rooted in his family and having an understanding his cultural heritage is an important lesson for Andrea's son. She speaks to her children in Spanish although the family is fluent in English. Not only does Andrea make sure that her children are exposed to the local Amish and Mennonite cultures, she also took her children on a trip to Mexico to visit with extended family there. While in Mexico they participated in family celebrations and went to see the sights. She described a birthday celebration that included some favorite foods and breaking a large piñata. It was larger than the ones seen in the U.S., in fact so large that it almost didn't fit in the back of a pickup truck.

"You know like when I take them to do stuff like that, it's not like an everyday thing, but you know, I always tell them… see where other people is also living because you don't live there, and then there's people that live there and that'stheir normal life, and then, and then you have options. You have options to, if you want to come here or live in Mexico, you see how it's gonna be, you gonna be in like there in the dirt and working the fields and stuff like that or you have the option of going to school and stuff like that, so, I always try to give them options and stuff like that. But, I think of the more things that I expose them, I think the stronger they get.."

An important aspect of leisure time activities for Andrea is that her son learns to face his fears and test his limits. Andrea provided pictures of her son riding a horse, saying that he is

somewhat frightened of animals. After assessing the situation for safety, she encouraged him to ride the horse anyway. The act of facing his fears and testing his limits is a way to expand his opportunities and to live life to its fullest.

"He"s a little bit afraid, so I always try to help him to get away from the fear that he has. If I see that he has a fear of something, it"s like "Look, it"s nothing to be afraid" you know, "touch it, get in it" and you know "get on top of it" or something. I try to emphasize that to them. .... Even though we are here close to Amish, but it"s not the same thing, so and there they had the opportunity to ride a tiny little pony… Trying new things and go for it is just one of the amazing things you can do, because if you never do something, you"ll never find out how the feeling, or what happened… I told him maybe when he grows up maybe he can do one of those … Mexico charro."

Andrea"s son enjoys playing chess, which is offered through his school. She said that he is good at the game, winning matches against children who are older than he. Andrea said that her son is very analytical about the game, focusing on moves that will help him win. He even teaches her how to play.

"He was practicing chess with my brother-in-law. He"s playing chess and like you see, he has a little notebook in there…And then he"s very, very focused. Especially on that, he"s always analyzing the moves and what would happen and all of that stuff. I don"t understand nothing about chess. One time I play with him and I was like "If I move this piece, what would happen?" And he was like, "well this would happen… "Then I will not move this one."… Last year he won one of them. He won first place, in the other one he won second place, and then this last weekend he went and compete against a junior in high school and he was second place. So he"s got a real analytical mind. You gotta concentrate and I don"t know, I don"t understand it. But he does."

Playing soccer is a very important activity for Andrea"s son. He enjoys the sport, which Andrea said gives him physical and mental exercise. In addition, it helps her teach him budgeting skills, because every time he scores a goal he earns $5 from his mother and from his father.

"After school and they have soccer practice for two hours, to practice. They practice to get ready for the game. Well, it seems like he enjoys it, he likes it, you know we ask him if he want to play soccer this year and he always says yes. He doesn"t playany other sports. (It"s) physically and mentally (healthy), because you know, he"s doing exercise… mentally too because they play the sport, they have just sometimes watching the TV at home that I don"t like. Every time he scores, we told him we were gonna give him $5. So he likes to score just for fun, but he also wanted to score because he"s saving money to buy an IPod. So I already told him how much they cost, so every time that he scores a goal and stuff like that he gets $5 from me and from Daddy…So I show him different ways that he can get money so he can save for the IPod. Like if we go to the store, I say "Don"t take money, because if you take money you"re going to waste it."

Rosa

The bright sunshine glances through the window and bounces off the brightly-colored table in the downtown restaurant/grocery store called Paradise. The smell of spiced meat wafts through the air, beckoning shoppers to come in, sit down, and have a bite to eat. Today the

restaurant is quite full as it is running a special on its popular tacos and has attracted a diverse mixture from the community. Attorneys, police officers, and other downtown workers come and sit down to eat their lunch. The sound of Spanish and English intertwined with laughter lilts through the air. Rosa orders her lunch in rapid-fire Spanish, and then smiles at me. Rosa chose the restaurant for a quick meeting with me so that we could share a lunch. Having twin sons and an 8-month old baby boy keeps 30-year-old Rosa, a Registered Nurse who works full time, quite busy. Despite her busy schedule, Rosa makes time for her children, and tries to find a variety of activities for them to do.

> *"Like overall, I want to make sure that I include different types of activities for their growth and development. Something that they know is fun, something that is good for them, and something that is going to actually help them in the future, regardless of what activity they are doing."*

Rosa‟s separated her 27 pictures into four categories. "*Physical activities/exercising*" had 13 pictures which were of her sons playing racquetball and jumping on a trampoline. These activities provided her sons with exercise and helped to burn off some excess energy, which was beneficial to the boys, and to Rosa. There were five pictures in the "*Relaxing/Downtime*" category which depicted her sons watching television. Rosa said that this was a relaxing time for the family to bond while watching television or movies together. "*Developmental skills*" contained five pictures of her sons drawing pictures, reading fun books, and playing computer games together. Rosa said that her sons pursued their interests by reading, drawing, and playing computer games together. *"Recreational Activities"* contained four pictures of Rosa‟s sons visiting a pumpkin patch around Halloween and riding go-karts. She said the boys have fun doing these activities, and by going to the pumpkin patch, they are able to learn about U.S. holidays.

Rosa often takes the boys to the local YMCA, saying that she finds it to be a great place for her family to participate in various activities. She believes that the YMCA provides a well-controlled and safe atmosphere for her sons. Another bonus for Rosa is that her sons are occupied playing tennis while she attends Zumba classes. Playing tennis and racquetball is very good for her sons" physical and mental health. While it burns calories, it also helps the boys to burn off some excess energy, which in turns gives Rosa a little bit of quiet time once they are home.

"They"revery physical. They love to be on the move, so you know, playing against each other, throwing the ball really hard or as hard as they can. They burn calories, they exercise, it is good. (It) promotes mental health, physical heath, and it burns out their energy. It helps me, so they can go to bed and sleep, or go home and stay quiet for a little while."

Rosa said the boys effectively lobbied their parents to buy a trampoline. As a Registered Nurse, the idea made her nervous as she has seen her share of spinal cord injuries and head injuries. Because of the potential danger, Rosa said that she plans to buy a safety enclosure for the trampoline. When the weather permits and after the boys have completed their duties, they spend as much time outside on the trampoline as they can.

"It's good for their physical (health), it is kind of dangerous, I have to say that a lot about, you know, for about injuries, falling down the trampoline, spinal stuff, I mean, so I was worried about that so we"regetting an enclosure in the future…They like to do the flips, stuff like that, so I get like, "don"t dothat, just jump up and down." (They"relike) "Um-hum" they jump and they flip and sometimes they just do it like on the floor of the trampoline, and they just kind of roll. This is them, just jumping up and down, they just have lots of fun with it. They"rehaving fun and you know….it"s after they"redone eating, they"redone

with their homework, they're done with their reading, and then they can maybe go play outside for awhile. They got to share all this space, or some days they're on sharing behaviors…It make them realize that they're not the only one in the world and they have to share everything, basically."

Expressing creativity is a "*developmental skill*" that Rosa feels is very important for her sons' growth. One of her sons aspires to be an artist, and spends a lot of time coloring pictures. Her other son enjoys reading, and frequently chooses books from the library to read at home. The time they spend in creative activities provides some balance to the time they spend engaged in more active behaviors such as jumping on the trampoline.

"*He say he is going to be an artist, so he likes coloring a lot. He makes all this crazy stuff and he just puts colors all over the place and we hang them by the fridge sometimes."*

"They like to read this type of crazy books, like about lizards, about crazy animals that I sometimes didn't even know they existed. So they just bring it home and they just read 'em out. They are extremely active. (He is) coloring his pictures. So you know this promotes the mental health and also on concentration skills. It keeps him entertained for hours. Hours! So I feel good that he's doing something that is good for him and he's quiet for awhile. (Laughs). This one like books a lot, he likes um fiction books like ET stuff or like that Captain Underpants type of books, you know, those types."

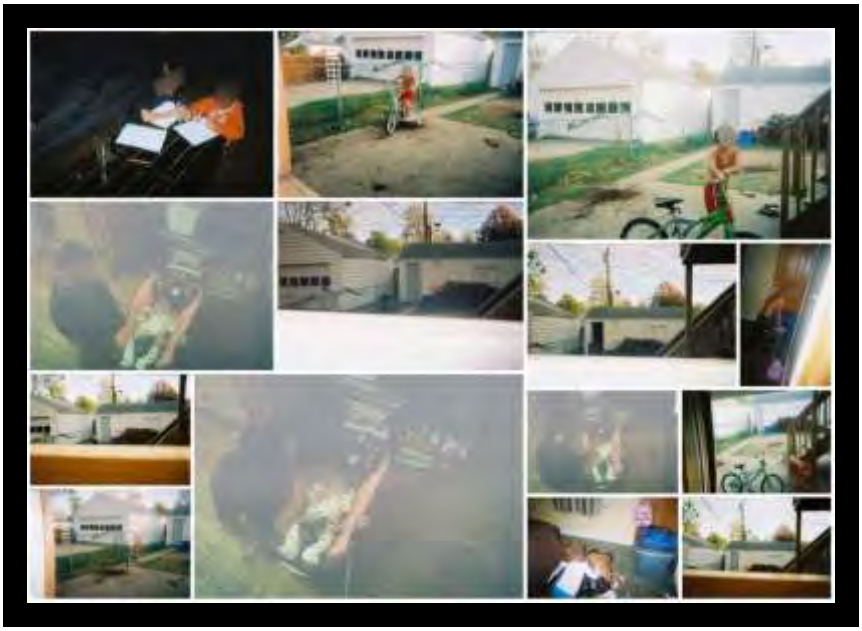
Rosa's sons spend some time on the computer playing games, but she sets limits on it. She thinks computer games have some benefit, particularly when they play games with some educational value aimed at improving math and reading skills. Rosa expects her sons to excel in school, and has set high expectations for them, which will enable them to work in any job that they want.

"I don"t wantthem playing video games, that"sthe main thing. Because they get addicted and it"s so hard to break that addiction. I want them to engage in more extra physical activities. I really don"t want them constrained to a room just playing video games all day. I have extremely high expectation, I want them to be valedictorian at their school. I want them to be like the very top."

Rosa believes that the local community provides many activities for her family, frequently taking her boys to various events.

"I see a lot of opportunities to get engaged into activities…they have like different fairs, health fairs, physical health festivals too. Like the Fall Festival that we had really close to my home. They had another Halloween one at downtown. So there"s plenty of activities, like in December they have the Christmas lighting, they have the Santa house, and you know we have the YMCA, we have some other places that offer that, so I actually feel this is a really good city to raise kids."

Lola



The crisp fall air is punctuated by the pungent scent of burning leaves. Lola‟s home is decorated for Halloween. Pumpkins cheerfully await the trick-or-treaters who will soon haunt the streets in search of the annual candy loot. When Lola‟s family moved into the neighborhood, it was marked by vacant homes and few other children to play with. Lately, more families have moved into the neighborhood, bringing more playmates for her four children. Lola‟s 9-year-old son is the target of her pictures for this study.

Lola separated her 14 pictures into three categories. "*Testing Limits*" had eight pictures of her son riding his bicycle in the yard. Several of these pictures show her son attempting to do wheelies or jump his bicycle on his homemade ramp. Lola said these activities allow her son to test his abilities, which ultimately helps him understand what he can do. There were three pictures in the *"Family"* category capturing her children wrestling, playing hide and seek, and drawing pictures together. Three pictures of her son sitting next to his newborn sister‟s baby seat comprised the "*Love*" category.

Lola‟s house is situated on a busy street and is often interrupted by speeding city buses. Because the traffic moves so fast, Lola makes sure she or her husband are present when the children play outside of the yard, and they make sure they are always on the sidewalk, and never in the busy street. When they are unable to supervise the children outside, they are required to play safely inside their yard. Her oldest son enjoys riding his bicycle in the yard, seeing how high he can jump on homemade ramps. Not only does riding bicycles provide physical activity, which is healthy, Lola said that riding their bikes over ramp has benefits too. They are able to test their limits by trying something new.

"They like to ride their bikes, they like to test the things, like right here… They, they built the dirt ramp and they're testing their ability, um…What is that…. Like gravity, I guess. They were just, this is the first time they did a wheelie outside on their bikes…they were trying to see who can go the highest… and that scares me. That they were to fall and hurt themselves, you know. I don't, I don't know… You know, like it's very physical, you know you get your legs, like an exercise, I guess. It keeps them fit. You know, you don't want to be afraid all your life to try new things, it helps them explore what they can and can't do"

The children often spend time inside wrestling or playing hide and seek. Both activities are beneficial to Lola's children, providing time for bonding, fun, and learning about the world around them. She said:

"They were wrestling in the bedroom and they like to play rough… I know they were wrestling and they started tickling each other, but they were just horse playing around having a good time. I guess it's more or less like physical activity. They sometimes when they're messing, playing around like they like to act like they're exercising or they like to act like they're wrestlers or something… They do it all the time. They do it all the time and you know, they don't get hurt…and I guess that's a good thing"

In addition to wrestling with each other, Lola took pictures of her children playing hide and seek inside the house. She said that the children enjoy playing inside a closet, piling up blankets to make it more comfortable, and as more cover for hiding. This activity allows the children to have fun, spend time together, and learn to face some fears.

"They like to hide in the closet…with all the blankets…. It's amazing especially when they're doing hide and seek in there they get hide in the blankets. I just think it just helps them like learn to find things and to explore dark and light, what's different between when it's being dark and feel the way things feel when you can't see and stuff. You know, there's days where, they're fine in the dark and there's days where they think there are spiders in the bedroom or something, you know. I don't like that they undo all the blankets and I have to fold them all up again, but I like it, it keeps them busy, they're playing with each other and you know, nobody gets hurt. You know, they're not fighting with each other."

In addition to playing with each other, Lola said her son enjoys expressing his creative side through art. The side of her refrigerator displays his artwork, and the brightly colored evidence of paint and glitter graces the family"s kitchen table, offering a peek into the time the family spends together engaged in artwork. Spending time together engaged in artwork is another way that Lola and her children bond. She also said that it"s a way for her older son to act as a role model for his younger siblings.

"*They love to draw. They were drawing me a picture, I have a whole collection of pictures they draw me on the refrigerator. Yeah, I think that it would really frustrate them if they couldn"tdraw. It gets them learning different things. I think it"s preparing the younger ones for school. They like to draw. My oldest teaches his brother and sister how to do things, how to draw, how to spell their names and address and phone numbers and stuff."*

Spending time bonding with siblings is very important in Lola"s family, which welcomed a new baby in October. Lola"s son enjoys playing with his new sister, and will help care for her when Lola is busy. When the baby is crying, her son helps out by soothing her. Lola believes that this time spent together as a family promotes mental and spiritual health.

"I think it"s a little bit of both of mental and spiritual. Like he likes to be he"s really caring and emotional. I love it, I love it, cause …my husband is out of town a lot. So I really think it really builds his emotional bond with his family here at home….I think it"s really good for him. I think he likes it, enjoys it. If he"s not coloring and he"s not outside he likes, he really likes hanging out with his family, with his brothers and sisters."

Lilia

As the summer begins to acquiesce to the shorter days of autumn, children scurried out of their homes to play in the yards that line the quiet street. One could almost imagine that the secret of the looming winter snow had been carried by the breeze and whispered into the children‟s ears. On the drive into the neighborhood, the children‟s fervent desire to play outside while the weather is good was almost palpable. On the long front porch adorned with comfortable chairs, sat 31-year-old Lilia, mother of three, who was soon to give birth to her fourth child in a couple of weeks. Lilia‟s 7-year-old daughter, Abril, ran up to greet me after I took a seat on the porch. Her long brown hair swayed gently as she bounced from foot to foot. Her eyes sparkled as she described her day, recalling the great time she had at school and the fun she had with her friends. Lilia smiled as Abril enthusiastically told her story, and then gently sent her inside to finish her homework.

Lilia separated 25 pictures into three categories. "*Imagination/Creativity*" contained 13 pictures of Abril playing the guitar, with dolls, dollhouse, and a teddy bear, dancing outside, playing inside with her brother, and creating a mask and cape out of the packing material from her baby"s sister"s car seat box. Lilia said that her daughter spends a lot of time creating music. She believes that this gives her daughter a chance to learn, and to explore potential occupations. "*Physical Activity/Burning Calories*" has seven pictures of her daughter playing a Wii game, and soccer outside with her brother. These activities help to keep her daughter healthy and keep her weight down. "*Animal Interaction*" contained five pictures of her daughter riding and interacting with her horse. In addition to helping her with speech and interaction issues, Lilia said her daughter learned to care for the horse.

My conversation with Abril was like many others that I have engaged in with other children. After she headed inside to do her homework, Lilia shook her head softly and marveled at the progress her daughter has made. Her earlier years were marked with speech delay, issues with socializing with others, and behavioral issues. While the conversation initially did not seem overly special, it is remarkable in its ordinariness. Lilia attributed a lot of hard work on her daughter"s part for this progress, and gave credit to a horse for providing some special help.

"This picture was taken over at the barn where my husband has the horse and she was just riding the horse. She loves to do that. I think being close to animals, and interacting with animals, especially horses, it has a lot to do. When she was little she had a lot of speech delay and I don"t know, I guess also a little bit of behavior problems. So being close to animals has been good for us. We like the fact that she can interact with animals and especially the horse because that"s what she likes. She likes to be hands on, being gentle with her, not just riding, but also learning how to take care of her. (It also is good for) just burning calories (and) being active."

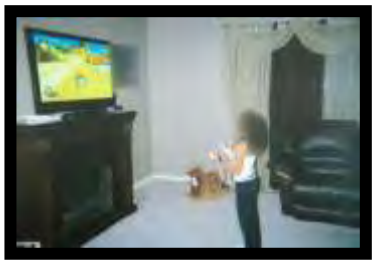
Abril is a very creative child. Lilia said she pays attention to her children and when they express an interest in trying an activity, she does her best to accommodate that desire. Currently her older daughter plays the violin, and Abril has expressed a desire to learn how to play the guitar.

"Abril is just learning to play the guitar, and she was just really goofing off here. She"s ableto do things with her hands. Learning how to play notes. Since I am trying to go by stages now, she would love to play the violin because she sees her sister is playing the violin, so I could definitely see, she has a lot of interest in playing instruments and she does pretty good. So… when kids develop their personality as they"regrowing…if they"re asking for it, just kind of keep an eye on what they"retrying."

Abril enjoys quietly playing alone with dolls or teddy bears and has a knack for creating things out of whatever is nearby. When Abril"s father put together the car seat for the new baby, Lilia found Abril with scissors and glue creating a Three Musketeers Outfit out of the packing material.

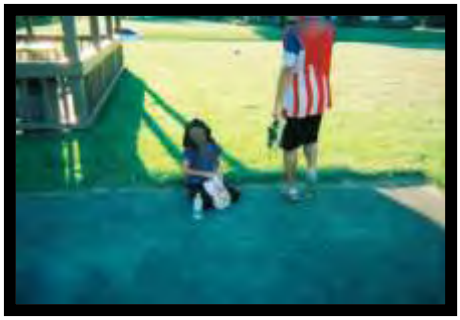
"Talk about being creative, this was (the baby"s) car seat my husband was trying to put together. So we had a lot of paper that came with it and she was just being creative. She was watching The Three Musketeers so she grabbed the paper and made herself a mask and a cape. She had the cape on and her little doggie was part of the team of the Musketeers. I thought it was so cute, she spent hours playing with the leftovers and being creative. She made that and like I said she"s justlikes to…and she did the same thing for the dog, just like a Musketeer. Sometimes I ask her if she will be a clothes designer, she"s just like…. uh huh."

Abril is rewarded for completing her chores with time playing with the family‟s Wii. Lilia assigns household duties to her children which she said helps to teach them to be responsible. Lilia likes it when Abril plays physically active Wii games because it provides exercise when the weather is too harsh to be outside.



"*When she gets home from school they usually eat a snack. She has her little chores that she does, like helping with the dishes, putting dishes away, her room cleaned up somewhat. I'm not expecting to be perfect and then she can either play the Wii, get on the computer, or watch TV for a little bit."*

Abril is very close to her older brother. The two were photographed playing with a ball in the family‟s living room and soccer outside. Lilia thinks that the Hispanic value of family is very important, and is grateful that her children enjoy spending time together. She said that Abril gets a lot of exercise when she plays with her brother, which helps to burn off excess energy.



"Her brother was practicing soccer and again she was just out there playing with that. They"revery, very close together, which I'm surprised being eight years difference. This is what happens after she runs and runs and runs. (Laughs) She"s tiredand just eating popcorn (and) some water. Sometimes you definitely want that (energy) out, to just have ‚em come home and just go to bed."

Elena

At age 16, Elena sat in the Mexican factory sewing medical scrubs and considering her future. After she completed the sixth grade in Mexico, she did not go back to school. She recalls sitting under the bridge in her town, skipping out of school. Her teachers did not seem concerned that she missed school, and her parents did not force her to go. She felt that no one really cared if she went to school or not, and her family was poor. They needed her to work to bring income into the family. At first, she did babysitting jobs, and then she was hired to work at the factory. So, she sat at a sewing machine, day after day, earning too little money for too many hours of work. Although she worked every day from 6 a.m. to 5:30 p.m., she said she only earned $30 a week.

During these long days, Elena had time to think about her future and what she wanted out of life. More than anything, she knew that when she became a mother, she wanted her children to

have the opportunity to live a better life. In her mind, she needed to move north, to the United States, so that her children could have this opportunity.

Elena emigrated from Mexico 11 years ago, moving to the Midwest to be close to her sisters. Not long after her arrival, Elena met her future husband and started her family. Elena believes that living in the U.S. provides her children with many important opportunities. Most important to Elena is the opportunity to receive an education, which opens up her children"s future. Recently Elena and her husband have discussed moving back to Mexico. She is fiercely determined to stay where her children have the best opportunity to receive an education.

> *"I'm thinking of my kids. And I say, you know when I move to Mexico, I had three kids, it"s not easy and everything is very, very expensive. Now I have money. In Mexico you don"t…. I'm sorry but I can"t do again (move to Mexico) because I have kids. And it"s more better here. (I'm a mother)… and my kids is more important."*

Elena"s took 12 pictures that she separated into three categories. "*Learning: Spanish and English*" had five pictures in which Katrina was photographed reading books in Spanish and English, and playing floor mat games. Elena believes that mastery of both languages is critical for her children, because they will be moving between the U.S. mainstream and Hispanic cultures. *"Taking time: Playing with Little Brother*" had four pictures of her daughter helping her little brother with his homework and playing floor mat games. Elena said these activities foster the sense of bonding and family, and help Katrina learn to care for others in her family. There were three pictures of "*Helping*" where Katrina was reading a recipe with her brother and playing games with him. Elena said that her daughter needs to know how to read recipes and cook, because she must know how to care for herself in the future.

Being bilingual is a critical skill for Elena"s children because it will open the door to more opportunities in the future. She said Katrina prefers to speak Spanish at home, but Elena takes them to the library so that she has access to books written in English and Spanish. This helps the entire family build their English vocabulary skill.

Elena believes spending time together and helping each other out is very important. As the eldest child, Katrina helps her younger brother with his homework, and plays games with him.

"I"m playing together with my son and my daughter play ah some game …There"s a farm and animals in here. There she play and she tell me "Mommy you can do like this."Well, putting it like in here, …put it like apples and vegetables and eat for animals…. For fun she try to explain to her brother what kind of food animals eat, where they live and they"re from."

Elena encourages Katrina to help out with household chores, which helps her to learn responsibility. She also wants her daughter to be prepared to care for herself when she is older. Katrina helps out with cooking, reading the recipes, measuring ingredients, and separating egg yolks from the whites. Elena believes that Katrina is too young to operate the stove and mixers, saying that she will need to be a little bit older before she starts using them

"This is…for how many ounces…(a recipe) to make or cook for something… She helps me. She help me and when I separate the eggs. When I make eggs, you can put like one in the machine, she help me… All the time, "Can I make eggs?" My niece, she almost 15 years, she doesn"t know how to cook. She"s at McDonald"s or waiting for mom when she come home from work… she don"t know how to cook. She take a knife, and her mom says "Oh, don"t cut your hands." She say "Oh my God be careful" you know? And she not use the oven too. You know think when your Mom not here, how can you cook? Nobody cook for you. So you know when one day

I'm not here, I won't know what's going on. I'm not here to help you cook and everything."

Elena believes that her community is quite accommodating and she takes advantage of several agencies that allow her children to engage in leisure time activities. She takes her children to the Boys and Girls Club, and playgrounds within her neighborhood. She said when the weather is good, she is hardly ever home because she is out playing with her children. Katrina's school is a resource that Elena enjoys. She said she often visits the resource room that has books and games for children to play with. The school also has a Wednesday Morning Mother's Group, where neighborhood women meet to discuss their children's education and do arts and crafts together. Her church is a source of spiritual strength for the children, she said that her faith helps her stay strong when she recently heard of violent events in Mexico.

Marisol

Marisol could not believe her ears when her then 10-year-old son was diagnosed with hypercholesterolemia. His physician said to her son: "You have the body of a 32- year-old man." Marisol said that her family tends to be "chunky," and the adults have a tendency to develop hypertension, heart disease, and diabetes. That news frightened Marisol and her son, prompting them to take action. Marisol said she changed the way she cooks for the family and that her son, now 15 years old, increased his activity level by participating in wrestling and football at his school. Marisol said her younger sons are now mimicking their older brother, and they frequently exercise together.

Marisol"s family resides in a large house in a neighborhood that has seen a population change in the last 15 or so years. She is 36 years old and has four children, three sons and a daughter. Living in what started as a neighborhood of mostly Polish immigrants, her neighborhood has gradually become home to a largely Hispanic population. A large, neatly-kept fenced-in yard surrounds Marisol"s home, where basketballs, volleyballs, and soccer balls are seen. Inside the neatly-kept home evidence of children abound. The sounds of footsteps are heard overhead, as children run down the steps for a snack. Family pictures line the wall of the dining room, which is accented by the presence of a large table topped with brightly-colored placemats.

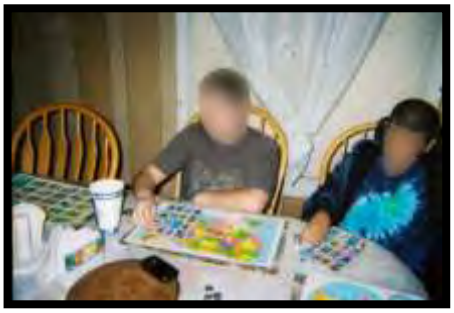
Marisol separated her 23 pictures into three categories. "*Exercising Activities*" contained eight pictures and show her sons doing various types of exercise inside the house. Four are pictures of her son doing pushups, sit-ups, and pull-ups by himself. The remaining four pictures show the brothers as they do sit-ups, pushups, and flexibility exercises together. These activities are the result of her oldest son"s health scare, and Marisol said that the boys enjoy exercising together. "*Fun- Having the Time of Their Lives*" also had eight pictures and were of Marisol"s

children at a friend"s birthday party and playing Mexican Bingo together at the kitchen table. Having fun is very important, as it provides a balance to the stress that her children experience during the day. Marisol said that she and her husband make time for their children to play games together. This promotes fun bonding time, and allows her family some time to catch up on how each other is doing. *"Kicking Back and Relaxing*" had seven pictures which were of her children watching television, playing video games, sitting, and eating an apple. Marisol said her children enjoy spending relaxing time together. She cited this as another time for her children to bond.

When the boys cannot play outside, they make use of the space inside. The floor becomes a space for calisthenics, pushups, pull-ups, and sit-ups. A chin up bar in a doorway provides the opportunity for more exercise.

"That"s the oldest, and he"s a fanatic of exercising now, because he used to be chunky. He"s 15 now, butwhen he was like 10 years old he had the high cholesterol, like a 32 year old man. It was so high he had to be on a diet constantly and watch what he eat and what he exercised. So, I guess he got used to it, so now he"s gotta do it like every other day or almost every day. Well now they (her younger sons) started doing their own thing, now that they see older brother kind of being skinny and getting all buff. Now they wanna do the same thing. So they kind of try… „cause they"rechunky too..It"s because they"renot active sometimes. But now, it"s like"Oh, I want to look like my older brother" and all that."

Spending time together as a family is very important. She said that because she did not have a close relationship with her mother, she makes sure that the family spends time together. One of their favorite activities occurs on the weekend evenings, sitting at their kitchen table together playing *"Mexican Bingo."*



"That"s oneof our activities, we just play, it"s like playing Bingo, but our Mexican Bingo. (We play it) probably Friday, towards the weekend, Saturday if we don"t have anywhere to go. Sundays maybe. Well, it"s another way to bond too, just time, spending time with Mom and Dad, brother, sisters, you know, so it"s a good way to teach „em skills. You know bonding skills, and sometimes we argue, sometimes we talk about it, like it"s a good way to make conversation, you know or ask about how their week went and things like that so…and just relax."

Participating with friends in her community is an important part of life for Marisol"s family. She notes that the Hispanic community has grown quite a bit in the years since she moved into the area which has enabled Marisol"s family to participate in events that they enjoy.

> *"We"remore happy go lucky going people. We"reinto big noises and things like that, very active, for example say Cinco de Mayo, we have to celebrate with music and this and that and it has to be something very entertaining otherwise we won"t attend. If it"s boring, you know, it has to be fast paced."*

Some of the pictures depicted *"fast paced and fun ways to exercise"* at a birthday party at a Mexican restaurant in Marisol"s neighborhood, and offered fun activities for the whole family. In addition to dancing and balloons, the children played musical chairs and broke a piñata.

> *"She was really dancing there. She likes to dance at parties sometimes…That"s another activity that we have. At parties, there"s music, you gotta start dancing. It"s likesalsa, you know… something energetic, that"ll get you going…like aerobics dance. It"s extremely fun. And you just get to enjoy yourself and you know, if you don"t do much exercise, that"s oneway to exercise."*

In addition to spending time exercising together, Marisol"s boys also play video and computer games together as a way to beat boredom. While she understands their desire to do something, Marisol is less than enthusiastic about their time spent with the games. She said

sometimes they become so immersed in the game that they forget to do their homework. When this happens, Marisol sets limits.

"Sometimes (the games) get them away from school. Sometimes they forget to do their homework. I had two or three times that he didn"t do his homework because of that. So I would take that away: "You"re grounded, you"renot playing that no more."

Being the only girl among a house full of boys sometimes leaves Marisol"s daughter without a playmate. She said her sons tend to play with each other, sometimes leaving her daughter to play on her own. Marisol said her daughter tends to be "chunky" and is being closely monitored by her physician. In order to see that her daughter gets some exercise, Marisol makes games around the house.

> *"I'll try to play with her, or sometimes when I'm downstairs doing laundry I'll make her go up and down the stairs. That"s what the doctor told me to tell her. Count the steps or make it fun or something like that."*

Pilar

Pilar emigrated to the U.S. when she was 10, moving to a rural community where almost no one else looked like her. While her two older brothers were born in the U.S., Pilar"s father sent her mother back to Mexico to give birth to Pilar. In her culture, Pilar said that women have traditionally been obedient to the wishes of their husband. However, Pilar is a woman of a new generation of Hispanic women who are independent, while still focused on her family.

> *"Women usually do what men want. I'm not that type of woman. I like to be very independent. But I like to be very, families are important to me and I think that"s whatmy culture offers most of the time. Most women, they want to have their independence but at the same time they"reafraid to break from those ties because traditionally women do what the husband says or what the parent says, you know. But I'm more liberal. He (her husband) thinks I"mtoo liberal, but like I told him, you saw when you met me, my Father warned you when you asked for my hand, three times, and you still said yes. Um, so it"s hard sometimes because he likes to dominate and I was like "no, no we"rein this together." I like to compromise."*

Pilar separated 21 pictures into three categories. "*Different Personalities: Self Discovery for Future"* was the largest category with 10 pictures of Ana engaged in a mixture of active and sedentary behaviors. Ana was photographed singing, belly dancing, posing in a swimming suit, cooking, doing yoga poses and dancing, applying makeup, at the library, putting a puzzle together, and touching snow. Pilar said that these activities provide Ana with a chance to discover who she may become in the future.

There were eight pictures in the *"Imagining Self in Different Places or as Different Person"* category. Ana was photographed playing with Barbie and a floor mat game, performing a puppet show, and pretending to swim in the reading bathtub at the library. Pilar said that when Ana engages in these behaviors, she using her imagination and is able to pretend that she is someone else, or in another place.

"The Arts: Writing and Painting" had three pictures of Ana looking at books in the library, and drawing a picture for her grandparents. These activities allow Ana to supplement her education, teach her problem solving skills, and allow her to give thanks to her grandparents by drawing pictures for them.

Understanding Pilar"s sense of independence provides insight into why she encourages Ana to try a variety of leisure time activities. Pilar feels that this variety will give Ana a sense of who she is, and provides her with different life experiences. When Ana expresses doubt in her ability, Pilar provides encouragement to try.

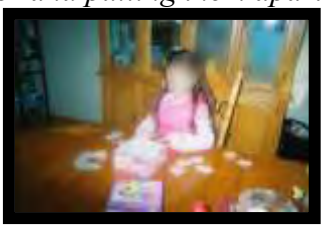
"She enjoys singing. She does have a good voice. I think if she couldn"t do that, that would not be Ana. She likes to joke, she likes to be funny, she likes to play pranks. She wants to have a good time. (This activity) means that she"s a very happy child and that, you so, so far I"ve done a good job in raising her, and she"s ableto do anything…. Sometimes she gets a little bit like "I don"t know if I can do this." "Oh baby, if you never try you"ll never know if you can do it. Go for it." I push her and I support her throughout the whole thing"

Pilar uses household duties such as cooking as a way to find time to bond with and teach the basic principles of math to Ana. Another important lesson for Ana is that she learns how to help others.

"We were making zucchini bread, she likes cooking. She likes to bake a lot with me. Sometimes we like to, I don"t let her chop anything, but she does sometimes come and sits on the counter and watches me. She"ll tell me I can use this ingredient and I"ll pass you this and that and watch. So she likes to do a lot more baking. Sometimes she comes and asks me "Do you need help?" and I"mlike "Yeah." I think what this does to her is teaching her teamwork and helping other people that sometimes do need help. And you can have fun at the same time and do something good. I"m teaching her how to measure already. (Laughs) Which, she knows what a teaspoon is, what a cup is, she can read stuff like that already….she"s already learning what fractions are, like one cup, one-third, one half."

Some leisure time activities are fun for Ana, but Pilar sees that they will benefit her in the future. Pilar pointed to the benefits of one of Ana"s favorite activities, putting puzzles together. Not only did Pilar see this as a time to share with her daughter, but she believes it will help Ana learn to problem-solve in the future.

"She loves doing puzzles. We have so many puzzles that I keep finding pieces when I clean the house. She enjoys immensely putting things together and pulling them apart. The pulling apart is easy, but putting them together, sometimes she says "Mom, I can"t do it" "Oh yeah, you can." So I say "I'll give you a little help." But she has, you know, her mind is so quick. But she is really good at what she does. It just like, it takes her a matter of minutes and then she"sjust going faster after that. I think it"s gonna be very easy for her to adapt to just about anything. She"ll be able to find ways, what do they say? The fittest will survive in this world. I think she would definitely fit that category at this point. (Laughs)"



Ana expresses her personality in the ways that she plays. For example, Pilar said that Ana really enjoys being outside. However, the Indiana weather has some impact on Ana"s leisure time activities. In warmer weather, Pilar and Ana spend a lot of time in their yard, trimming and pruning the many plants that grow. Ana also enjoys outside play with her many toys. In particular, Pilar said that Ana enjoys playing on her swing set, and riding her all terrain vehicle. While Ana enjoys playing in the abundant winter snow than blankets Indiana, Pilar makes sure that she is dressed warmly and that she doesn"t get too cold.

"This is outside our house. Ana has been wanting to make a snowman, but the snow has to be kind of wet in order to make it and she was like "I wanna make a snowman." I"m like "We can"t do thatyet today." So she tries to grab snow…she"s more like an outdoors person…she wants to be out there interacting with everything."

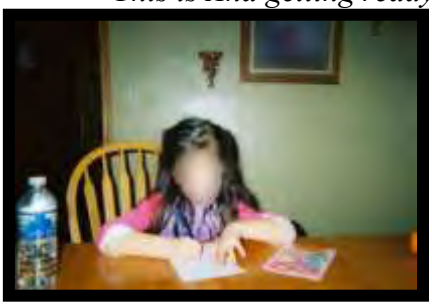
The public library plays an important role in Ana"s leisure time activity and she often goes with her mother to read books or utilize other resources. Ana enjoys playing the floor mat games and putting together the library"s toy trains. She also uses her imagination by pretending to swim in the library"s reading bathtub or creating puppet shows.

"That"s Ana playing, she"s getting ready to show me her puppet show. She has always liked, they have a lot of puppets (at the library) so she has always used her imagination that you know she can talk as if there were two different people. She likes that a lot, so she was getting ready to present her show to me. Ana likes to tell stories and make them talk ever since she was a little kid. I find that very unique that she can dialog that easy. So I think when she"s at a puppet stage that comes natural to her."

Pilar and Ana spend time together, sometimes playing with Ana"s Barbie dolls. Pilar said Ana enjoys brushing Barbie"s hair, and engaging in make-believe dialogue. Pilar sees this imaginary dialogue as valuable, as Ana learns how to communicate with others. Pilar also expressed some concern about how Barbie influences girls" self image.

"She had one Barbie and I had the other one dressed up… And she"s putting glitter in her hair. I love the way that she"s able to communicate so easily. I don"t think I"m a great communicator or person to give speeches, but I think she"ll be really great and I think from early on I"ve always encouraged her to speak up and not be afraid, but don"t say inappropriate things. Not be afraid to express the freedom that we have in this country, freedom of speech. So her talking with her Barbie"s, I think is just a different way for her to put herself if she was somebody else, or she was interacting with different people around her. She wants to have blonde hair. I said "Baby, you have beautiful hair, you"re perfect just like that. It"s just a Barbie." So I think sometimes Barbie"s give you an unrealistic picture about life. And I tell her not everything is like that."

Family is a very important aspect of Pilar‟s life, who has a very large extended family. Many family members moved to the small rural town after her uncle first settled there. Weekend leisure time activities revolve around the extended family. Pilar said that her family frequently has parties celebrating birthdays or other occasions on the weekend. In fact, there are often so many parties on the weekend, that there isn‟t enough time to attend them all.



“This is Ana getting ready. She had just had her birthday party and so she had gotten a card from my parents. They gave her quite a lot. They gave her $100. So she was drawing them a picture because she was grateful. I always tell her that even if she gets a dollar sometimes people sacrifice a lot to give her things. My parents are her Godparents, they baptized her…. She enjoys drawing, she enjoys painting and right now she‟s writing a letter I believe and drawing them a picture. So again, she‟s at the table, that‟s a very special place for us.”

Summary

Ten participants photographed their children as they engaged in their leisure time activities. Nine of the participants were of Mexican descent, while one was from Colombia. Five boys and five girls were the primary subjects of the photographs. After the photographs were developed, the participants engaged in photo-elicited interviews about their pictures. After they had described their pictures in detail, they were asked to sort their pictures into categories of activities, and to provide a category name. After they had separated their pictures into categories, they described their views on leisure time, their role in those activities, and the reasons their children engage in them. These descriptions gave voice to the leisure activities of these Hispanic children, providing data to address the research questions.

CHAPTER V: FINDINGS

Two main goals of ethnography are to describe the cultural scene and to gain an understanding of how people live (Spradley, 1979). The findings of this study will first describe Hispanic children‟s leisure time activities, and then, through inductively-derived cultural themes, will provide an understanding of those activities through the cultural lens of their mothers.

Results of the analysis of photographic and interview data with 10 participants who met study inclusion criteria will be presented in this chapter. Two hundred nineteen (219) participant photographs were included in the analysis. Participants with sons took 110 pictures, while participants with daughters took 109 pictures. The photographs engaged the participants as co-creators of knowledge and permitted the researcher to perform participant observation from an *emic* perspective. After an initial descriptive analysis of the photographs to gain a general overview of the activities that the children engaged in, photo-elicited interviews were conducted with the participants. These interview data, as well as the field notes helped to place the children‟s photographed leisure time activities within a cultural context. All of the data were then analyzed using the Developmental Research Sequence strategy (Spradley, 1979) to inductively derive cultural domains and themes relating to Hispanic children‟s leisure time activities. The cultural scene described in this chapter is the result of that iterative analytic process (Spradley, 1979).

Description of Leisure Time Activities

The first research question was:

How do Hispanic families describe leisure time activities?

a. What behaviors constitute Hispanic children‟s leisure time activities?

b. What are the characteristics of Hispanic children‟s leisure time activities?
c. How do Hispanic families prepare, encourage and facilitate/assist with these activities?
d. What descriptors do Hispanic families use to describe leisure time?
e. How do Hispanic families describe the health promoting benefits that result from participation in leisure time activities?

In order to address these questions, domain, taxonomic, and componential analytic strategies were used sequentially with the observational (photography), interview, and field note data. The basic structure of Hispanic children‟s leisure time activities emerged from the domain and taxonomic analysis while componential analysis allowed for comparison across genders. The researcher used the photographs and interview data for context in order to create an inventory of the activity level, location, interaction with others, and types of activities for boys and girls. Contrast questions helped to define boy and girl activities. Three domains provide a basic taxonomic structure that describes Hispanic children‟s leisure time activities, including: types of activities, family roles in activities, and reasons for participating in the activities (Figure 8).

Type of Activities Domain

Triangulation of observational (photographic), interview, and field note data led to the findings for the “Type of Activities” domain. As observational data were reviewed, gender differences became apparent across all three domains. In the “Type of Activities” domain, boys were photographed as they engaged in more active behaviors outside of the home, with family

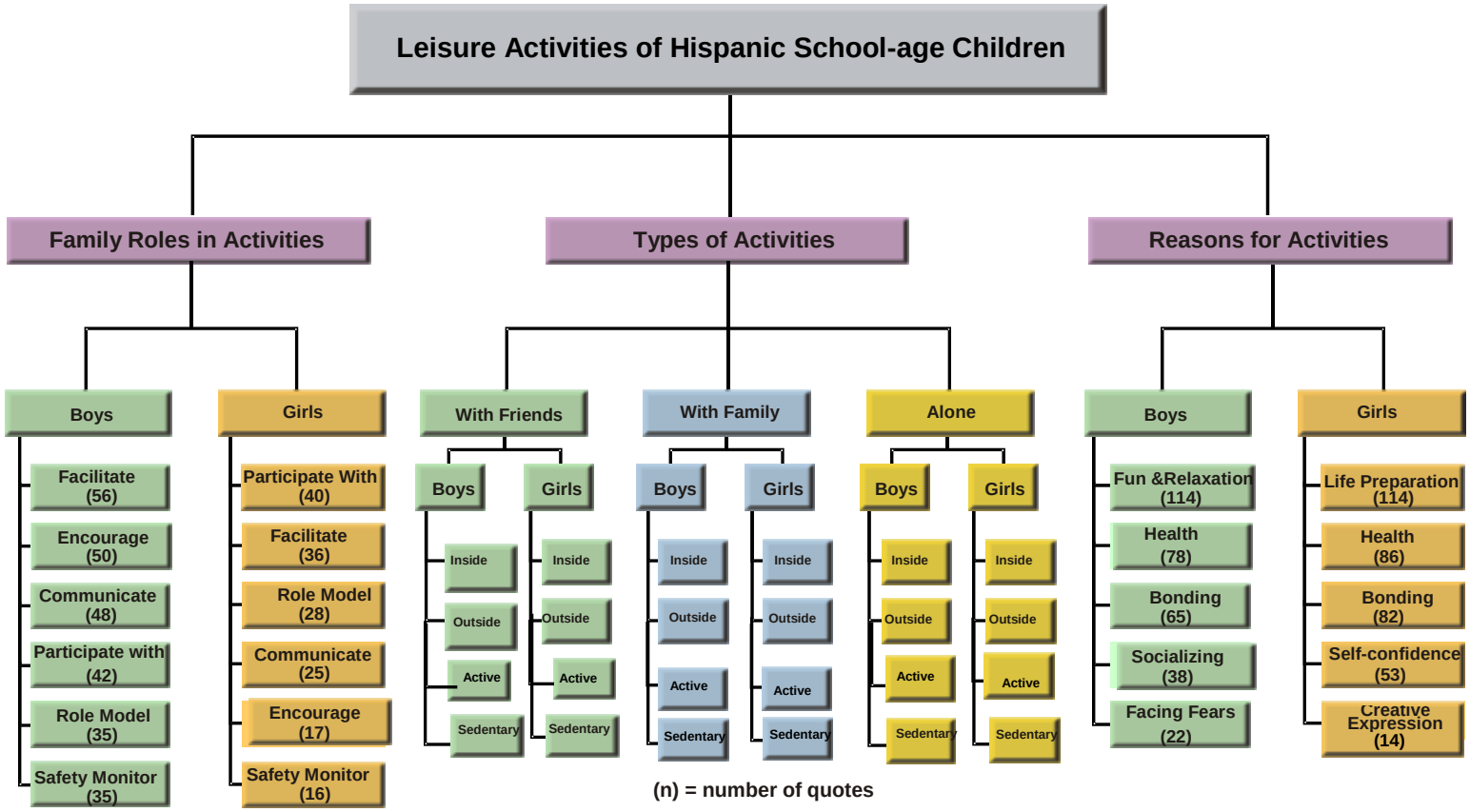


FIGURE 8. Taxonomy of Hispanic children"s leisure activities

and friends. Girls were photographed engaged in more sedentary activities inside of the home, with family members or while alone.

Children engaged in eight subsets of activities (Table 6). These subsets are listed in the domain "Types of Activities" on the taxonomic structure. The children were photographed inside or outside, engaging in active and sedentary behaviors, and were either with family, friends, or alone. A little more than half (52%) of the photographs were of the children engaged in sedentary activities and 48% of the photographs were of active behaviors. Girls tended to be more sedentary and boys tended to be more active.

TABLE 6: Types of activities

Pictures of Activities	**Inside**						**Outside**					
	With Family		With Friends		Alone		With Family		With Friends		Alone	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Active:												
Animals	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	5	0	0	0	0
Sports	11	0	0	0	0	3	4	6	7	0	0	0
Unstructured play	5	6	3	2	0	0	31	7	4	9	0	0
Sedentary:												
Creative	2	7	0	0	5	19	0	1	0	2	0	4
Electronic	11	0	0	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Household Duties	3	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Intellectual Stimulation	6	2	1	0	2	18	4	0	0	0	0	0
Spirituality	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0

n=number of pictures of each activity

Sixty percent of the 219 photographs were of inside activities. Sedentary behaviors accounted for 46% of the inside photographs. Children were photographed inside their homes engaging in creative and electronic play, doing activities that are intellectually stimulating, and

doing household chores. While 40% of the 219 photographs were taken of outside activities, active behaviors accounted for 34% of the outside photographs. Children were photographed outside engaged in unstructured play, sports, and interacting with animals.

Girls' activities.

Girls were most likely to be photographed engaged in sedentary behaviors, accounting for 63% of the 113 sedentary activity photographs. Girls engaged in active behaviors accounted for 36% of the 106 active behavior photographs. Girls were equally likely to be photographed with family members (22% of photos) and alone (22%) compared to being photographed with friends (7% of photos).

When photographed with family members, the girls engaged in sedentary household duty activities such as childcare, reading to siblings, cooking, and laundry; sedentary creative activities such as playing board games with family; and attending to their spirituality by going to Mass. Outside photographs with family members were more active as the girls were photographed engaged in unstructured play with siblings, riding a bicycle, and riding a horse with her father nearby. Girls were not photographed engaged in team sports, but participants provided photographs of girls playing volleyball and soccer with siblings and cousins.

When alone, the girls were photographed in more sedentary activities by engaging in creative play with dolls and dollhouses, musical instruments, singing, and dancing; intellectually stimulating activities such as reading, writing, drawing; playing with electronic media such as video and computer games, and watching television; and household duties such as pet care. Two girls were photographed just sitting quietly alone and not doing any other activity.

Girls were photographed least often with their friends. When they were photographed with friends, the girls were outside with other girls engaged in more active unstructured play activities such as jumping rope, playing hide and seek, riding all-terrain vehicles, and chatting.

Boys' activities.

Boys were most likely to be photographed engaged in active behaviors, accounting for 64% of the 106 active photographs. Boys engaged in sedentary behaviors accounted for 37% of the 113 sedentary behavior photographs. Boys were more likely to be photographed with family (36% of photos) or with friends (8% of photos) than when alone (5% of photos).

Boys were most often photographed with family members engaged in active, unstructured play such as wrestling, jumping on a trampoline, exploring, running, playing in the yard and around town, riding a horse, walking a puppy, holding a rooster, and swimming; sports such as racquetball, soccer, and calisthenics. The boys also were photographed engaged in sedentary activities with family members such as playing electronic media such as computer and video games, and watching television; creative play such as drawing, board games, and pretending to be a spy; intellectually stimulating activities such as reading and writing; and with electronic media such as computer and video games, and watching television. Where girls were photographed engaged in household duties, which includes child care, only one participant photographed her son as he sat next to his newborn sister providing comfort to her.

When they were photographed with friends, the boys were photographed with other boys outside in active unstructured play with water guns, running around, riding bicycles, scooters, and skateboards. They also were photographed engaged in team sports such as soccer.

When boys were photographed alone, they tended to be inside doing sedentary creative activities such as playing with dinosaurs, trains, and Legos, playing the piano; and intellectually stimulating activities such as reading, and drawing.

A simple description does not adequately portray the story that was intended to be told by the participants. The simple description of the children‟s activities tells a story of sedentary girls and active boys. However, there is much more to the participants‟ story, as they described the role the family plays in leisure time and provided the reasons that their children do the activities.

Family Roles in Activities Domain

The domain “Family Roles in Activities” provides an understanding of the roles that family members assume in their leisure time. These roles were inductively derived from triangulation of the data through analysis of the photographs, field note, and interview data. The participants described their leisure time as the primary time that family members were actively involved with each other.

The participants mentioned family roles in the children‟s activities 428 times. They described three main roles, which were direct participation (19% of the quotes) facilitation (21% of the quotes), and monitoring for safety (12% of the quotes). Parents mainly served in the facilitating and safety monitoring roles. All of the family members were included in direct participation. When family members directly participated with each other, the participants described the opportunity for three other family roles: role modeling (15% of the quotes), communication (17% of quotes), and encouragement (16% of quotes). All of the family roles are interdependent and often occurred simultaneously during the course of the children‟s leisure time.

Direct participation.

Direct participation with the children during leisure activities was a major family role that family members fulfilled. Participating with children was seen as a parental obligation that was beneficial to the children.

> *"I think that the more involved that the parent are with your kids, that"s howthey develop themselves and have better opportunities in life too. If they have not a good childhood then I think that would effect when they growing up, stuff like that. That"s what I think, but again, I give everything I have." – Andrea*

Direct participation was described as a way to give children a positive start in life, which would stay with the child for a lifetime.

> *"I want her to know that life can be a very good life and I want her to have that positive impact. I think if you start having a negative impact on children then she"snot going to be as productive or successful later in life." – Pilar*

Parents directly participated with their children in many activities. They discussed working side-by-side with their daughter in the kitchen, when reading, and playing outside. Participants described fathers who play soccer and video games with their sons, and siblings who exercised together.

> *"He started soccer right about the time I started taking the pictures. Whenever Keith is not on call, he was trying to help him practice his dribbling and sometimes, like I play with one son and Keith plays with our other son and we play and I lose (laughs). I pretend to get mad to make it more exciting." – Sofia*

The participants described three sub-roles that families assumed when they directly participated with their children. When they directly participated with the children, they took advantage of the time to communicate, encourage, and role model behaviors for their children.

Direct participation: Communication.

Communication was a way to foster an intimate family connection. When parents communicated with their children, they frequently used it as an opportunity to find out how their

children"s day went, to help them problem solve, and as teaching moments. One participant described spending time with her children at the end of the day, just enjoying their time together, and taking the time to talk about how their day went.

> *"We"relying in bed, it was very late and we were just having fun, taking pictures and goofy pictures and we was just lying there and talking about the day, wherever we went, I can"t remember where we went that day, but it was just fun, we just lay down and had fun taking pictures. We love taking pictures, he really enjoys like being close to me." – Andrea*

Another participant described how she used communication with her son to help him problem solve an issue that he had at school. She described the situation:

> *"I try to say, "You know what? You know you gotta do what"s right." (He said) "Yes I know, but the teacher upset me and she didn"t believe me and she thought I was just being lazy." I"m like "Ok." So, when he starts crying, I go "Ok, alright, let"s change tactics." And I"m "Ok, fine, that"s her opinion. You know if there"s something actually wrong going on with you, maybe a note will help." And he goes, "Yeah, you"re right." So he got up to the point where he thought about it and he just relaxed. He wasn"t upset no more." – Marisol*

Another participant described communication as a foundation of building trust with her daughter. She believes building trust now will be very helpful in the future, because her daughter will know that she can talk to her mother about any issue.

> *"I want her to have that strong communication with me that she can trust Mommy and she can tell Mommy anything. That we can talk together and I always tell her "we always can solve it." – Pilar*

Participants also used communication as a way to ensure that their children speak Spanish and English. They described Spanish as a way to maintain pride in their cultural heritage, but also saw being bilingual as a way to easily navigate through two distinct cultures. Only one participant said she rarely spoke Spanish. During the interviews, 8 out of 10 participants were observed speaking Spanish and English to their children.

> *"Yeah, I think it's usually like when, like I have cousins who have married Anglos and I have told them "you need to teach your kids Spanish." – Pilar*

Elena believed her daughter would have trouble if she did not have bilingual skill because they live in the U.S., yet will possibly spend part of the year in Mexico with relatives. Being fluent in English also was important for Elena's daughter because it would help her with her education and employment opportunities in the U.S. She described why it is important for her daughter to speak Spanish:

> *"She need to speak Spanish because old people in Mexico, they speak Spanish. It's very different in Mexico, but I think it's too hard for her if she not speak Spanish." – Elena*

Direct participation: Encouragement.

Another important role that family plays through direct participation with the children is the encouragement that they offer to them. Encouragement describes the efforts mentioned by the participants to positively influence the child to want to do better, to build self-confidence, and try new things.

One participant described encouraging her son to practice his piano and write his own music through the use of praise.

> *"He thrives a lot on praise, so, you know he always tries like, how can I make her like me or make people around him like me." – Sofia*

Another participant described her daughter's love of singing, but that she sometimes feels like she can't do it. The participant described encouraging her daughter to try.

> *"She enjoys singing. She said she was a singer and she enjoys just about anything to do with singing. She does have a good voice. Sometimes she gets a little bit like "I don't know if I can do this." "Oh Baby, if you never try you'll never know if you can do it. Go for it." I push her and I support her throughout the whole thing, so she, sometimes she gets a little voice in her brain says she might not do good. Go for it." – Pilar*

When her son is afraid to try an activity, another participant described encouraging him to try. She said that by encouraging him to try, he learns what he is capable of.

> *"I always try to like help him to get away from the fear that he has, if I see that he has a fear of something, it"s like"Look, it"s nothing to be afraid" you know, "touch it, get in it" and you know "get on top of it" Whenever I see that they are afraid of it, there"s something wrong, you know, unless I see something dangerous then I won"t…but if it"s a horse, it"s like as long as you don"t forget to feed him or get him pissed or kick him, then you won"t have a problem. And then he got in there and he did have a smile. I think it will make him stronger… There"s kids that have phobia on something… it"s like there"s nothing wrong, you know, here try it." – Andrea*

Direct participation: Role modeling.

The final family role that occurred through direct participation with the children was role modeling. Participants described their role modeling behaviors that were intended to teach the children how they are expected to live. The participants described many role modeling activities. Two situations will be used to illustrate the role modeling described in this study.

One participant described the hours she spends at the library with her daughter. She described the amount of time she spent reading while she was attending college. Pilar believes that her daughter developed her love of reading by watching her read. She said that even as a toddler, her daughter would hold books and pretend to read.

> *"I spent a lot of time reading books. When you"rein school, I mean, I was in school way before she even born, all I did was pretty much sit down and read. She loves going to the library. She loves reading. I wasn"t thatpassionate about reading when I was a kid. I like to read, but not like her. She wants to read everything since she was a little kid when she couldn"t read.She mumbled things, and say like she was reading and I"d say "What are you reading?" "I can"t read, but I"m trying." – Pilar*

Gender roles were described as being taught through role modeling. Another participant described her husband, who became a soccer fan because of his grandfather"s role modeling. In turn, her husband role modeled certain behaviors that her sons picked up.

"You know how boys are, they just want to be like their Dad. Keith is not so much of a sports guy, he"s more artistic. Like he"s more musical and stuff, so he"s not big into sports, but if there is one that he will watch it would be soccer. His grandpa was a soccer player so, you know, because of that I think that"s why" – Sofia

Role modeling and teaching was important for girls too. Participants described spending time with their daughters engaged in household duties, saying that not only could they spend time together, but the time was used to role model and teach important skills.

"I'm teaching her how to measure already. (Laughs) Which, she knows what a teaspoon is, what a cup is, she can read stuff like that already, I think that"s really important for her to start learning how to do things like that." – Pilar

Facilitation.

Parents facilitate leisure activities by making it easier for children to do certain activities. Facilitating behaviors included finding activities outside of the home for the children to do, paying equipment and program fees, and providing transportation to and from activities. All of the participants with sons and daughters described facilitating behaviors. One participant illustrated facilitating behavior when she described her daughter"s horse, which was boarded on a local farm. Not only had they purchased the horse, they paid for its boarding fees, and provided transportation for their daughter to ride it.

"This picture was taken over at the barn where my husband has the horse and she was just riding the horse. She loves to do that." – Lilia

Another participant described finding activities that her sons might like to do. She described a variety of activities that they enjoy, and also noted that when her sons became bored with one activity, she would find another for them.

"When they get to be older I expect them to be involved in a lot of organized sports. I expect them to be part of a team for a good part of their school year. Just be part of something that has some structure where they can just go and play for the team and get rid of some energy. Well as a matter of fact one of my sons does Jiu Jitsu. My other son does soccer, when he"s not doing soccer he did wrestling. And one boy is taking a break from Jiu Jitsu because he was on it since he was four, he"s not as excited. Since he"s

doing the intramurals from school he wants to have a break but I think he said he would like to start swimming." – Sofia

Monitoring for safety.

The participants described their efforts to monitor their children's activities for safety, and encouraging them to try the activities as long as they would be safe doing it. In some cases the participants used such situations as a way to help their children grow. One participant said:

"If I see a danger I will not push it, I will not argue, I will not do anything. But if I see there's something that you would enjoy, try it and see. Try it. And he does, he likes it." – Andrea

Children on bicycles posed some anxiety for the participants, citing neighborhood safety as their main concern. One participant did not let her daughter ride her bicycle around the neighborhood while alone. The participant said she was always with her daughter when she was out riding her bicycle.

"(She rides her bicycle) with me… Because, I know too many trouble. I know too many scary people outside. And I know so here, too many problems. So she just go and I go out behind her. Yeah, I watch every time." – Cecelia

A participant with a son echoed that concern, saying he could ride his bicycle in the driveway or within the yard unsupervised. However, when he wanted to ride his bicycle around the neighborhood, the participant or the boy's father had to be outside supervising him. She cited a neighborhood with vacant homes, conflict with a neighbor, and fast-moving traffic as her main safety concerns.

"We've had a run in with our neighbor next door. Just being really rude, threatening my kids and my family. Because we, you know my siding wasn't put up yet, you know we had run into some problems inside the house where you know my pipes broke and they were leaking and the mold was growing so we had to deal with stuff inside before we could do the outside. And he was giving us a really hard time while the other neighbors were asking questions and being more understanding about it, threatening my kids and stuff, so they weren't allowed, they wouldn't go outside." – Lola

Participants also acted as safety monitors for their children"s computer activities, saying that they made sure their children were viewing child safe/friendly websites, and monitored their activities while they were online. Other participants did not permit their children to play on personal computers unless child safety software was installed. Television and video games were another point of concern for the participants. Most of the participants did not permit their children to watch non-educational television programming or play violent video games.

> *"There"s a lot ofpop-ups that come on, even on my phone, there"s a lot of ads for single women or nude pictures on my phone. Especially kids" games, all them little ads pop up like you know, "nude picture of me now, click here and you can see it." It"s just ridiculous things, it"s like I can"t even let them play on my phone when we"re out at doctor"s appointment. I called them (her cell phone carrier). You can on the phone click on the site and then scroll down and it will ask you to leave a comment on there. I"m always saying "this is inappropriate for my children." – Lola*

Nearly all of the participants described efforts to keep their children safe. However, none of the children who were photographed riding a bicycle, all-terrain vehicle, or horse was photographed wearing a helmet.

Reasons for Activities Domain

The participants sorted their photographs into categories and gave them names. Analysis of those category names provided clues as to the reasons that children participated in the activities, and served as a coding guide for the reasons children participated in activities. Interviews fully explored these reasons and provided insights into family motivations for the selected activities.

There were 666 quotes coded as reasons for the children engaging in activities. Health was the most-often mentioned reason for engaging in leisure activities (25% of the quotes). The participants described health as multi-dimensional, which included physical, emotional, spiritual, and cultural dimensions.

Time spent with family was seen as a way to promote bonding, which comprised 22% of the quotes. Bonding with family was seen as a way to promote the psychosocial elements of emotional and cultural health.

The participants also described leisure time as a time when children engaged in activities that helped to prepare them for their adult lives (17% of quotes). The life preparatory activities were balanced by fun and relaxing activities (17% of quotes). Participants with a daughter were more likely to mention life preparation as a reason for leisure time activities, while participants with sons were more likely to mention fun and relaxation. However, neither category was gender exclusive.

In addition to these primary reasons for leisure activities, there were others cited less frequently. Participants described leisure time activities as way to build their children"s self-confidence (8% of mentions); promote socialization (6% of mentions); help them to face their fears by testing their limits (3% of mentions); and express their creativity (2% of mentions).

Leisure activities promote health.

Participants mentioned health as a reason for engaging in leisure time activities. Rather than focusing solely on physical health-promoting benefits of leisure activities, they discussed health from a holistic viewpoint by citing their children"s physical, emotional, spiritual, and cultural health. Where physical health promotion occurred through exercise, the dimensions of emotional, spiritual, and cultural health were promoted within the context of family.

One participant summed up what health means to her:

> *"Health, you know it has to be physical. So you have to say what kind of food, your performance, be able to maybe have a healthy weight, eat healthy, nutritious food is very important for the kids growth and development. Then mentally healthy, meaning that they have to understand that process of the family, what"s going on with them,…who they are within the family structure and their function, because that"s important They will feel*

part of the family and functional member of the family. And then, who they are in the universe too. So that"s thechurch, God, you know, the superior being." – Rosa

Physical health benefits were gained through vigorous activities, primarily sports. They said that vigorous and fun activities helped to reduce their children"s excess energy and burn calories. Having fun was a way to break the tedium of exercise. Although there were no photographs of dancing, it was mentioned by the several of the participants as a fun way to exercise. One participant described why salsa dancing is a good form of exercise:

"Yes it is. It is extremely fun. And you just get to enjoy yourself and you know, if you don"t do much exercise that"s oneway to exercise." – Marisol

Participants were aware of health risks associated with a sedentary lifestyle and obesity, and believed that leisure time physical activity was a way to decrease their risk. One of the participants said she tries to keep her children busy and active as a way to help them maintain a healthy weight. She said:

"A lot of kids eventually start gaining a lot of weight just being at home, not being physically active. It just kind of goes around again if you"renot physical active if you just sit home all the time and eventually it"s just like a circle." – Lilia

Marisol had an older son who was diagnosed at 10 years of age with hyperlipidemia. This diagnosis, coupled with a family history of obesity, diabetes, and cardiovascular disease, prompted the entire family to change their diet and her children to begin exercising together. Yet, another participant discussed the impact that fun and vigorous activity had on her sons" physical health:

"We have a trampoline in the back yard, so they love it. Ever since we got it, but even now, the weather is not too good, but they just go outside and play and jump and jump and jump until they"relike thoroughly wet in sweat. It"s good for their physical (health)…" – Rosa

For the participants, the energy expenditure was seen as a bonus for their children and themselves, as their children were calmer after they had vigorously played outdoors. As one participant noted:

> *"Sometimes you definitely want that out, to just have ‚em come home and just go to bed." – Lilia*

Another participant echoed her thoughts:

> *"It burns out their energy. It helps me so they can go to bed and sleep or go home and stay quiet for a while. I feel good. I like to see them burn their calories in something that is good, (and) healthy and they have fun." – Rosa*

Leisure activities promote bonding.

Leisure time promotes bonding within the family, which the participants said serves an important role in the children"s emotional and cultural health. The participants said that doing activities together as a family provides a solid link between family members, which serves as a foundation for emotional health and future happiness. One participant described the emotional benefit of bonding as a family.

> *"I think that"s whatwill influence children to grow and become influential people out in the community and even in their family. I think I want my daughter to remember that, you know, we had really good times doing this together. Like I can tell you when we make cakes, measuring things out. I tell her give me, you know, I need three eggs. Can you give me the eggs? ... and it"sa fun way for her to learn and to be interactive with mom at the same time." – Pilar*

Bonding within the family also is a way for the parents to help the children maintain their cultural health. The children are exposed to the mainstream U.S. culture for a long time period throughout their day. While the participants understood that their children will pick up pieces of the mainstream culture, they very much wanted to ensure they did not lose what they consider to be integral Hispanic cultural values. The participants said bonding helps to ensure their children will continue to embrace the value of family, and speak Spanish without an accent. Eight out of

the 10 participants were observed speaking Spanish to their children during the interviews. The participants also wanted their children to know how to fulfill their gender roles which includes being able to care for their families and themselves. One participant explained the importance of maintaining identity:

> *"My hope, I want her to, you know, know who she is. She"s a Mexican-American, but I want her to be very strong and be proud of who she is. Both of her parents are Mexican and she"s still Mexican even if she was not born in Mexican territory, and that she should never be ashamed. Because if someone tries to put her down she should have her head up high at all times and be able to, you know, stand up for others who are unable to. I hope that my daughter is normal as I can bring her up (to be). I"m fine with American culture, I have some of that in me too and love it." – Pilar*

Leisure activities promote life preparation.

Life preparation was linked to intellectually stimulating, creative expression, and household duty activities. Life preparation was captured in the participants" photographs with girls being shown cooking and doing laundry, reading, writing, and engaging in creative types of play. Boys were photographed reading and drawing. Participants also discussed religious training as a life preparatory activity.

Participants with daughters most often described leisure activities that supplement their education as critical for their life preparation. The girls often were photographed doing activities that supplemented the work they did at school, such as reading and writing. The importance of education for Hispanic girls was summed up by one participant.

> *"I pushed them a lot because I wanted them to learn that Hispanic women were not educated enough and that we need to get that education for ourselves, not for anybody else. Because someday you might get married and you have children and you just never know what life might bring to you." – Pilar*

Recognizing that their children will be leaving home someday, the participants assigned household duties so that they would have responsibility in the home while providing skills that

will enable them to be self-sufficient in the future. Girls were photographed most often performing household duties. One participant said about a photograph of her daughter folding laundry:

> *"She's doing laundry. I do laundry for the children, doing like socks, like towels…and now, like two months ago, she was doing everything…the clothes, the closet and everything. Sometime I doing my laundry in the morning, but I take it all in the bed. When she coming home from school she's doing everything, her homework, and she finished, she doing work because it is work for her. I think she need responsibility in my house. All time now, sometime I talk about when she leave for college…My niece, all time "Ma, what you doing for pasta? What you doing for ... you know?" She got 21 years! And I try to encourage her learn something, whatever! Not too much yet, she's doing vacuum, sometimes she's cleaning, she takes out the trash. Because it's she and me, and if something's wrong with me she would (need to) do for herself." – Cecelia*

One participant described a photograph of her daughter solving a puzzle, and described it as an activity that will help her solve problems and overcome obstacles when she's an adult. She said:

> *"She likes doing her princess puzzles. She was having a hard time, but she enjoys every moment she spends doing that type of work. Just because, I think mentally, it (will help her with) a challenge or whatever obstacle comes down her way, even in the future." – Pilar*

While participants with daughters discussed life preparatory activities more than those with sons, boys also engaged in these activities. Participants discussed their sons reading and writing activities, which will help them with their education. A good education was seen as a way for the boys to obtain higher status, better paying jobs such as physicians and attorneys. None of the boys was photographed doing household duties, yet participants said their sons do help around the house. One participant described her son's hobby of creating magazines, saying that it may help him with a career choice. She said she hopes he pursues journalism.

> *"That's my middle one, he's just watching TV. That's one of the times where he's just not doing anything. He hardly ever watches TV and that was one. The reason was I just took the picture because most of the time he'll be either reading or doing arts and crafts. He*

likes to make up magazines. So he"s not a very good artist but he"s a good writer. I didn"t catch him while he was doing the magazine. That would have been a good picture too." – Marisol

Although there were few photographs of children engaged in church-related activities, most participants mentioned attending church services or participating in church-sponsored activities. While not all participants attended church, they noted the importance of spiritual health as a life preparatory activity because it provides the children with a moral compass, which will provide direction for future decision making.

"If you are 100% spiritual in what you"re doing then you won"t have a problem. Because otherwise, I seen some other kids around there like they never take ,,em to church or they give ,,em the option when they"relittle. They"re little, you don"t give ,,em options. You, ride ,,em in the right direction, why you don"t let ,,em go sideways or no, you take ,,em to the right direction, straight. And as long as they"reliving in my house, they gonna go through what I tell ,,em to do. Once they"re18, they"reold enough, they don"t wanna go, then don"t go. But don"t come back to me complaining later in life because I told you where to go…. And I see other kids, they"relike, you know, they"rejust "Oh, if you want to go, go" and it"s likeno, you"rehere, you go. You don"t have no options with me on that. (Laughs) On church you don"t. Yeah, I"m the law." – Andrea

Learning to schedule and prioritize leisure time was another life preparatory activity that all of the participants described. They all described fairly detailed after-school schedules which help their children learn to prioritize between obligations which must be done first, and fun activities that come second. One participant described her children"s leisure time routine:

"During the week it"s more disciplined. I try to do more of the routine for school and the chores. If you would ask my kids, I"m pretty hard on their chores. They get home from school they"reasked what they would like to do. On the weekend it"s more laid back, not so much, more of a break." *– Lilia*

Leisure activities promote fun and relaxation.

Participants said having fun and enjoying life is an important Hispanic cultural value that they wanted their children to maintain. Participants captured children having fun and relaxing through photographs of them engaged in unstructured play such as hide-and-seek, shooting water

guns, chatting with friends, watching television and playing video/computer games. One participant called this "*having the time of their lives.*"

Relaxation was seen as a way to unwind after a long day at school. One participant described her son"s stressful day at school and the value of relaxation once he was home.

> *"Sometimes they get stressed at school. Extremely stressed. Like today my younger one said "Oh Mommy I'm so mad." "Why are you so mad?" And he was really mad, I thought he was like, he was just playing with me. "Mom, Ms. L," that"s thegym teacher "she told me that I don't need to sit around, that my grade is down, I went from an A to a C." So, she was trying to get to him because I guess she saw he was getting mad or upset. And sometimes they work so much with their mind, how they use that, you know, and it just stresses them out sometime, so…(this is their time to) just unwind from school." – Marisol*

Another participant noted that having fun happens in unstructured moments and is a way to enjoy the moment without following rules. She frequently takes her sons to the YMCA where they play tennis and racquetball. They also accompany her to the Zumba classes that she takes at the YMCA. She said that her sons have fun at both of these activities:

> *"Yeah we're not following the specific rules for tennis, or you know, they"re just having fun right now, so I let ,,em. I'm not worried about rules and all that. They like to dance. They love, when they go with me for Zumba. Sometimes they go crazy, sometimes they just watch, but they both like to dance. And they just laugh and laugh about each other or about the other people in there." – Rosa*

The participants emphasized that although reading was a way to prepare them for their adult lives, their daughters" leisure time reading also was voluntary because they found it to be a fun activity. The participants encouraged their daughter"s reading by making use of their public libraries, which was described as a fun activity for the participant and her children.

> *"There is no, no reading like because she needs reading for school, everything, she"s reading because she likes it. This is… now, she's doing one is for sciences because she learn more about the body. It"s on the back (of the book), like the body, but she love it, "She"s likeMa, this one is for the brain, I look for the bones, how many bones the body have?" – Cecelia*

Leisure activities promote self-confidence.

None of the participants named photographic categories that directly applied to leisure activities as a way to build self-confidence and esteem. However, self-confidence emerged when the interview data were coded. The children's self-confidence and self-esteem was boosted when the family spent time together or when the children had opportunities to be successful in their activities. Where facing fears and testing limits was seen as a way for boys to have confidence to try new things, for girls being self-confident was viewed by participants as setting the groundwork for their daughters to try new and unfamiliar activities. One participant discussed her daughter's participation in gymnastics:

> "*Oh, that really boosts her self-esteem, she can really, she's really good at it, but she just feels capable in other areas, I think she wants to try other things, I mean even if she's not good at them, at least she's tried them. It just changes her whole outlook on, you know,…I think gymnastics because it's something that she found that she could do early on and it helps her to just try anything." – Lucia*

When their daughters were not confident in trying an activity, participants described getting involved to help girls feel more secure. One participant described how volunteering with her daughter's soccer team made her more willing to play. She said:

> *"One thing that concerned me was she's like "But I don't know if I can do it." "Well you go try, you have coaches, and you'll have your Dad, your own personal coach here." And (she) does very well when we get ourselves, you know, like volunteering with whatever she's involved in. She just feels like more confident…" – Pilar*

Boys also received self-esteem benefits by participating in leisure time activities:

> *"If they would not know how to ride a bike that would probably, or play soccer, or that would be bad in the way that they cannot, like when they go to a party and when they play with other kids and they would not know what to do and they would probably feel bad about themselves, you know, self-esteem." – Sofia*

Leisure activities promote socialization.

Playing outside with others was seen by participants as a good way for their children to learn the rules of life and learn to get along with others. While socialization was seen as a benefit to both genders of children, it was most often discussed by participants with sons. The interview data provided more insight into socialization as a reason their children participate in leisure time activities.

Playing with others helps the children understand that there are others in the world and that they need to learn to share. Sharing behaviors such as taking turns on the trampoline were seen as a way to get along with others.

> *"This is them, just jumping up and down. They just have lots of fun with it. They"re having fun and (and it makes them know) they got to share all this space. Well, it make them realize that they"renot the only one in the world and they have to share everything, basically." – Rosa*

Unstructured play with other children was described as having dual benefits: the children get physical activity and socialization that helps them learn to get along with others.

> *"The kids not only learn to be physically active but also to get along with their brothers, sisters, and also their other playmates outside." – Pilar*

Another participant confirmed that statement:

> *"If they were not able to do this, they would probably just be sitting inside home watching TV and they would be missing out on making friends, and you know, learning to socialize and to behave with other kids and you know what you're doing and what you don"t do."– Sofia*

Leisure activities helps children face fears.

Participants described their sons engaging in behaviors that were fun for the boys, but sometimes difficult for the participants to watch. These types of activities were viewed as a kind of life preparation for boys. Specifically, participants talked about their sons doing flips on a

trampoline and pulling wheelies on bicycles as anxiety-inducing behaviors. The participants also talked about their sons having some fear of activities such as riding horses and hiding in a dark closet during a game of hide and seek. The participants noted that by engaging in sometimes dangerous and frightening behaviors, their sons were developing an internal strength that will help them move through life"s uncertainties.

> *"I think the more, the more fears you have on things, the weaker you are. And then that"s it, you"ll find out that it"s no big deal. And ifyou confirm your fears or if you're afraid of something, just go for it." – Andrea*

The participants talked of acknowledging their anxiety as their sons engaged in daring activities, yet said that they need to step back and let their sons try the activity:

> *"They built the dirt ramp and they"retesting their ability (with)...like gravity, I guess. This is the first time they did a wheelie outside on their bike and they were trying to see who can go the highest and stuff, and that scares me. That they were to fall and hurt themselves, you know. It keeps them fit (and) it helps them explore what they can and can"t do. You know, you don't want to be afraid all your life to try new things… I'm trying to keep an eye on them so they"re not getting hurt, because I don"t really like them playing outside alone. (But you) can"t shelter them. But that"s another part of growing up, you"ve got to learn to let go, let them be a kid." – Lola*

Leisure activities promote creative expression.

Engaging in creative expression during play time was seen by the participants as a way for their daughters to role-play, which may show them the way to their future careers. Using their imagination to create music or art, or stories as they play with their dolls was a way for the girls occupy their time, but also to find joy in the moment.

> *"That"s oneof her Build-a-Bears. She is very, very creative. She could spend hours playing by herself. Hours! I mean you"dbe looking for her and she"s in the corner playing with her Build-a-Bears or she also likes to play with little, tiny little dolls and she loves to be creative with even paper, tissue paper. She"d bemaking dresses and the beds and she"s justvery creative." – Lilia*

One participant reflected on her own creative play with her doll"s hair as a child, which led to her current career as a hair dresser. She believed that her daughter"s imaginative play may lead her to her future career. She said:

> *"I see her using her imagination a lot for being creative. I think that"s how eventually you get to see what you"re going to do in life. Whether you know, you play with bears, you"reout doing this, trying to figure it out, make a career eventually you figure out what you"regoing to do. When I was little I always play with my dolls cutting their hair and eventually I said that"s whatI wanted to do." – Lilia*

In addition to finding joy in the moment, knowing how to use the imagination to create was described as instilling a sense of resourcefulness in one child.

> *"She was playing on the floor with her little toys that they have here at the library. She was creating a little city. I think she"s already ready for a car. (Laughs) But she"s justso creative. She doesn"t care if it a good toy, it"s a bad toy.To her whatever she finds she can play with. She"s just got this great imagination like nothing stops her. I see her happy and she loves doing just about anything she can play with. I think she"ll be a very resourceful person. She can accomplish what she (wants to). Her goals are very big for her, but yeah, I think she doesn"t have limits." – Pilar*

Summary

This taxonomic structure provides a rich description of the Hispanic children"s leisure time activities as photographed and described by their mothers. There were more photographs of the children engaged in sedentary than active behaviors. Girls were most often photographed inside engaged in behaviors such as intellectual stimulation, creative expression, and household duties. The participants said that these behaviors helped to prepare their daughter for their adult lives. Boys were more likely to be photographed in active behaviors outside such as unstructured play or sporting activities. The participants described these activities as being fun and relaxing, yet also served socialization and limit testing functions. Participants were actively involved with their children"s activities through facilitation, role modeling, encouragement, communication,

and safety monitoring behaviors. Family involvement served to root the children within the Hispanic culture.

The two goals of ethnography are to describe the cultural scene and to understand the culture from the *emic*, or insider‟s perspective (Spradley, 1979). While this taxonomic structure describes the leisure activities of Hispanic children, further analysis was needed to understand these activities within the context of culture. Therefore, cultural themes were inductively derived to address the second research question. These will be discussed in the next section.

Cultural Impact on Leisure Activities

The second research question for this study was:

How do culture, family, and the community environment influence a Hispanic child‟s participation in leisure time activities?

a. How do culture, family, and the community environment influence a Hispanic child‟s participation in leisure time activities?
b. How do gender roles and cultural norms, values and beliefs influence Hispanic children‟s participation in leisure time activity?
c. What activities do Hispanic family members as a whole engage in throughout the day and week?
d. How do characteristics of the neighborhood, schools, and the community influence Hispanic children‟s leisure time activity?

Spradley (1979) defines a cultural theme as the insider‟s view. A theme is represented in the often unspoken, yet commonly understood principles and ideas that tie together pieces of a cultural scene. To gain a cultural understanding of the children‟s leisure time activities, it is important to know that they are children of immigrant parents. The participants emigrated from

their home countries inspired by the American dream and filled with hope for a better life for their families. The American dream promised financial security and safety for their families. They were lured by jobs that paid enough to provide the things that their family needs.

Moving from Mexico and Colombia, the participants were informed by values closely tied to the Hispanic culture: familism, collectivism, gender role beliefs, and time orientation. Their cultural values are sometimes at odds with mainstream U.S. cultural values, which create an underlying tension. It is this tension that serves as a catalyst that fuels leisure activity decisions and choices. Figure 9 proposes a conceptual schema to describe this study‟s findings.

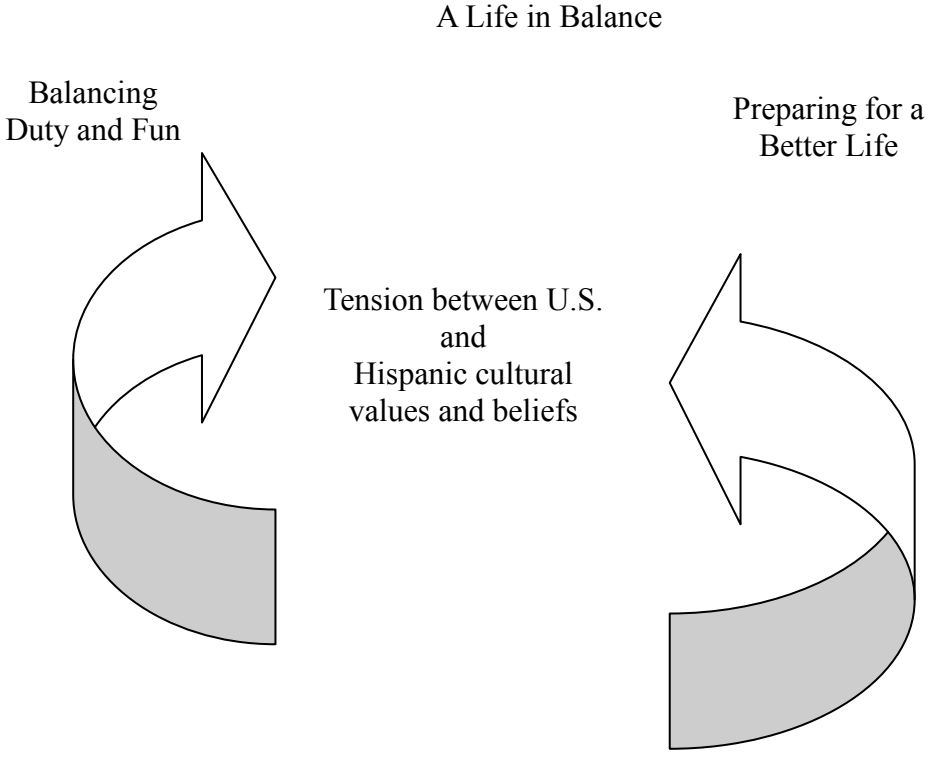


FIGURE 9. Conceptual schema for Hispanic children‟s leisure activities

Three cultural themes were identified. The participants‟ efforts to resolve the underlying tension (Cultural Theme 1) that they encountered by living in the U.S. is reflected in two supporting cultural themes that emerged from the data. “Preparing for a better life” (Cultural

Theme 2) describes the participants‟ attempt to teach the children to resolve tensions felt between their work and home life. “Balancing duty and fun” (Cultural Theme 3) describes the participants‟ efforts to resolve tensions created by working long hours, having fun, and living in a more permissive society. These three cultural themes support the unifying cultural theme of “A Life in Balance.”

The participants expressed a deeply-felt hope for their children‟s future success and happiness, and used leisure time as the time to prepare them to live a better life. The unifying cultural theme *“A Life in Balance”* represents the participants‟ ultimate hope for their children. The life they envisioned for their children is one in which there is balance between the Hispanic and U.S. culture, time spent working and with family, and in working and making time to have fun. These children will live the life envisioned by the participants by learning to resolve the tensions created by living in the U.S.

Cultural Tensions that Influence Leisure Activities

Participants described sacrifice and hardships associated with their emigration. They were homesick; they were sometimes baffled as they learned to navigate U.S. culture. Yet, they were willing to live with these hardships and sacrifices so that their children would have the opportunity to be successful. They also recognized that their children‟s success hinged on their ability to fit in with U.S. culture.

> *“I hope that my daughter is normal as I can bring her up (to be) and have, you know, I'm fine with American culture, I have some of that in me too and love it.” – Pilar*

The participants pointed out many positive aspects of living in the U.S. and expressed a deep reverence for the opportunities that they believe their children have here. They believed their communities offered many activities for their children to do. The participants described the

community and its many offering. Children attended cultural heritage parks, pumpkin patches, ethnic fairs, and monthly town festivals. They made use of public libraries, the YMCA, and the Boys and Girls Club. Participants cited health clinics and food banks that were available if they needed it.

> *"I've been in other states and other cities, I think (this city) is full of activities for the kids. There's events, there's fairs, there is museums, there is you know, the libraries, clubs, the YMCA, I love that. So, it's just a matter of enrichment. You know, taking your kids to those activities around the neighborhood, the area, the city." – Rosa*

Spradley (1979) described the sometimes explicit and tacit nature of cultural themes. While not explicit, the tacit, underlying tensions that the participants were exposed to by living in the U.S. had a strong influence on the children's leisure time activities.

Tension: Fitting in yet maintaining identity.

In order to be successful in the U.S., the participants acknowledged that their children needed to learn how to fit in with mainstream U.S. culture. Yet, to be successful and happy in their lives, the participants believed the children needed to maintain critical aspects of their Hispanic identity. There was some concern that the children's immersion in the English language during the day might contribute to the loss of their ability to speak and read Spanish. A participant described her daughter's friends, who come from Spanish-speaking families, and their preference for speaking English.

> *"And I have two more girls, friends of hers, and the girls say "Oh no I talk in English" and I say "OK now, you Spanish, so I am talking in Spanish" and both girls go "I know I'm sorry, I don't understand" and I say my daughter "OK you can go out." "No Mommy, I listen." She like it. She really listen in Spanish, she don't have a problem." – Cecelia*

Another underlying tension was expressed through concern that living in the U.S. would eventually obliterate the children's sense of cultural heritage.

> *"(I want her to hold on to) her lineage. Her values of … the part of who you are and being able to go back and recognize where she came from, where her parents are from. She gets really excited; she wants to go to Mexico. You know she"s not meand my husband. She is a reflection of where we came from. I think I have strong ways because of my culture and my values and everything, just from my childhood and I"ve carried them on. And I"mafraid that along the way, and I know that"s exactly what"s going to happen along the way, maybe not her, maybe her kids will beat that*." – *Pilar*

The participants used leisure time to ground their children in their culture. They said they did this by speaking Spanish to their children, providing them with Spanish books to read, and cooking beloved foods from home. Perhaps most important to the participants, they used leisure time to root their children in the family. One participant described her expectation that her sons do well in the U.S. culture, and her efforts to keep them grounded in their Hispanic culture and able to speak Spanish.

> *"Cause you expect them to do well in school. Since they have been going to school here they have been around the language, the culture. So we want them to do really well there. At home, I mean, we"realso embracing that culture. That you must do really good in this culture and this language and this type of structure, but also you have to do well in the things we do as a family and we just came from Mexico. So I believe our things we do, our holidays are still strong… that"s important for the family. At home, as soon as they close the door, it"s allSpanish, to keep the language really strong. One of them reads more fluent than the other, but they both read Spanish." – Rosa*

The participants expressed hope that the schools might create culturally-balanced programming. In the children"s leisure time, the participants were attempting to create cultural balance by exposing them to Hispanic values. They believed that when the children were at school, having some programs that reflect their Hispanic values would foster their success. When asked what type of programming they would like to see, several participants said that it was important for the programs to reflect their culture.

> *"Probably to keep ,,em a little more involved in a little bit of their background. If not them, their parents, a little bit of their culture so they could learn a little bit. For some reason some kids are not able to go back to their parents" homeand see how they grew up and what they did. Something that I remember growing up in school is there was*

> *always some kind of activity something that we did for like Mother"s Day. The kids were so involved on making a special dance and it was physical activity because you go outside and you could practice and it was a special thing." – Lilia*

Living in a new culture comes with some expectation of learning to fit in. However, the participants used leisure activities to ground the children in fundamental Hispanic values. However, there were aspects of fitting in, such as the amount of time spent working outside of the home that created a tension within the home.

Tension: Work at expense of family time.

In learning to fit in, the participants described a U.S. work culture that includes long hours and the necessity to work several jobs. They worked long hours, which sometimes came at the expense of time with their family. In their search for a better life, they came to the U.S. expecting to work. However, they expressed some dismay that the work expectations in the U.S. had come at the expense of spending time with family. One participant described the striking difference between her life in Mexico and the U.S.

> *"That"s what gets us, it"s just that life is so different from Mexico and here. I guess when you come here you just get so involved in work and before you know, that"swhat you do. Work." – Lilia*

Familism is a fundamental Hispanic cultural value that describes the importance members place in their family (Bacallo & Smokowski, 2007). Family is the primary unit in Hispanic culture and provides its members with close relationships, identity, security, and confidence (Crist et al., 2009). While work was seen as a necessity to provide financially for the family, it also sometimes interfered with activities and the time spent as a family

> *"So sometimes we"ll play. She"s like "Can you play with me?" So we"ll play like tea sets and stuff like that. Not all the times, because I work…" – Marisol*

Work routines often interfered with the amount of time that the families were able to spend together. In an attempt to resolve this tension, the participants used leisure time to prepare their children for a better life, which includes the ability to spend enough time as a family. In addition, the new expectations of living and working in the U.S. created a gender-role tension between traditional roles and new expectations.

Tension: Traditional roles and new expectations.

Moving to the U.S. and working to support a family created an upset in the traditional gender roles. On the one hand, women who traditionally provided care within the home were now expected to work outside the home. Men traditionally worked outside the home to provide financially for the family. Yet, their wives worked outside to home too. The participants said that men were now expected to help with work inside the home.

One participant explained that while some Hispanic families retain a traditional family structure, it doesn"t necessarily work for those with two working parents. She noted that although she has an equal relationship with her husband, there are duties that she does, and others that she expects her husband and sons attend to:

> *"But also, like men have certain responsibilities. So his responsibilities will be like really machismo ones to maybe fix a door, or do the yard, take the trash out. So like there is many activities that he must do and accomplish and I"mnot doing it because I"ma woman." – Rosa*

The effort to resolve this tension was evident in many of the leisure activities that the participants chose for their children, which reflected tradition and the new expectations. The participants also described a tension that was created by the U.S. cultural tendency to work long hours. They acknowledged the importance of work, but also viewed happiness and fun as equally important.

Tension: Work and fun.

The participants described having fun and finding joy in their lives as a fundamental Hispanic value. The tendency to spend long hours at work at the expense of fun created a tension. The women in this study sometimes struggled to balance their own life duties with having fun. Participants discussed life schedules that interfered with being able to participate in fun leisure time activities with their children or to just take time some quiet time for themselves:

> *"I think just from growing up and seeing my Mom sometimes and I think I even caught myself several times in that. You get so caught up in trying to provide for the family. You clean the house and having dinner and you forgot to do anything fun for that day, even for our self…We keep saying to our self "I'll do it later. I'll do it later. In a minute." And something"s always going to come up. You"renever gonna finish cleaning house, and I see my Mom get all caught up in that. I've seen a lot of Hispanic women around here that do that too, just like I have. Like really, if I take a break, I'll be more relaxed when I come back. But yeah I think we kind of forget what fun is." – Pilar*

The attempt to resolve this tension was seen in the structure of the children"s leisure time. The participants described after-school schedules that placed priority on school, home, and family duties first. After the children had completed their duties, they were then encouraged to have fun. It was in having fun that the participants identified a fifth tension in what they viewed as acceptable and fun activities for their children.

Tension: Teaching responsibility in a permissive culture.

Living in a culture where parents are permissive and often provide their children with everything they want created a tension. The participants believed that their children needed supervision and direction in order to learn to be responsible. Responsibility included understanding that they need to work for what they want.

> *"That"s why I ask all the time, ,,You need to be somebody"because they want all kinds of things, but I cannot give ,,em to you. I didn"t come from a wealthy family, but I can give you everything that (you need). I don"t think it"s good to givethem everything, because they have to work for it. So, it"s like, they have to do something." – Marisol*

Many of the participants discussed materialism and their attempts to minimize how much they purchased for their children, choosing instead to focus on their family. One participant summed up several participants" thoughts:

> *"Back at home we"re, I think, going back more just focus on the family, you know, not so much on the material things. Yeah, I think there"s so much competition or I don"t know how you could say, of who has the better stuff, who has the latest on electronics, who has the nicest clothes. And back at home you just don"t care so much about that, it was more organic? Is that the word? I do want my kids to be able to care for their things (but) I can"t go back to material things." – Lilia*

The participants also expressed some tension with less wholesome media influences that are common in the U.S. In many cases the safety monitoring role that was described in the taxonomic structure was a kind of cultural filtering. The participants acted as a cultural filter by limiting their children"s video game playing time because they were concerned that the children might become too dependent on the games. Violent video games were banned from nearly every home. They were concerned about a potential increase in children"s aggressive behavior when they played those types of games.

> *"I don"t like video game as long as … I don"t like anything violent. Because you know, he"s a boyand they"renormally more aggressive than the girls, so I don"t want him to be anything, any more than what he is normally, any normal kid would be a little bit more aggressive than the girls and stuff like that, so he plays games, he plays soccer games and stuff like that or racing cars or stuff like that."- Andrea*

Rather than spending a long time playing video games, the participants preferred that their children find something more physically active to do.

> *"I don"t wantthem playing video games, that"s the main thing. Because they get addicted and it"s so hard to break that addiction, and I"ve seen it with my nephews and nieces, I mean they"re totally addicted to those games, or those type of games, and I don"t want that. I want them to engage in more physical activities." – Rosa*

The attempt to resolve the tension between a permissive culture and making sure their children are responsible was evident in the monitoring for safety role. They wanted their children

to find wholesome, fun activities to engage in. The family acted as a cultural filter for the children‟s leisure activities to maintain congruency with what they viewed as acceptable.

Summary.

The underlying tensions generated by the U.S. work world and culture had a profound influence on the way that the parents structured the children‟s leisure time, including the activities that they did and the roles that the family played in them. The supporting cultural theme "*Preparing for a Better Life*" describes the leisure activities that were aimed resolving the tension between tradition and new expectations, and between the demands of work at the expense of family time.

Preparing for a Better Life

The cultural theme *"preparing for a better life"* was most evident in the behaviors identified in the "Types of Activities" and "Reasons for Activities" domains. Many of those activities, while fun, were chosen to support their children‟s growth and development. The leisure activities that were used to prepare the children for a better life were chosen to resolve the tension of working at the expense of family time, and gender role traditions and new expectations. They chose activities that would help the children lead more balanced adult lives.

> *"Like overall, I want to make sure that I include different types of activities in (support of) their growth and development, something that they know is fun, something that is good for them, and something that is going to actually help them in the future, regardless of what activity they are doing." – Rosa*

Girls were photographed learning to care for home and family by doing household chores and caring for others. They also were photographed reading, writing, and drawing. They were engaging in creative play and being encouraged to think of a life outside of their home. Boys were photographed in activities that prepare them to engage in the world. They engaged in

unstructured play which helps them learn to socialize, get along with others, and learn to have fun. Yet they also were photographed reading, writing, and drawing. Furthermore, while not photographed, the participants described their sons helping around the house by doing chores and caring for siblings.

The economics theory of migration posits emigration as a financial survival strategy for families (Epenshade, 1995). In the traditional Hispanic culture, women are expected to provide the care and make decisions within the home, while men provide financially and make major decisions for their families (Zoucha & Zamarripa, 2008). In the search for a better life, many Hispanic families now have both parents working outside the home. While work is necessary to provide financial security for the family, it also created a tension-driven change in the gender roles within this study‟s families. The leisure time activities that the children engaged in demonstrated a blend of traditional roles that were tempered by new expectations. How the tension-driven gender role changes were expressed for girls and boys will be presented in the next sections.

Girls: "Nuevo marianista."

Stevens (1973) described marianismo as being the Hispanic female counterpart to machismo. A marianista embodies the Hispanic female ideal by placing her own needs second to her family‟s needs and imitates the Virgin Mary by placing a high priority on the traditional values of female self-sacrifice, male supremacy, and postponement of pleasure (D‟Alonzo & Sharma, 2010).

Moving to the U.S. places new expectations on Hispanic women, which has created the "*nuevo marianista,"* (D‟Alonzo & Sharma, 2010, p. 243) or marianismo with an "Anglo twist" (D‟Alonzo & Sharma, 2010, p. 243). Socioeconomic pressure to provide for their families has

created the necessity for Hispanic women to maintain their traditional caring roles within the home, yet work one or more jobs outside the home. This demanding schedule creates a fairly strong barrier that makes it difficult for the women to engage in leisure time physical activity. In this study, demanding work schedules sometime interfered with the participant"s ability to spend time with their family.

The immigrant participants endured hardships to create a better life for their family. The participants with daughters seemed especially determined that their daughters make the most of the opportunities available in the U.S. The intellectually stimulating and creative leisure activities that the girls engaged in were viewed as critical in preparing the girls for their future. One participant"s life experiences had a profound influence on how she guides her daughter"s leisure activities.

> *"So you want to be this independent woman that is able to support her family, or even if she's still married, you just never know. If she would have to provide for her family without having to worry about, you know, if she lost her job, which it could happen to anybody, losing their job. But like factory work, I worked in factories and I didn't think we were appreciated enough, and you can just be booted out anytime they want." – Pilar*

Another participant described her conflict with her husband about his desire to move the family back to Mexico. Although she missed her family in Mexico, she debated whether to move back with her husband. She said her children were her top priority and that she wants them to have the opportunity to live a good life. She described why she wanted to keep her children in the U.S.:

> *"Well, a better (life): school, job. She say "Oh no, I don"t wantto work." (Laughs) But I'm thinking she need to be a student to do more work. „Cause you know, I not go to school, only for sixth grade. And that"s it.You know this my reason I don't want to move to Mexico. „Cause I don't want them living like the same, my life. So I"mthinking she need more better job. I do everything for my kids." – Elena*

This context situates the girls‟ leisure activities that were identified in the types of activities and reasons for activities domains. The girls were still being prepared to care for their families, which was evident in the photographs of the girls as they cooked, cared for children, and learned to do laundry. However, the participants‟ hopes for a better life for their daughters was manifested in their photographs of the girls role playing potential career choices and as they sat reading, writing, and engaging in creative activities.

It was in this way that the participants were further adapting the "*nuevo marianismo"* (D‟Alonzo & Sharma, 2010, p. 243) role for their daughters by refining their gender roles. They were holding true to the deeply-ingrained value of female caring, but balancing it by selecting aspects of U.S. culture that will ensure their daughters‟ chance of economic security. Ultimately, the participants wanted their daughters to be good women who are able to take care of their families, but also independent women with good jobs who are able to provide for their families if necessary. A good job with higher pay was seen as a path to more life balance. Instead of working two or three jobs, they hoped their daughters would have one job. This would give them more time to be with their family.

One participant confirmed the cultural balancing act that is being seen in the fine-tuning of the girls‟ gender roles. She believes that Hispanic mothers are teaching their daughters to be caring and loving wives and mothers who now have an opportunity to be independent and self-sufficient women who can provide economic security for their families.

> *"More (Hispanic) moms are trying and pushing their daughters to go for …the opportunity they have in life just because of where we came from…Our Hispanic countries, women are not given that many opportunities after they get married. So I think moms are doing something very smart for their daughters to go ahead and get „„on that freedom and supporting them to get an education and be independent because you know, unfortunately nowadays sometimes women are the ones that are also becoming the supporting role in the household and it‟s not really the male anymore." – Pilar*

All of the participants discussed a deeply-felt desire for their daughters to be successful women. Their leisure time activities were meant to teach them to be good wives and mothers, and also to supplement their education and help them decide which career path to take. In order to be successful, a major task for the *nuevo marianista* role was to resolve the tension caused by role demands of the two cultures. For the girls in this study, the balancing act was between the traditional caregiving role within the home and having an education that will allow a higher paying job outside the home. Boys also engaged in leisure activities that will prepare them to live a better life. Just as the girls were doing, boys also were experiencing some gender role redefinition to ensure their success in the U.S.

Boys: A twist on machismo.

Machismo is the Hispanic cultural male counterpart to *marianismo* (D‟Alonzo & Sharma, 2010) that refers to the value that is placed on male self-confidence, strength, and valor (Zoucha & Zamarripa, 2008). Men are viewed as being stronger, wiser, and more knowledgeable in sexual matters (Zoucha & Zamarripa). Furthermore, Hispanic men tend to want to be seen as worthy of being good in their communities, and thought of as honest, compassionate men who have integrity (Sobralske, 2006). Machismo also is associated with a negative stereotype which presents Hispanic men as being "macho" who demand unquestioning obedience and submission from their wives and children (Sugihara & Warner, 2002).

The results of this study indicate that boys also were experiencing gender role redefinition to better reflect the needs of a family with two working parents. While girls were being prepared for an expanded role outside of the home, the boys were being trained to take on an expanded role within the home. The female role adaptation was described as "*nuevo marianismo"* with an *"Anglo twist"* (D‟Alonzo & Sharma, 2010, p. 243). Perhaps leisure time

activities described by the participants serve as a mechanism to transform the traditional machismo role into the *nuevo machismo.*

Although the participants discussed a more equal relationship with their husbands, they noted that there are gender differences in what boys and girls want to do, and what their parents permit them to do. One participant discussed how fathers role model men"s duties for their sons:

> *"They"ll (fathers) probably just pull them out of the house and not force them to be inside the house doing household duties because that would be more feminine duties than masculine duties. So it"s morelike that role of the male to be outside doing outside work and that"sexactly what they usually do. They do most of the male duties such as cleaning the yard and playing sports, and trying to get them out there to see the other things that are out there to be able to provide for their family when they do reach that stage in life." – Pilar*

The boys photographed in this study were expected to be successful in jobs the U.S. and work side-by-side with people who reflect the mainstream culture. This acknowledgement was evident in the photographs of the boys as they engaged with their world. They were photographed playing with other children and testing their limits by facing their fears. The participants believed their activities will mold their sons into Hispanic men who are able to get along with many different types of people and who are not afraid to engage in their world.

Just as with girls, the participants discussed their educational goals for their sons, stating that they have very high expectations for them. Leisure time activities were used to supplement their education. One participant echoed the sentiment of many of the others:

> *"They like to play Mario games in the computer, but I always tell them to play, for instance, Fun School or something like that. It has school activities like math or reading or word search, so they have to do at least one of them before they can move on to the others. They will prefer not to do it, obviously, but I always make them. (It"s good for their) memory skills… it promotes their memory, their cognitive skill. (I want for them to be a) doctor or lawyer…I have extremely high expectation, I want them to be valedictorian at their school, I want them to be like the very top." – Rosa*

While some Hispanic families have maintained a traditional Hispanic structure, others have adapted to meet the needs of a family with two working parents. Although only one boy was photographed engaged in child care activities, the participants described the changing expectations of men.

> *"As far as machismo, I guess it varies from house to house…especially here in the United States we have working mothers and working fathers. So, it's still pretty intense in some household but not in all of them. So I would want none of it because my husband will do dishes, will clean, so the kids know and are expected to do the same things." – Rosa*

Women have traditionally been responsible for the in-home duties such as cooking and cleaning. However, because women also work outside of the home, men are expected to help with those activities. The participants described leisure activities in which their sons were learning these roles.

> *"Sometimes they help me clean or they have to be aware of their dirty clothes have to be in the hamper or if it's full or halfway full, bring it down so I can do laundry. Maybe taking out the trash…My husband's not working right now, so he does mostly everything. If there's like a project going on, they'll help. They will help with the project." – Marisol*

Men were active participants in this changing family structure. Another participant described the support that her husband role modeled for their sons.

> *"Sometimes like I get so frustrated, like maybe I'm not doing the right thing. But that's when my husband says, "No, you're doing just fine." But I worry about it, you know, just try not to get so frustrated. Because when he does see me, you know, getting frustrated, he's like, "Just relax, go away, I'll handle it." Then I just take my time and we all relax and come back." – Marisol*

Boys were photographed as they learned to navigate through the expectations of two cultures. The participants had high expectations of their sons, who were photographed as they engaged in leisure activities to supplement their education. Men are the traditional financial supporters of their families, and education was viewed as a means to higher paying and status jobs. However, the reality of two working parents has created a tension within the home because

women no longer have the time to be solely responsible for household duties. To resolve this tension, boys‟ roles were changing as they learned to help with duties inside their homes.

Summary.

The participants told the story of their leisure time efforts to prepare their children for a better life. A task of this preparation is to help the children resolve the tension that is caused by the demands of living in a new culture. On the one hand, the children are learning how to live a life that is consistent with Hispanic cultural values. Girls are learning to be caring wives and mothers, and how to care for their homes. Boys are learning to go out into the world and how to provide for their families. However, these traditional roles are being modified to reflect the needs of a family with two working parents. Two income families have created the need for an egalitarian family structure that requires everyone to help out.

While leisure activities prepare the children for their future life roles, the data revealed the deeply-felt hope expressed by the participants that they be successful and happy. Girls and boys were learning their gender roles that are largely associated with work. However, the participants did not want their children‟s lives to center around work. They wanted them to be happy as well. To achieve happiness, the participants used leisure time to teach their children to find balance in life by balancing the sense of duty and responsibility with having fun.

Balancing Duty and Fun

A present time orientation is associated with the Hispanic culture (Zoucha & Purnell, 2003). Typically, it is thought that Hispanic people live in the “here and now” and do not plan for tomorrow, because God is in control and tomorrow cannot be predicted. However, the results of this study demonstrate that the participants were quite future oriented as they actively prepared their children for their adult lives. In teaching the children to strike a balance between

duty and fun, the participants were attempting to resolve the tensions between work and time with family, time spent working and having fun, and in teaching responsibility in a permissive culture.

The supporting cultural theme "*Balancing duty and fun*" was derived from the observational and interview data and is reflected in all domains represented in the taxonomic structure. When viewed as a whole, the photographs represented children engaged in some activities that could be considered as duties and others that were considered as fun. When interviewed, the tension between duty and fun was evident. The participants described careful and deliberate planning of leisure activities that placed a clear delineation and prioritization between duty and fun. Furthermore, duty and fun were viewed as complementary to each other. They believed that duty balances fun, and vice versa, and that both are necessary to live "*a life in balance*."

All of the participants described leisure time activity prioritization, with school and family responsibilities coming first. After the children completed their duties, they were then encouraged to find fun activities to do. One participant summed up the children‟s after-school schedules as a prioritization between the "*must dos*" and "*may dos*." She said:

> *"… They have to accomplish their main duty, which is go do your homework, keep on learning about their school work and then they got some play time, we do dinner together, all this has to be together at a certain time, so they get along. I mean, we have a really extensive list of what they can accomplish throughout that time. So then there‟s structure, responsibilities…the must-dos and then the may dos…Their rooms have to be cleaned and neat. They have to help with dinner, to pick up the dishes, to maybe clear the table." – Rosa*

Children were taught to prioritize through written and unwritten scheduling. Children also taught to complete their duties first through special fun rewards such as extra time playing with the family‟s Wii. Learning to prioritize duty before fun was a life preparatory skill. For

example, participants also used natural consequences as a means to teach their children to complete their duties in a timely manner.

> *"It's just that they get home, they have their homework, they have their lessons, they play outside. Like today we go to soccer and then by the time they come back they gotta take a shower… So, it's really they watch television (for the amount of) time that they decide to because if (he) takes 20 minute doing his homework he has more free times. But if he just goes around and he does this and does that, you know, if it takes him an hour, an hour and a half to do his homework, then he chose that. They have to do certain things and then they can do whatever they want." – Sofia*

Another participant believed that by scheduling her son's leisure time activities, he is busy, which in turn keeps him out of trouble. She said:

> *"Mondays he has chess at night for two hours for like serious, for more serious people and they have chess. And then Tuesdays they have the Bibles. Then on Wednesday they have soccer practice and chess. And then Thursday he plays. So Friday he has it off. (Laughs) And he has Friday off so he can do whatever he wants. I keep him on a schedule. He never complains." – Andrea*

The cultural "present time" value was expressed in this study; however, it was through finding joy in the moment rather than a lack of planning for the future. In acknowledging their tendency to sometimes work at the expense of having fun, the participants wanted their children to maintain the ability to strike a balance between work and fun, and to find joy in living.

> *"You have certain responsibilities but at the same time you also can have fun, you know, without having to jeopardize the responsibility as you're growing into each different role." – Pilar*

Although the participants were very clear with their children about their leisure time responsibilities, they also described fun as being a fundamental Hispanic value.

> *"You know, the culture, it's like how we do things, how we celebrate things, it's different. We're more happy go lucky going people. We're into you know, big noises and things like that, very active, for example say Cinco de Mayo, we have to celebrate with music and this and that and it has to be something very entertaining otherwise we won't attend. If it's boring, you know. . . it has to be fast paced." – Marisol*

Pilar added that it is a parental responsibility to encourage children to learn to balance their responsibilities with having fun. Finding fun and acceptable activities was a way that the participants resolved the acceptable activities tension. The participants were deliberate in finding fun activities for their children to do.

> *"For children there (will be) responsibility, and like I said before, will be their homework, their intellectual stuff. And then we almost see like a responsibility to push that kid outside to have some fun because we kind of learn through our growing up that that"s whatkids must do. Go outside and have fun or do some fun activities. The spark is the children"s life and they have to accomplish that. So by us helping them do those activities, we are building the children"s future." – Pilar*

Another participant described how she teaches her daughter to live; reminding her that whatever she does in life, or wherever she finds herself, she needs to find joy in living and do what makes her happy:

> *"When she go for school every day, you know, don"t forget you need to be happy – you need to play. Whatever she"s doing, whatever she plays, don"t forget she needs to play well. Like, nothing bad, not healthy, no bad words, and no, like all the time I"mtalking to her I"m like you have nine years, are a good girl and do what make you happy. Whatever you doing, you still happy. If you"renot happy, you no do it." – Cecelia*

The participants all described how necessary fun is to serve as a counterbalance to duty. They considered it so important that they made sure their children made time to have fun. One participant described fun as a basis for good memories and as a multi-generational gift.

> *"It"s kind of like a push – "You"re a kid, you go have fun." You have to have fun when you"rea kid. Also, it"s building memories because in the future, he"s going to remember all we used to do this as a kid, oh it was so fun doing this as a kid. So it"s building that memory that will last forever. How to enjoy it and how to maybe engage in their own kids lives, because they had a good experience, so you"re hoping that they will want to make that good experience for their own kids." – Rosa*

Summary

In preparing for a better life, the children were learning to provide care for their families and through working to provide financial security. However, the participants wanted their

children to remember that although their work came first, they should remember to have fun in their lives. The sense of duty and need to have fun were seen as equally important, and necessary for a life in balance.

A Life in Balance

The unifying cultural theme derived from data analysis is *"A Life in Balance."* The major goal of the two leisure time supporting themes *"Preparing for a Better Life"* and *"Balancing Duty and Fun"* was that the children would grow up to be successful, happy, well-balanced adults. Balance in life was described as a healthy state of being and equilibrium within the family that is positively projected out into the community. A life in balance is a resolution of the tension that is experienced in the quest to fit in with U.S. culture, yet maintain Hispanic identity. The participants expressed hope that their children would retain the best of their Hispanic values while fitting in with the U.S. They wanted their children to be able to live and work harmoniously within the U.S. To resolve these tensions, they realized that the children must become expert multicultural navigators. This will allow the children to live the better life that their parents emigrated in order to find. The children"s leisure time was structured to get them to this point.

> *"In our culture it"s seen that if everybody, the children, the family, they"re in balance with their good health, then they"re more involved in other activities such as being involved in their church, being involved more in the family. It just creates this equilibrium of balance within the household because like I said, family is, comes always first and so if everything"s good within the family then everything would project positively out into the community and every direction that there is." – Pilar*

This cultural theme is punctuated by the effort to resolve the tensions evident in preparing for a better life, and in the lessons to teach the children to balance their lives through work and fun. Children were learning traditional gender roles within the home while preparing for the

work world. The lessons were aimed at resolving the tension between home and work demands, which ultimately helps to create balance in both worlds. Leisure time also was used to help the children resolve the tension that occurs from working too much. The participants used leisure time to teach the children to schedule and prioritize their time, remembering that work is a priority, but should never come at the expense of finding time to enjoy life.

In all of the leisure activities described in this study, the children‟s family was the most important point of reference for learning how to balance life. Children were most frequently photographed engaged in activities with other family members and participants described interdependence between family members. It was family members who provided love, support, and identity. The strong sense of family was a fundamental value that the participants intend to maintain.

> *"I know Anglo families sometimes they are very, very involved with their kids too, I mean, just like us. Sometimes they have, you know, sports every evening. They're very, very involved with their kids and then again there's families that just don't spend a lot of time with their kids… But the difference between us, we try to be very family oriented." – Lilia*

The participants found joy in the time that they spent with their family. They believed that their children were their top priority and responsibility.

> *"I understand parents that they work and stuff like that, but if you know your kid's birthday is coming I think if you just ask for a few hours and show up there, you'll seea big difference. I see other kids with my kids and they even get excited when they see me because they know I always take them something, that I never forget them." – Andrea*

Because of this strong familial influence, the families who were photographed and discussed in this study are considered to be the fulcrum that maintained balance in the children‟s lives.

> *"I think family is one of the biggest roles that plays the most important part in every child's life because Hispanic families are usually, for the most part, very united and very*

supportive of each other. As long as you go with what the family wants you to do. But I think family always comes first. I mean I have seen it all the time." – Pilar

The participants believed it to be a parental obligation to give their children the skills they needed to get along with others and make a positive impact on their community. Spending time with family and playing with other children was viewed as a way to teach children to get along with others.

"I think that"s whatwill influence children to grow and become influential people out in the community and even in their family….So I want her to know that life can be a very good life and I want her to have that positive impact. I think if you start having a negative impact on children then she"s not going to be as productive or successful later in life." – Pilar

Another participant described the benefit that her children receive by playing together.

"It gets them learning different things and they just, I think it"s preparing like the younger ones for school. They just, they like to draw. My oldest (son) he does this stuff. (showing his pictures to me). And he teaches his brother and sister how to do things, how to draw, they keep talking me work with them, how to spell their names and address and phone numbers and stuff." – Lola

Balance within the family created positive energy that could be projected out into the community. Collectivism is a Hispanic cultural value that underscores the importance of family and group values over the individual"s interests (Zoucha & Purnell, 2003). Personalismo is a value closely tied to the sense of community and describes the importance of close interpersonal relationships within their family and with others in their communities (Zoucha & Purnell). Leisure time activities provided the children with opportunities to develop positive interpersonal relationship skills within their families and with others in their community.

"If they were not doing this, they would probably just be sitting inside home watching TV and they would be missing out on making friends, and learning to socialize and to behave with other kids and what you"redoing and what you don"t do." – Sofia

> *"That"s a good way to socialize, having the social skills, „cause they"re gonna need „em when they grown up. You know, a way to interact with people. „Cause if you"reall shy you don"t know how to talk with people and sometimes they"ll say things ordo things that you don"t like and you don"t have a way to cope with that. That"s not good." – Marisol*

Being embedded in the family also helped the children to balance the need to fit in with U.S. culture while maintaining their Hispanic identity. This occurred through the family roles of facilitation, direct participation, role modeling, encouragement and monitoring for safety. The participants facilitated their children"s participation in leisure activities that involved interaction with U.S. enculturated children. They encouraged them to engage in events at school that reflect U.S. cultural values. However, through direct participation, communication, and role modeling in the leisure time, the children maintained their Spanish-speaking and reading abilities, ate beloved foods, and were grounded in fundamental Hispanic values.

> *"Like I said, I"m a very strong person and for me maintaining identity (is more difficult), with boys especially. They are fully involved most of the time in the English courses and foods and language and maybe their expectations are a little different. So they learn all that in school along with the students you know? So this one (maintaining identity) is hard to keep, but it"s really important. Especially because my expectations are that they will be a really good one here (the Hispanic world) and they will be really good one here too (mainstream U.S. world). So for me they have to be both in one, so maybe that"s too strong of a requirement but that"s whatI expect." – Rosa*

This cultural balancing act is an attempt to resolve the tension between the two cultures. The participants used leisure time activities to help their children become expert navigators of the U.S. mainstream culture while not forgetting their own Hispanic culture. It was in learning the balance between the two cultures that sense of collectivism and personalismo were most evident.

> *"Like, how I explain to them is when you"re here you"realmost perfect. Your English expected to be perfect, your writing is perfect, you are expected to go to school, you"re expected to do all these things. And then in Mexico, you won"t have an accent speaking Spanish. You will fulfill the Mexican requirement: No accent, eating beans, tortillas, and*

hot chiles (laughs), so that would be the three main ones. (Laughs) And also being successful because we are here because we want a better life. So you"dbetter fulfill that main requirement of moving to this country, because you want a better life for yourself and your kids." – Rosa

Summary

Data analysis led to the creation of a taxonomic structure that provided a description of the children‟s leisure activities. The girls were more sedentary, engaging in intellectually stimulating and creative play activities inside, with family members or alone. The boys were more active, engaging in unstructured play activities outside with family members or friends. The children‟s parents and family members were actively involved in leisure activities through purposeful planning and participation in the activities. The participants used their children‟s leisure time to prepare them to live a better life. A better life was defined by the participants as one in which the children are healthy, happy, and successful within their home, community, and occupation. The supporting cultural themes *"Preparing for a better life"* and *"Balancing duty and fun"* represent the leisure time process of resolving cultural tensions that the families experienced by living in the U.S. By attempting to resolve the tension between work, home, and having fun the participants were attempting to teach the children to live *"a life in balance."* Ultimately, a balanced life is one in which the children are expert multicultural navigators. The participants wanted their children to be able to comfortably live within the U.S. culture, yet maintain their Hispanic identity. The children were learning this navigation through the types of leisure activities they did and roles that the family members played. The findings, the contribution to the nursing profession, study limitations, and recommendations for future research will be presented in Chapter VI.

CHAPTER VI: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

An ethnographer‟s work is to describe the cultural scene and understand another way of living from an *emic* perspective (Spradley, 1979). The purpose of this research was to investigate the leisure time activity patterns of Hispanic children who reside in northern Indiana. Ethnographic methods were used to describe the children‟s leisure time activities and to gain an understanding of how those activities are influenced by the family, culture, and community environment. A discussion of this study‟s findings, how the findings relate to the research questions, and implications for nursing knowledge will be presented in Chapter VI. In addition, the limitations of the study will be discussed, followed by suggestions for future research.

To date, there has been no published study describing leisure time activities from the *emic* viewpoint from within the children‟s family. Hispanic mothers collected the initial data and captured the *emic* view by photographing their children‟s activities. These photographs provided insight into activities that the participants believed were important in their children‟s lives. After initial analysis of the photographs, the researcher engaged in photo-elicited interviews which invited the participant to describe the photographs that she had taken. The interviews gave a voice to the stories that the participants intended to tell through the photographs, which ultimately led to understanding how the children‟s family, culture and community influence their leisure time activities.

This study addressed two research questions:

1. How do Hispanic families describe leisure time activities?
2. How do culture, family, and the community environment influence a Hispanic child‟s participation in leisure time activities?

Social ecology, which posits that the person-environment relationship has a profound influence on health promoting behaviors, served as the theoretical perspective guiding this study (Sallis & Owen, 1999). The participants‟ interaction with the community‟s mainstream culture had a profound impact on the children‟s leisure activities. Essentially, the children lived with one foot in the U.S. culture, and the other in the Hispanic culture. During the day, they were learning about the mainstream U.S. cultural behaviors, values, and beliefs through their interactions in school and with other children. This immersion in the U.S. culture created tensions, which the participants sought to resolve by carefully structuring their children‟s leisure activities. The children in this study were taught Hispanic cultural behaviors, values, and beliefs when they engaged in leisure activities.

Resolving the cultural tensions and enabling the children to comfortably reside in both cultures was seen as the way they could live a better life. The iterative analysis strategy suggested by Spradley (1979) provided the platform to discover how the participants to described and explained their children‟s leisure time activities are influenced by these concepts.

Understanding Hispanic Children's Leisure Time Activities

The photographs of the children in this study were in many ways like those that could have been taken of any child in the U.S. They were photographed inside and outside of their homes, sitting quietly reading and helping around the house. Smiles lit their faces as they ran with neighbors, danced silly dances, and flipped on trampolines. There were photographs of children held in the warm embrace of their family and as they headed into church to worship. A simple viewing of the photographs tells a story of children who act like children everywhere. Yet, photographs are polysemous (Clark-Ibáñez, 2004), and there is much more to the story that their mothers intended to tell.

Types of Activities

The results of this study confirm existing literature that indicates that Hispanic girls and women tend to be more sedentary in their leisure time and that boys and men are more active (Duong Tran & Garcia, 2009; Liao et al., 2011; Rich et al., 2005; Wood & Price, 1997). The girls in this study were photographed while engaged in more sedentary activities, while boys were depicted in more active behaviors. However, this study expands the existing knowledge by providing a description of the actual leisure time behaviors that the children engaged in, as well as the reasons that these activities were selected. While the girls were sedentary, they were engaged in activities that were considered fun, yet very important to their future. They were photographed in activities that are designed to stimulate their intellect and allow them the opportunity to express their creativity. The participants believe these activities will help the girls in the future as they enter the work world and become wives and mothers. The boys were photographed engaged in their world in more active behaviors. The boys also were gaining important life preparatory skills. They were having fun, yet learning to get along with others and gaining confidence. Similar to the girls‟ activities, the boys were learning to be responsible men who are able to provide care and security for their families.

The literature has described Hispanic children‟s leisure activity level, yet it has not revealed the complexity that surrounds decisions and choices made about those activities. Further, it has not described what benefit children get from their leisure time activities. This study contributes a beginning understanding of their leisure activities.

The Leisure Time Messages

There were four main messages that the participants expressed by sharing their photographs and stories about their children‟s leisure time activities. These messages help to summarize the leisure time model that emerged from data analysis.

1. Leisure time activities are purposefully chosen. While the children exhibited some sedentary behavior, they were engaged in activities that the participants believe are important for their future success and happiness.
2. Living in the U.S. creates cultural tension. Leisure time was used as the time for the family to provide a Hispanic counterbalance to the mainstream culture. Family served as the Hispanic cultural fulcrum that creates balance in the children‟s lives. While the participants themselves may not experience a comfortable balance between their Hispanic culture and the U.S., they certainly want their children to achieve this balance.
3. The participants moved to the U.S. in search of the American dream of a better life. Realizing that a better life requires life preparation, the participants use leisure time activities to augment their children‟s educational and social preparation for a better life. They also believe that a better life is one that is balanced. Leisure time activities were aimed at teaching the children to find balance in their lives.
4. The parents believe that they are fostering their children‟s success. Parents use leisure time to teach their children values and beliefs. They act as facilitators and role models to encourage their children to be successful. Leisure time is important for children‟s growth and development. Pressure should not be placed on families to change its

structure. Rather, more time should be created within schools for children to engage in physical activity.

The participants structured the children‟s leisure time to assure their child‟s future success. As they described these activities and their decision-making processes and rationale for their choices, the full complexity of this phenomenon is revealed.

The Complexity of Leisure Activities

From the social ecology theory perspective, a person‟s interaction with the environment in which he resides has a profound impact on health-promoting ability (Sallis & Owen, 1999). The results of this study are consistent with that proposition. The participants had emigrated from Mexico and Colombia in search of a better life for their families. Living in the U.S. exposed the families to very different cultural values. While the participants appreciated living in the U.S., the cultural differences created an underlying tension which powered many of the leisure time activity decisions and choices.

The participants viewed leisure time as extremely valuable and the optimal time to plan activities to foster their children‟s growth. The supporting cultural themes identified by this research *"Preparing for a better life"* and *"Balancing duty and fun"* describe the deliberate process set in motion by the participants to resolve the underlying cultural and social tensions that they experienced as immigrants in the U.S.

The necessity of two working parents to provide financial security created a tension-driven change in traditional gender roles. Girls were still learning traditional in-home caring activities as they were photographed cooking, doing laundry, and caring for children. However, they also were exploring potential career choices through creative play. They were preparing for life by augmenting their education through intellectually stimulating activities such as reading

and writing stories. An education was seen as necessary for jobs that would lead to a better life. Boys were still learning the traditional male role, which is providing for their families. However, the participants were also teaching the boys to help with work inside the home, because working women can no longer be expected to carry the entire in-home work load.

The expectation of two working parents also creates a tension in how leisure time is structured. The participants believed that it was important for their children to learn to prioritize, and understand that attending to duties comes first. However, the participants also wanted their children to understand the importance of having fun, and made sure to encourage the children to make time to have fun after they had completed their duties. This was a way of teaching the children to find balance in life"s demands, the message was "do your work, but always remember to have fun too."

Where the supporting themes describe the process of resolving cultural tensions, the unifying theme of *"A life in balance"* describes the ultimate goal of leisure activities and the choices that are made. The participants believed their children needed to learn to find balance in living with the mainstream U.S. culture, yet maintain their Hispanic cultural roots. Balance meant that when they are adults, the children will have jobs that pay enough that they have time to be with family. Balance in life means that while they understand the necessity of work, they also find time for joy in their lives. Ultimately, the outcome of life balance is family cohesion, happiness, success, and health.

Selective Acculturation

Acculturation is a process in which values and behaviors are transferred from one culture to another (Negy & Woods, 1992). Selective acculturation occurs when immigrants retain the customs and values that are most important to them while simultaneously adopting specific

values and behaviors of their new culture that are considered to be beneficial (Negy & Woods). The immigrant participants came to the U.S. to make a better life for their families. The findings of this study reveal deliberate leisure time activity planning by the participants to enable their children to live that better life. There were Hispanic values that the participants considered to be critical to their children‟s health and happiness. Yet, living in the U.S. posed some tensions, and caused the participants to create an opportunity for change in their children‟s lives. Clearly, the results of this study demonstrate the process of selective acculturation.

D‟Alonzo and Sharma (2010) proposed an evolving role for Hispanic women, which they called "*nuevo marianismo"* (p. 243). In this study, boys and girls were still learning to fulfill the traditional gender role expectations. Girls were still learning to care for their family; boys were still preparing to provide for their family. However both genders experienced gender-role adaptation to meet the new expectations of living in the U.S. Therefore girls were being prepared for their role in the workforce, and boys were being prepared to help their wives with work inside the home. It was in this way that the participants fostered their children‟s ability to fit in with U.S. culture.

Expansive View of Health

The mainstream U.S. tends to follow a biomedical model that sometimes narrowly views health in terms of a physical body that is prone to disease and illness. Health promotion often is aimed at efforts to maintain the body by preventing disease and illness. The participants acknowledged the importance of bodily (physical) health, but tended to view health from a more holistic perspective. Rather than solely focusing on physical health, the participants viewed leisure time activities as a way to promote their children‟s physical, emotional, spiritual, and cultural health. By living a life in balance, the participants believed that the "whole" person is

healthy. Good health of the whole person was seen as a foundation that made being a good member of the family, community, and church possible.

Fatalism is a cultural worldview that represents an external locus of control. This value has been highly associated with Hispanic people and means that the individual feels powerless to prevent a disease that may be a punishment from God for immoral behavior (Zoucha & Purnell, 2003; Austin, Ahmad, McNally & Stewart, 2002). However, the participants demonstrated a form of anti-fatalism as they described deliberate leisure time activity planning that was aimed at promoting the multiple dimensions of their children"s health. They described physical disease states such as obesity, hyperlipidemia, diabetes, and heart disease and the activities that their children engaged in to prevent them. They also discussed their children"s emotional, spiritual, and cultural health. They noted depression, lack of confidence and self-esteem, and lack of a moral compass as health risks. The participants believed that keeping their children embedded in their families and rooted in fundamental Hispanic values were critical health promoting factors for their children.

The expansive view of health described in this study may explain some of the sedentary behaviors noted in previous studies. For example Alhassan, Sirard, and Robinson (2007) found that when given extra time to play outside at recess, Latino preschoolers remained sedentary. It is possible that when they are inside, they are attending to activities that prepare them to live a better life. When they are outside and have free time, their collectivistic culture that places a high value on close, personal relationships may be influencing them to sit down and socialize with other children. The results of this study challenge the notion that sedentary behavior is unhealthy. From the cultural lens of the children, these sedentary, yet collectivistic, behaviors may be considered to be extremely healthy.

Summary

The children‟s leisure time activities were planned to teach them to resolve tensions experienced by living simultaneously within two cultures. Ultimately their activities were designed to teach them to live a balanced life. In the broad view, their home life offered a Hispanic cultural counterbalance to the mainstream U.S. culture that the children were immersed in throughout the day. The immigrant participants said they moved to the U.S. for a better life. Their leisure time was used to help the children learn to navigate in the U.S. culture, which will help them live a better life. This preparation included gender role redefinition, and learning to create balance their lives.

Health was a multi-dimensional concept that was achieved through a balance in the children‟s activities. Instead of focusing solely on their children‟s physical health, the participants described a variety of activities that promote their children‟s emotional, physical and cultural health. When all aspects of their life are in balance, the children are considered to be healthy.

Study Implications

This study contributes to nursing research, methodologies and practice and suggests possible policy recommendations. Furthermore, it serves as a starting point for future research. These implications, as well as limitations of the study will be discussed in the subsequent sections.

Methodological Implications

While photographic methods are not widely used in nursing research, it has been used in some nursing ethnographic studies. Oliffe, Bottorff, Kelly, and Halpin (2008) incorporated participant-produced photography in their ethnographic study about fatherhood and smoking

habits. Hessler (2009) conducted a micro-ethnography, using observation, photography, interviews, and focus groups to investigate rural preschoolers‟ physical activity and active play. This study was grounded in the Photovoice philosophy, which has a fundamental principle of empowering people who may be unheard to tell their story through photography (Wang & Burris, 1997). The use of Photovoice has been associated with building trust, creating a sense of ownership in the study, cultural sensitivity, and fostering trust (Castleden, Garvin, & Huu-ay-aht First Nation, 2008).

This method reduced researcher bias and was less intrusive than sitting in the participant‟s home observing activities or sitting at a playground watching children. It allowed for participant observation in a situation where it is not culturally acceptable for adults to sit and observe children, even in public venues. Important nuances of the children‟s leisure time activities may have been missed if traditional ethnographic participant observations which focused only on the children‟s physical activities were used. My observations may have addressed the research questions, but it possibly would not have been as culturally relevant as the story told by the participants. The participants provided their *emic* perspective through photography and subsequent interviews, which permitted a more balanced and rich description of the children‟s activities to emerge.

In this study, participant-produced photography permitted participant observation in a non-intrusive, culturally and ethically-sensitive and appropriate manner. The participants understood the questions posed by this research and helped to co-produce the resulting knowledge through their photographs and narrative. During interviews, viewing photographs helps to sharpen the participant‟s memory, reduce misunderstanding, and provide more in-depth

information (Harper, 2002). In this study, the use of the participant‟s photographs definitely helped to sharpen the details and description of the children‟s activities.

Finally, the method has the potential to be time efficient and was cost-effective. A majority of participants kept the cameras for much longer than one week. However, this could be contributed to using film rather than digital cameras. The cost to develop the pictures was minimal, and associated with less cost than if the researcher were to take time off of work to sit for many hours engaged in participant observation.

Theoretical Implications

Social ecology served as the theoretical underpinning for this study and underscores the influence of a person‟s interactions with the environment on health promotion. This study‟s findings confirm the profound influence of this interaction although the original proposed relationships were modified based on the results of this study (Figure 10).

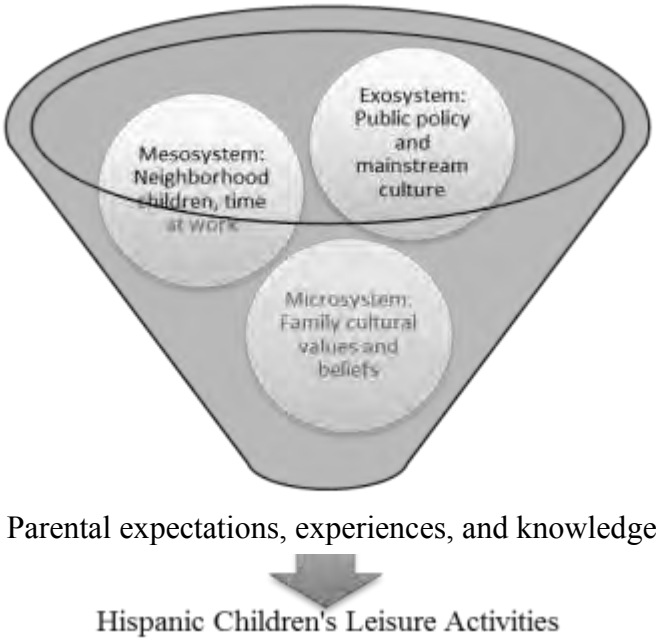


FIGURE 10: Application of social ecology model to Hispanic children‟s leisure activities.

The literature points to the influence of the family (microsystem) on Hispanic children‟s leisure activities. Parental sedentary behavior has also been associated with young children‟s sedentary activity levels (Ruiz, Gesell, Buchowski, Lambert & Barkin, 2011). This study‟s findings confirm the importance of family (microsystem) interaction. The children‟s family was the most important leisure time activity influence. When photographed with other children, the children most often were interacting with family members. This family interaction was unanimously cited as highly desirable and an important piece of the children‟s development. Participants described family interaction as a very important Hispanic value that they wanted their children to maintain.

The mesosystem, or neighborhood interactions which includes school and work, was described in the literature as an influential factor in Hispanic children‟s leisure activities. Cold weather and low socioeconomic class neighborhood characteristics have been found to have a negative influence on children‟s activities (Ariza, Chen, Binns and Christoffel, 2004; Lindsay, Sussner, Greaney, & Peterson, 2009; Lutfiyya, Garcia, Dankwa, Young & Lipsky, 2008; Zhu & Lee, 2008). The participants in this study did not describe the neighborhood characteristics and weather as negatively influencing their children‟s leisure activities. While some participants said they routinely monitored their children‟s outside play for safety reasons, all said their children engaged in outside activities regardless of the weather. However, play with other children in the neighborhood had an important influence on the participant‟s children. The participants cited this type of play as an important way for the children to socialize, which helped them learn how to get along with others and learn the rules of life. Additionally, the amount of time the participants spent at work exerted a strong influence in the children‟s leisure activities. The participants

wanted their children to have more balance between work and fun, family time in their adult lives.

The exosystem has been noted to influence children‟s leisure activities through public policies. Indeed, the “No Child Left Behind” policy has impacted the amount of time that children engage in physical activity. Indiana school children in first through sixth grade engage in 75 to 105 minutes of health education and motor development activities (School Accreditation, 2008). The major exosystem influence that became apparent in this study was the family‟s interaction with the mainstream culture. This interaction created tensions which had a profound influence on the participants‟ leisure time planning and decision making. The participants scheduled their children‟s leisure time in an attempt to help them resolve the tensions. Ultimately, resolving the tensions was seen as a way for the children to become multicultural experts who will be able to navigate the Hispanic and mainstream U.S. cultures with ease.

Interactions with the microsystem, mesosystem, and exosystem all had an influence on the children‟s activities. However, an unanticipated finding of this study was found in the power of the participants‟ expectations for their children, their life experiences, and interaction with the mainstream culture. The participants‟ hopes and dreams for their children were tempered by their experiences of living in the U.S. They had immigrated to find a better life and were fiercely determined to see their children achieve this dream. The intersection of their hopes for their children‟s future and their life experiences acted as a powerful and final filter for what activities the children did in their leisure time.

Implications for Nursing Practice

The description and cultural themes that emerged from this study provides insight into the leisure time activities of Hispanic children. Not only does this study describe what activities the children were doing, it also explains parental roles, perceived benefits of the activities, and the parents‟ views of leisure activity as a health-promoting strategy.

While this study provides a beginning explanation for the sedentary nature of Hispanic children‟s leisure time behaviors, it is necessary to revisit the health risk that spurred this project. Childhood obesity is on the rise, and is a major contributor to many comorbid disease states (CDC, 2011b; Dietz, 2004). Obese children tend to become obese adults (Guo, Wu, Chumlea & Roche, 2002; Stovitz et al., 2010). Therefore, obesity prevention is a much better option than intervention. Health care providers are obligated to provide health promotion education that focuses on obesity prevention, which includes diet and exercise.

The medical model focuses on the health problems associated with obesity and sedentary lifestyle (Ariza, Chen, Binns & Christoffel, 2004 Caballero, 2005; Ruiz, Gesell, Buchowski, Lambert, & Barkin, 2011; Singh, Stella, Siahpush, & Kogan, 2008; Springer et al., 2010; Stovitz, Steffen & Boostrom, 2008; Taverno, Rollins, and Francis, 2010). This type of research is critical, because it identifies potential health risks in this population. However, it also serves to focus the attention of health care providers on the active and sedentary characteristics of the behavior, without considering why people are sedentary and how they define health. Without this cultural understanding of behavior, a health care provider‟s anticipatory guidance and health promotion education may completely miss the mark.

This study informs health care providers about the role that Hispanic culture and families play in their children‟s leisure time activities, specific activities that Hispanic children do in their

leisure time, and the perceived benefits of these activities. Rather than approaching it from a problem focus (e.g., obesity), the findings indicate that family strengths can be used as building blocks for health promotion. For example, the findings of this study provide further evidence of the importance of cultural values and family interaction. The participants enjoyed directly participating in activities with their children and preferred to engage in activities they were familiar with. They described the importance of fun and socialization. This knowledge can be used to help health care providers shape their health promotion advice and development prevention programs that are culturally acceptable.

The results of this study indicate that there may be disparate definitions of health between health care providers and the Hispanic family. The existing literature of leisure time activities has a physical activity and physiological focus (Blair & Brodney, 1999; CDC, 2009; Kravitz, 2007; Liao et al., 2011; Okay, Jackson, Marcinkiewicz & Papino, 2009; Pender, Murdaugh & Parsons, 2006; USDHHS, 2010). Contrastingly, participants in this study considered the whole health of their children when selecting leisure time activities, and seemed to place higher priority on their emotional and cultural health as a means to wellbeing and success.

Primary care providers must understand these differences and acknowledge the importance that families place on their children‟s leisure time activities and how these decisions are made. This study challenges how sedentary activity is currently viewed by health care professionals. Sedentary activities are associated with an increase in the use of electronic media such as video and computer games, television, and the internet (Ebbling, Pawlak, & Ludwig, 2002). This belief may have an influence on how health care providers offer leisure time activity health promotion guidance. However, there were few photos of children engaging in electronic media types of activity. The knowledge generated offers new insight into the types of activities

that the children engaged in, why they were doing them, and how the family influences their behaviors.

Therefore, the specific recommendations for health providers are:

1. Ask Hispanic patients and their family what leisure activities mean and what behaviors they engage in. This basic understanding of leisure time is critical for appropriate health promotion advice.
2. Ask the patient and family if life balance is important, and have them describe what it means. Discuss health within the context of life balance, and use this as a means to discuss physical fitness as a way to improve physical health and avoid chronic illness.
3. Recognize that simply telling patients to increase physical activity in leisure time may not be effective. Instead, include the patient"s entire family and ask them to think about how the entire family can modify leisure activities to be more physically active. This is of particular importance to Hispanic girls, who were the most sedentary in this study.
4. Include head injury prevention in anticipatory guidance. The participants expressed a genuine concern for their children"s safety and undertook many efforts to maintain their safety. However, none of the children was photographed wearing a helmet while engaged in high-risk for head injury activities. Ask whether the family has properly-fitting helmets for their children and provide education about the risk for head injuries.
5. It is imperative for school nurses to talk to families and work with principals and teachers to make physical education classes and recess time more relevant. School

nurses must act as multicultural advocates who advocate for a culturally relevant physical education and recess structure.

Public Policy Implications

This study‟s findings demonstrate a clear call to action for policy change. The cause of obesity is multi-faceted, and the price is high in terms of individual poor health and health care dollars. A review of the literature quite clearly indicated that obesity prevention is much better than obesity intervention. Prevention must begin with public policy.

The families in this study acted as the Hispanic counterbalance to the mainstream culture. It is evident that the mainstream culture also bears a responsibility to act as a physical activity counterbalance for the children. In response to "No Child Left Behind" and budget cuts, schools have cut recess and physical education time in favor of academic programming. Sallis and Owen (1999) note that people find it difficult participate in physical activity programs outside the home, saying it is inconvenient and expensive.

The participants in this study did facilitate certain leisure time activities outside of their homes, placing a priority on those that they believed to be important for their children. However, the children in this study were engaged in sedentary activities in their homes that were very important for their future. It is not likely that their activity levels at home will increase given their parents‟ motivation for their leisure time activities. However, the children spend a great amount of time at school. This study points to the need for cultural relevance in physical education. I suggest that nurses advocate for policy change that provides more time in culturally relevant physical education classes, and more recess time with structured and fun moderate to vigorous physical activities.

Study Limitations

There are several limitations that impact this study‟s findings. I am a novice new to conducting research with immigrants. Nine out of 10 participants were immigrants; nine self-identified as Mexican, one had emigrated from Colombia. My life experiences have been very different from the women who participated in this study. I have never had to make the decision to move from my home country, faced the immigration process, nor lived for an extended period in a country with a national language other than English.

I also am a white, English-speaking U.S. born Family Nurse Practitioner. I have been trained to assess situations and make diagnoses based on my assessment. It was sometimes difficult for me to suspend my nursing and medical training while presenting the participants‟ stories. It was through frequent conversations with my dissertation chair that I tried to remove myself in order to let the participants tell their stories. Although I tried very hard to present the participants‟ story as they told it, it is possible that my medical and nursing influence may be reflected in it.

This difference in life experiences and primary language could potentially lead to misinterpretations and misunderstandings. Differences in culture and primary language create the potential for a power imbalance that creates ethical and methodological issues (Karnieli-Miller, Strier & Passach, 2009). I was acutely aware of the potential cultural and language differences, and while I tried to minimize these through clarification and member-checking questions, I may not have accurately interpreted or fully understood the meanings the participants tried to convey.

Karnieli-Miller, Strier and Passach (2009) recommend getting to know more about a culture before engaging in the research. Because my prior contact with the local Hispanic community had been through my role as a nurse practitioner, I believed I needed to familiarize

myself with the local Hispanic community. I volunteered with area Hispanic outreach organizations, providing free health screenings, explaining screening results, providing health education, and making referrals to area health care providers. Through this volunteer work, I was able to get to know members of the local Hispanic community. However, I do not consider myself a Hispanic cultural expert and the cultural bias may remain.

Another potential limitation of this study is the cultural and language difference between the researcher and participants. Although the participants were English-speaking, 9 of 10 participants were immigrants, and eight indicated that they speak Spanish most of the time. Latina woman have been described as being at risk for double, triple, or quadruple marginality by being women of color, immigrants, and possibly undocumented (Madriz, 1998). This places the women at risk of being "otherized" which occurs when researchers do not allow their authentic voice to emerge in the process (Madriz). Participant-produced photography was selected as a way to encourage the participants‟ voices to be heard, as they chose the important activities to photograph, and then told the story of each picture. In order to be certain that I understood the story, I often paraphrased what the participant said to ensure that I understood her meaning. As the cultural themes emerged from the data, I asked the participants if my understanding was correct. Even though I made these attempts, language and cultural misunderstandings may have remained.

Another possible limitation of the study may be characteristics of the sample. Mexican ancestry was represented in 90% of the participants. The participants all had very similar scores on the Acculturation Rating Scale of Mexican Americans-II; therefore differences in acculturation could not be examined as an intervening variable. Previous research indicates that the level of acculturation has an impact on how a person behaves, thinks, and feels (Cuéllar,

Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995). It is possible that the types of activities, family roles, and reasons for participating in activities would be different if photographed and described by immigrant women from different Latin American countries, and who are at different levels of acculturation.

Half of the participants were married, had either attended or graduated from college, and were employed full-time. Thus, women with a different level of education and employment may have told very different stories about their children‟s leisure time activities than the study participants. Finally, only the mothers were asked to photograph their children‟s leisure time activities. Lack of photographs and interviews with the fathers and children greatly limits my confidence that this study completely and accurately describes leisure activities.

Future Research

This research provided a description of Hispanic children‟s leisure time activities that was not previously available in the literature. It also led to an expanded understanding about the influences of culture, family, and environment on the types of leisure activities that Hispanic families engage in. However, this research also led to additional questions about Hispanic children‟s leisure time activities.

This was a very small study that I consider to be a starting point for my program of research. In the future, I would like to replicate this research with a larger sample size that includes non-English speaking participants from a wider representation of Hispanic countries. Future community based participatory action research that engages the entire family is warranted. The children who were photographed engaging in leisure time activities did not contribute their perspective to the study. In addition, the participants in this study pointed to the importance of the children‟s fathers in their leisure time activities. Future study should include the data collection efforts of the children and fathers, which may provide a more broad

perspective of Hispanic children‟s leisure time activities. Additional study with a more demographically varied sample may help to provide a better description of the children‟s activities and greater understanding of why they engage in those activities.

Spradley (1979) notes that a person‟s culture is not static and is subject to change. A finding of this study that was not anticipated was the selective acculturation process that was occurring through the participant‟s fine-tuning of the children‟s gender roles. In describing the selective acculturation process, it was evident that the participants were attempting to help their children live a more balanced life because it was something they were struggling with themselves. This research should be expanded to Hispanic immigrant adults to learn how their health is affected through the struggle to live a balanced life. Finally, as a Family Nurse Practitioner, the researcher is concerned about the whole family. Research investigating what other health challenges are faced by immigrant families due to acculturative stress is warranted.

Conclusion

In summary, the existing literature points to the sedentary nature of Hispanic children. There were no studies that provided a description of the behaviors Hispanic children do in their leisure time, nor have any explained how the children are influenced by their family, culture, and environment. Through their mother‟s eyes, this ethnographic study provided this description and understanding of the children‟s leisure time activities. The activities that were photographed by the participants in this study were deliberately chosen to foster their children‟s growth and development and enable them to be successful and happy adults. Ultimately, the participants were working to resolve the tensions they experienced by living in the U.S. so that their children could live a balanced life.

APPENDIX A:

HUMAN SUBJECTS PROTECTION PROGRAM APPROVAL

07-30-2010

06-30-2011

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

Human Subjects Protection Program

1618 E. Helen St.
P.O. Box 245137
Tucson, AZ 85724-5137
Tel: (520) 626-6721
http://orcr.vpr.arizona.edu/irb

HSPP Correspondence Form

Date: 07/30/10
Investigator: Sue Anderson, Doctoral Candidate **Department:** Nurse
Advisor: Mary Koithan, Ph.D.
Project No./Title: 10-0290-02 Through a Mother's Eyes" Hispanic Children's Leisure Time Physical Activity
Current Period of Approval: 07/30/10 – 07/29/11

IRB Committee Information

IRB2 – IRB00001751 **Expedited Review – New Project**
FWA Number: FWA00004218

Documents Reviewed Concurrently	Status
Project Approval Form – Social/Behavioral (received 07/27/10)	Approved
Consenting Instruments: Informed Consent Form (version 07/22/10)	Approved
VOTF (version 07/27/10)	Approved
Site Authorizations: Hispanic Latino Health Coalition of Elkhart	Approved
Recruitment Materials: Flyer, Minors Assent Script	Approved
Data Collection Instruments: Pre-Screening Questionnaire, Demographic Data Questionnaire, Acculturation Scale, Open Ended Interview Questions	Approved

Determination

Approved as submitted effective 07/30/10

Regulatory Determination(s)

Criteria for Approval has been met (45 CFR 46.111)
Expedite Approval (45 CFR 46.110 Category 6)
Expedite Approval (45 CFR 46.110 Category 7)

Thomas K Park

07/30/10

Thomas K. Park, PhD
Co-Chair, IRB 2 Committee
UA Institutional Review Board

Date

TKP:dg
cc: Departmental/College Review Committee

Reminders: Continuing Review materials should be submitted 30–45 days prior to the expiration date to obtain project re-approval
- Projects may be concluded or withdrawn at any time using the forms available at http://orcr.vpr.arizona.edu/irb.
- No changes to a project may be made prior to IRB approval except to eliminate apparent immediate hazard to subjects.
- Original signed consent forms must be stored in the designated departmental location determined by the Department Head.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA.

Human Subjects Protection Program

1618 E. Helen St.
P.O. Box 245137
Tucson, AZ 85724-5137
Tel: (520) 626-6721
http://orcr.vpr.arizona.edu/irb

HSPP Correspondence Form

Date: 06/30/11
Investigator: Sue Anderson, MS, FNP-BC, Doctoral Student **Department:** Nursing
Advisor: Mary Koithan, PhD
Project No./Title: 10-0290-02 Through a Mother's Eyes: Hispanic Children's Leisure Time Physical Activity
Current Period of Approval: 07/30/11-07/29/12
Submit the "FORM: Continuing Review Progress Report" no later than 45 days prior to the end of the approval period listed above.

IRB Committee Information

IRB2 – IRB00001751 **Expedited Review – Continuing Review**
FWA Number: FWA00004218

Documents Reviewed Concurrently	Status
F212: Continuing Review Progress Report (signed 05/12/11)	Appr

Determination

Approved as submitted effective 06/30/11

Comments

- **Continuing Review Category Status – Data Analysis Only**

Regulatory Determination(s)

- **Criteria for Approval has been met (45 CFR 46.111):** The criteria for approval listed in 45 CFR 46.111 have been met (or if previously met, have not changed).
- **Expedite Approval (45 CFR 46.110 Category 6):** Collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes.
- **Expedite Approval (45 CFR 46.110 Category 7):** Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

Thomas K Park

06/30/11

Thomas K. Park, PhD
Co-Chair, IRB2 Committee
UA Institutional Review Board (IRB)

Date

TKP:ae

APPENDIX B:

SITE AUTHORIZATION LETTERS

Hispanic/Latino Health Coalition of Elkhart Co • Coalición Hispano/Latina de Salud

Mission Statement
"Provide preventive health care programs to the community through education, advocacy, physician referrals, research, and the building of leadership among Hispanics, so that they may lead healthier lifestyles."

June 21, 2010

Sue Anderson MS, FNP-BC
52130 S. Lakeshore Dr.
Granger, IN 46530

Dear Sue:

I have reviewed your request regarding your study and am pleased to support your research project entitled, **"Through a Mother's Eyes: Hispanic Children's Leisure Time Physical Activity."** Your request to use the Hispanic/Latino Health Coalition of Elkhart County as a recruitment site is granted. The research will include having English-speaking Hispanic mothers take pictures of their children engaged in leisure time activities, and then talking to you about the pictures that they have taken. The women who participate in your research will not be identified in any research publication or presentation. The faces of children who are visible in pictures will be blurred so that they are not visible in any research publication or presentation.

This authorization covers the time period of July 2010 to May 2011.

We look forward to working with you.

Sincerely,

Liliana Quintero
Executive Director
HLHCEC

329 Stocker Ct., Elkhart, IN 46516 | Phone: 574-522-0966 | Fax: 574-522-0354 | Email: info@hlhcec.com | www.hlhcec.com

SOUTH BEND COMMUNITY SCHOOL CORPORATION

HARRISON PRIMARY CENTER
3302 W. WESTERN AVENUE SOUTH BEND, IN 46619
TELEPHONE (574) 283-7300 • FAX (574) 283-7303

Sue Anderson MS,FNP-BC
52130 S. Lakeshore Dr.
Granger, IN 46530

Dear Sue,

I have reviewed your request regarding your study and am pleased to support your research project entitled, **"Through a Mother's Eyes: Hispanic Children's Leisure Time Physical Activity."** Your request to use Harrison Primary Center as a recruitment site is granted. The research will include having English-speaking Hispanic mothers take pictures of their children engaged in leisure time activities, and then talking to you about the pictures that they have taken. The women who participate in your research will not be identified in any research publication or presentation. The faces of children who are visible in pictures will be blurred so that they are not visible in any research publication or presentation.

This authorization covers the time period of November 2010 to May 2011.

We look forward to working with you.

Sincerely,

Delba Smith

Delba Smith
Harrison Primary Center Principal

APPENDIX C:

RECRUITMENT FLYER

Are you a Hispanic/Latina Mother?

Would you be willing to discuss your child‟s after-school physical activities? If so, consider enrolling in this research study. Participation in this study will involve you taking pictures of your child‟s after-school activities for one week, and meeting with the researcher three times. For your time and effort, you will receive a set of your pictures as compensation.

You may be eligible for this study if:

- ❖ You are a Hispanic/Latina Mother
- ❖ Have at least one child who is in elementary school.

Call Sue Anderson, Doctoral Candidate in Nursing,
at 574-XXX-XXX for more information and to enroll in the study.

APPENDIX D:

RECRUITMENT SCRIPT

"My name is Sue Anderson. I am a doctoral nursing student at the University of Arizona. I am conducting research in order to learn more about leisure time physical activity in Hispanic families. My research will involve English-speaking Hispanic mothers with a child who is between 6 and 10 years old. I am interested in learning more about what activities the children do after school, where they participate in the activities, what helps motivate their participation, and what barriers the children experience. You can expect to meet with me three times. The first meeting will be brief. After you have agreed to participate and signed an informed consent form, I will ask you to complete a questionnaire that describes you, and another questionnaire that describes how closely you align with the U.S. and Hispanic cultures. At that first brief meeting you will receive a disposable camera. For the study, I will ask you to take pictures the leisure time physical activities that your child does for fun and fitness for one week. After the pictures are taken, I will interview you two times. The first interview will last approximately one to two hours and we will talk about the pictures. At the second interview, which will last one to two hours, I will make sure that the information I have is correct and clarify any questions that I have. Both interviews will be audio-recorded. Are you willing to participate in my study?"

Pre-screening questions will be: Are you a Hispanic woman who has a child between the ages of 6 and 10? Do you speak and read well in English? Are you willing to take pictures of your child when he or she is engaged in activities for fun and physical fitness for one week? Are you willing to fill out two questionnaires: one that describes basic information about you, and another that provides information about your cultural identity? If you take a picture of a child who isn"t your own, are you willing to obtain written permission from the child"s parent or legal guardian? Are you willing to meet with the researcher three times for a total of five to six hours? Is it OK with you if I audio-tape our conversation?

APPENDIX E:

INFORMED CONSENT

For IRB Office Use Only

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA HUMAN SUBJECTS PROTECTION PROGRAM

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

APPROVED BY UNIVERSITY OF AZ IRB
THIS STAMP MUST APPEAR ON ALL DOCUMENTS USED TO CONSENT SUBJECTS.
DATE: 07/30/10 EXPIRATION: 07/29/11

Project Title: Through a Mother's Eyes: Hispanic Children's Leisure Time Activity

You are being invited to take part in a research study being conducted by The University of Arizona. You are being asked to read this form so that you know about this research study. The information in this form is provided to help you decide whether or not to take part. If you decide to take part in the study, you will be asked to sign this consent form. If you decide you do not want to participate, that is okay. There will be no penalty to you and you will not lose any benefit which you would normally have.

WHY IS THIS STUDY BEING DONE?
The purpose of this study is to learn more about Hispanic children's leisure time activities and how the child's participation is influenced by family, culture, and the environment.

WHY AM I BEING ASKED TO BE IN THIS STUDY?
You are being asked to be in this study because you can provide insight into what leisure time activities your child routinely participates in.

HOW MANY PEOPLE WILL BE ASKED TO BE IN THIS STUDY?
25 participants will be enrolled in this study locally. In addition, 75 children will participate through photography.

WHAT ARE THE ALTERNATIVES TO BEING IN THIS STUDY?
This is not a treatment study. The alternative is not to participate.

WHAT WILL YOU BE ASKED TO DO IN THIS STUDY?
Your participation in this study will last up to four months and includes three visits. The procedures you will be asked to perform are described below.

Visit 1 (Week 1)
This visit will last about one hour. During this visit after you have agreed to participate in this study and have signed this consent form, you will be asked to complete two questionnaires. One will provide basic information about you, the other will provide information about how closely you are aligned with the Hispanic culture. You will given a disposable camera and receive instructions on how to use it. You will be asked to take pictures of your child as he/she engages in normal leisure time activities for fun for one week. Please focus your picture on your child's activity. You also will obtain verbal permission from the child to take his or her picture.

Visit 2 (About 1½ weeks after taking the pictures)
After you have taken the pictures, the researcher will have the pictures developed. After the pictures are developed, the researcher will meet with you for about two hours to discuss the pictures.

Visit 3 (Within one to two months after second visit)

This visit will be used to verify the information, clarify any unclear information, or to gather more information. This visit may last for up to two hours.

WILL VIDEO OR AUDIO RECORDINGS BE MADE OF ME DURING THE STUDY?

The researcher will ask you to take pictures of your child engaged in leisure time activities done for fun for one week. In addition, the researcher will make an audio recording of the interviews during the study to ensure that the researcher accurately recalls what you said. If you do not want to take the pictures or give permission for the audio recording to be obtained, you cannot participate in this study.

ARE THERE ANY RISKS TO ME?

The things that you will be doing have no more risk than you would come across in everyday life. The main risk is loss of confidentiality if someone recognizes your child in a picture. The researcher will not disclose your name or the location of the picture in any research publication and presentation. You have the right to permit, or decline, to allow the researcher to use your pictures in publications and presentations. If you decide to permit the researcher to use the pictures in publications and presentations, the researcher will blur all children's faces and identifying characteristics so that they will not be recognizable.
As a Registered Nurse, the researcher is legally obligated to report to the proper authorities any instance of child abuse

Although the researcher has tried to avoid risks, you may feel that some questions that are asked are stressful or upsetting. You do not have to answer anything you do not want to

ARE THERE ANY BENEFITS TO ME?

There may be no direct benefit to you by being in this study. What the researcher finds out from this study may provide more information about what leisure time physical activities are important to Hispanic children.

WILL THERE BE ANY COSTS TO ME?

Aside from your time, there are no costs for taking part in the study.

WILL I BE PAID TO BE IN THIS STUDY?

You will receive a $10 Wal-Mart gift card after each study interview visit, up to a maximum of $20. You also will receive a set of the pictures after the first interview.

WILL INFORMATION FROM THIS STUDY BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL?

Information about you will be stored in locked file cabinet; computer files will be protected with a password. This consent form will be filed in an official area. Your name and the location of where the picture was taken will not be revealed during the research process or in any presentation or publication. All pictures stored on the researcher's computer will have your children's faces and other identifying characteristics blurred. In addition, pictures that include children other than your own will only be kept for the duration of the study and will be destroyed

following the research process. The pictures may be kept for 20 years by the researcher.

Information about you will be kept confidential to the extent permitted or required by law. People who have access to your information include the Principal Investigator and research study personnel. Representatives of regulatory agencies such as the Office of Human Research Protections (OHRP) and entities such as the University of Arizona Human Subjects Protection Program may access your records to make sure the study is being run correctly and that information is collected properly. If there are any reports about this study, your name will not be in them.

WHOM CAN I CONTACT FOR MORE INFORMATION?

You can call the Principal Investigator to tell her about a concern or complaint about this research study. The Principal Investigator Sue Anderson, MS, FNP-BC, Doctoral Candidate can be called at (574) 276-1989. You may also contact the Principal Investigator's advisor, Mary Koithan, PhD, RN-C, CNS-BC at (520) 626-2036.

For questions about your rights as a research subject; or if you have questions, complaints, or concerns about the research and cannot reach the Principal Investigator or want to talk to someone other than the Investigator, you may call the University of Arizona Human Subjects Protection Program office.

- Local phone number: (520) 626-6721
- Website (this can be anonymous: http://orcr.vpr.arizona.edu/irb/contact)

MAY I CHANGE MY MIND ABOUT PARTICIPATING?

You have the choice whether or not to be in this research study. You may decide to not begin or to stop the study at any time. If you choose not to be in this study, there will be no effect on you. You can stop being in this study at any time with no effect on you.

CONSENT TO USE PHOTOGRAPHS

☐ I grant permission to Sue Anderson, MS, FNP-BC, PhD Candidate, from the University of Arizona's College of Nursing, to use photographs or images taken of me and/or my minor child. These pictures will be used for research purposes, including data analysis by Ms. Anderson and **MAY BE** used in professional presentations or publications to illustrate findings and/or research methods without notifying me. My name, my child's name, and the specific location of the photo **WILL NOT BE** divulged either during the research or in the publication/presentation of findings where the photo may be used. All children's faces and identifying characteristics in photographs will be blurred prior to being used in publications or presentations.

☐ I grant permission to Sue Anderson, MS, FNP-BC, PhD Candidate, from the University of Arizona's College of Nursing, to use photographs or images taken of me and/or my minor child. These photos can be used for research purposes, including data analysis, by Ms. Anderson but **MAY NOT BE** used in professional presentations or publications to illustrate findings and/or research methods. My name, my child's name, and the specific location of the photo **WILL NOT BE** divulged during the research.

STATEMENT OF CONSENT

The procedures, risks, and benefits of this study have been told to me and I agree to be in this study and sign this form. My questions have been answered. I may ask more questions whenever I want. I do not give up any legal rights by signing this form. A copy of this signed consent form will be given to me.

_____ _____

Subject's Signature Date

APPENDIX F:

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA QUESTIONNAIRE

Demographic Questionnaire

How old are you? _____

Are you (check one): Single _____

Married _____

Separated _____

Divorced _____

Widowed _____

Living with someone _____

How many children do you have and how old are they?

_____

_____

Are you (check all that apply): Working full-time _____

Working Part-time _____

Unemployed _____

Disabled _____

Full-time Student _____

Part-time Student _____

What kind of job are you employed in? _____

What is your highest education level (check one)?

Elementary School (grades K-6) ____

Junior High School (grades 7-8) ____

High School (grades 9-12) ____

Associates Degree ____

Bachelors Degree ____

Masters Degree ____

Doctorate ____

APPENDIX G:

ACCULTURATION RATING SCALE OF MEXICAN AMERICANS - II (ARSMA-II)

Through a Mother's Eyes: Hispanic Children's Leisure Time Activity

Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans (ARSMA-II)

English Version

What is your religious preference?

_____

(a) Last grade you completed in school:
(Circle your choice)

1. Elementary 0-6
2. 7-8
3. 9-12
4. 1-2 years of college
5. 2 years of college or more
6. College graduate and higher

(b) In what country? _____

(Circle the generation that best applies to you. Circle only one.)

1. 1st generation = You were born in Mexico or other country.
2. 2nd generation = You were born in USA; either parent born in Mexico or other country
3. 3rd generation = You were born in USA, both parents born in USA and all grandparents born in Mexico or other country.
4. 4th generation = You and your parents born in USA and at least one grandparent born in Mexico or other country with remainder born in the USA.
5. 5th generation = You and your parents born in the USA and all grandparents born in the USA.

Versión en Español

¿Cual es su religión predilecta? _____

(a) ¿Hasta que grado fué a la escuela?
(Indique con un círculo la repuesta)

1. Primaria-6
2. Secundaria 7-8
3. Preparatoria 9-12
4. Universidad o Colegio 1-2 años
5. Universidad o Colegio 3-4 años
6. Graduado, o grado mas alto de Colegio o Universidad.

(b) ¿En que país?

(Indique con un círculo el número de la generación que considere adecuada para usted. Dè solamente una repueta.)

1. 1a. generación = Usted nació en México o otro país (no en los Estados Unidos (USA).
2. 2a. generación = Usted nació en los Estados Unidos Americanos (USA), sus padres nacieron en México o en otro país.
3. 3a. generación = Usted nació en los Estados Unidos Americanos (USA), sus padres tambien nacieron en los Estados Unidos (USA) y sus abuelos nacieron en México o en otro país.
4. 4a. generación = Usted nació en los Estados Unidos Americanos (USA), sus padres nacieron en los Estados Unidos Americanos (USA) y por lo menos uno de sus abuelos nació en México o algún otro país.
5. 5a. generación = Usted y sus padres y todos sus abuelos nacieron en los Estados Unidos (USA).

ARMSA-II: SCALE 1 (p. 2 of 3)

(Circle a number between 1-5 next to each item that best applies)

(Marque con un círculo el numero entre 1 y 5 a la respuesta que sea más adecuada para usted.)

	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
	Not at All	Very little or not very often	Moderately	Much or very often	Extremely often or almost always		Nada	Un poquito o A veces	Moderado	Mucho o muy frecuente	Muchísimo o casi todo el tiempo
1. I speak Spanish	1	2	3	4	5	1. Yo hablo Español	1	2	3	4	5
2. I speak English	1	2	3	4	5	2. Yo hablo Inglés	1	2	3	4	5
3. I enjoy speaking Spanish	1	2	3	4	5	3. Me gusta hablar en Español	1	2	3	4	5
4. I associate with Anglos	1	2	3	4	5	4. Me asocio con Anglos	1	2	3	4	5
5. I associate with Mexicans and/or Mexican Americans		2	3	4	5	5. Yo me asocio con Mexicanos y/o mexico-americanos	1	2	3	4	5
6. I enjoy listening to Spanish language music	1	2	3	4	5	6. Me gusta la música Mexicana (música en idioma Español)	1	2	3	4	5
7. I enjoy listening to English language music	1	2	3	4	5	7. Me gusta la musica de idioma Inglés	1	2	3	4	5
8. I enjoy Spanish language TV	1	2	3	4	5	8. Me gusta ver programas en la televisión que sean en Español	1	2	3	4	5
9. I enjoy English language TV	1	2	3	4	5	9. Me gusta ver programas en la televisión que sean en Inglés	1	2	3	4	5
10. I enjoy English language movies	1	2	3	4	5	10. Me gusta ver películas en Inglés	1	2	3	4	5
11. I enjoy Spanish language movies	1	2	3	4	5	11. Me gusta ver películas en Español	1	2	3	4	5
12. I enjoy reading (e.g. books in Spanish)	1	2	3	4	5	12. Me gusta leer (eg. libros en Español)	1	2	3	4	5
13. I enjoy reading (e.g. books in English)	1	2	3	4	5	13. Me gusta leer (eg. libros en Inglés)	1	2	3	4	5
14. I write (e.g. letters in Spanish)	1	2	3	4	5	14. Escribo (eg. cartas en Español)	1	2	3	4	5
15. I write (e.g. letters in English)	1	2	3	4	5	15. Escribo (eg. cartas en Inglés)	1	2	3	4	5

	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
	Not at All	Very little or not very often	Moderately	Much or very often	Extremely often or almost always		Nada	Un poquito o Aveces	Moderado	Mucho o muy fiecuente	Muchisimo o casi todo el tiempo
16. My thinking is done in the English Language	1	2	3	4	5	16. Mis pensamientos ocurren en el idioma Inglés	1	2	3	4	5
17. My thinking is done in the Spanish language	1	2	3	4	5	17. Mis pensamientos ocurren en el idioma Español	1	2	3	4	5
18. My contact with Mexico has been	1	2	3	4	5	18. Mi contacto con México ha sido	1	2	3	4	5
19. My contact with the USA has been	1	2	3	4	5	19. Mi contacto con los Estados Unidos Americanos ha sido	1	2	3	4	5
20. My father identifies or identified himself as "Mexicano"	1	2	3	4	5	20. Mi padre se identifica (o se identificaba como Mexicano)	1	2	3	4	5
21. My mother identifies or identified herself as "Mexicana".	1	2	3	4	5	21. Mi madre se identifica (o se identificaba como Mexicana)	1	2	3	4	5
22. My friends, while I was growing up, were of Mexican origin	1	2	3	4	5	22. Mis amigos(as) de mi niñez eran de origen Mexicano	1	2	3	4	5
23. My friends, while I was growing up, were of Anglo origin	1	2	3	4	5	23. Mis amigos(as) de mi niñez eran de origen Anglo Americano	1	2	3	4	5
24. My family cooks Mexican foods	1	2	3	4	5	24. Mi familia cocina comidas mexicanas	1	2	3	4	5
25. My friends now are of Anglo origin	1	2	3	4	5	25. Mis amigos recientes son Anglo Americanos	1	2	3	4	5
26. My friends now are of Mexican origin	1	2	3	4	5	26. Mis amigos recientes son Mexicanos	1	2	3	4	5
27. I like to identify myself as an Anglo American	1	2	3	4	5	27. Me gusta identificarme como Anglo Americano	1	2	3	4	5
28. I like to identify myself as a Mexican American	1	2	3	4	5	28. Me gusta identificarme como México-Americano	1	2	3	4	5
29. I like to identify myself as a Mexican	1	2	3	4	5	29. Me gusta identificarme como Mexicano	1	2	3	4	5
30. I like to identify myself as an American	1	2	3	4	5	30. Me gusta identificarme como un(a) Americano(a)	1	2	3	4	5

ARSMA-II authored by Cuéllar et al., 1995

APPENDIX H:

MINOR‟S VERBAL ASSENT SCRIPT

For IRB Office Use Only:

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA HUMAN SUBJECTS PROTECTION PROGRAM

MINOR'S ASSENT SCRIPT

Project Title: Through a Mother‟s Eyes: Hispanic Children‟s Leisure Time Activity

I am helping a nurse with a research study. A research study is a science project that is trying to answer a question. The question that the nurse is asking is: What do children like you do for fun when they are not in school. To help her, I need to take pictures of you doing these activities. Once I take the pictures, the nurse and I will then talk about what you were doing. Do you have any questions?

If you don‟t want your picture taken, you don‟t have to. Just tell me no.

Is it OK if I take your picture?

APPENDIX I:

CAMERA INSTRUCTIONS SCRIPT

1. Before you take pictures of your child, please make sure that he is willing to be photographed. Please read the script that I have provided to you to be sure that your child understands why you are taking the pictures, and that it‟s OK if he doesn‟t want to have his picture taken. I will not be upset if he doesn‟t want his picture taken and you need to withdraw from the study.
2. This is a point and shoot camera. What you see through the viewfinder (researcher will point to it) is the image that will be depicted in the picture. The camera has a flash that is activated when you push the button (researcher will point to it). When the flash is activated, an orange light will appear (researcher will point to it). To take a picture, push the button on the top of the camera (researcher will point to it). To advance the film in the camera, wind the film with this button (researcher will point to it). If you have any problem with the camera, please call me and I will help you. If you lose the camera, call me and I will provide you with another camera.
3. Please focus your camera on your child engaged in his normal before or after-school activities for one week. These pictures can be of anything that you consider being activities, either inside or outside activities such as sports, exercising, or playing.
4. Please do not take pictures of your child that you would not want other people to see, such as activities in the bathroom, while bathing, or in the bedroom. Also, please make sure that your child is appropriately dressed when you take his picture. As a registered nurse, the researcher is legally required to notify the proper authorities of any instances of abuse.
5. When you are done taking the pictures, please call me and I will pick up the camera from you and have the film developed by Sam‟s Club.

APPENDIX J:

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Descriptive Questions

1. Please tell me the story that you intended to tell with this picture, describe who is in the picture (friends, family, alone?), what the child is doing.
2. What does this activity do for your child? Does it promote his/her physical/mental/spiritual health? If so, how does it?
3. If your child couldn‟t do this activity, how would it affect him/her?
4. How do you feel when your child does this activity?
5. What does leisure time mean to you and your family? (How do you help your child with leisure activities?)
6. How does your neighborhood and town impact your child‟s participation in leisure time activity?
7. What challenges have you had with engaging in leisure time activities?

Structural Questions

1. Please separate your pictures categories that make sense to you, and then name the categories.
2. What goals do you have for your child when he/she does these activities?
3. Do these categories of activities help your child? If so, describe the benefits.
4. Please describe your children‟s typical day. Do your children follow a schedule when they are home? What does this schedule teach them?
5. When does leisure time start and end? Is it different during the week and weekend?

Contrast Questions

1. When your child is older (past puberty) will these activities change?
2. If your child were a boy (or girl) would he/she be doing these activities? How would they be different?
3. What activity is the most important one for your child‟s physical health, mental health, and spiritual health?
4. Are there activities that you didn‟t take pictures of? If so, why did you choose not to photograph them?
5. Are there leisure time activities that are not acceptable in your family? Which ones, and why?

Member check questions

1. I am beginning to get a sense of an underlying tension that many of the moms have experienced by living in the U.S. It seems that there is a tension between the amount of time spent with work, and spending time with family. Have you experienced this?

2. It also seems that there is a bit of a tension with wanting your child to fit in with U.S. culture, but you also want your child to remember where he‟s from and remain true to his Hispanic roots. Have you felt this too?
3. I also think that the mothers have indicated that they schedule their children‟s leisure time so that they know that work and duty to school and family comes first, but to remember to have time for fun. Is this important in your home?
4. I am beginning to see a trend in my data that indicates that a child‟s leisure time activities help prepare him for life. Is that an accurate interpretation? How might those activities prepare him?
5. I have found that the mothers are teaching their children their traditional roles within the family (girls learning to care for family/home; boys to provide for family), yet they also are changing their roles a little. Girls seem to be preparing to go to college in preparation for better jobs, boys seem to be learning to help inside the home more. Have you experienced this in your family?
6. I‟m also seeing that these activities stimulate a child‟s intelligence. How might they stimulate a child‟s intelligence?
7. If you had to identify the primary purpose of leisure time activities, what would it be?
8. I‟m beginning to see that health might be a life in balance, balancing responsibilities with having fun in the moment. How do you view health?
9. I‟m beginning to see that boys and girls are learning about their future roles through some leisure activities. What activities do your son (daughter) do to learn about his adult roles?
10. I have heard mothers in my study say that they prefer that some leisure activities root their children in their culture. Is this your experience or is this important to you? What kinds of activities would accomplish this?
11. Most mothers in this study have described many different activities for their children to do in this town. In your experience, have you found that this community offers enough activities for your family? Are there specific activities that you would like to see offered that aren‟t?

APPENDIX K:

CODING BOOK

Code Book

Acceptable body size: What the participant says about her child‟s body size – or what she says child does to maintain it.

Activity meaning: The value and/or worth of the activity as stated by the participant; Value - personally held worth, importance, significance, attraction; What meaning does this have for this child; emotional outcomes.

Activity rationale: Justification and/or motivation offered by the participant for the activity benefits, positive outcomes -- cognitive decision making, rationalization that justifies spending time with this activity.

Bonding: Forming a close relationship within the family through close and constant companionship, spending time together, support.

Building self: Activities that construct the definition of self: The union of elements that constitute the individuality and identity of a person. Activities that test limits, build self esteem, confidence, help child connect with cultural heritage.

Climate: Description of how the weather impacts activities.

Collectivism: How the participant describes child's learning to be part of family and society.

Communicate: To convey knowledge, and to reveal by clear signs, to provide instructions, to talk to and listen to the child, set limits on behavior.

Community characteristics: How the participant describes her whole community. Different than neighborhood, which is the close vicinity where family resides.

Comparison: How the participant compares Hispanic/Latino culture to mainstream US culture.

Creative expression: The act of representing the ability to bring into existence, - operationalized as music, singing, dancing, drawing, acting.

Definition of leisure: how the participant describes, defines leisure time.

Encourage: To inspire with courage, hope, and spirit. To spur on.

Facilitate: to make easier, to help bring about an activity. operationalized as funding, finding, transportation to/from activities.

Facing fears: Testing limits; To engage in activities that the child has some apprehension about, or trying daring activities.

Familism: How the participant describes being part of the family, roles within the family, benefits of being part of the family.

Family input: How the family facilitates engaging in leisure time activity.

Fatalism: Belief that life is up to the fates, health is predetermined by God.

Fun and relaxation: Doing activities for amusement and enjoyment, and to feel less rigid and tense - to attain equilibrium. Include imaginative play.

Health: Activities that make sound the mind, body, and spirit. Included is parents reasons for, and for not, participating.

Life preparation: Activities that make the child ready for his/her future physical, mental, spiritual experiences that make up his/her existence. Includes educational and homemaking activities.

Machismo: How the participant describes the male gender role, and how she prepares him for his role as a man.

Maintenance: Activities that maintain Hispanic culture within participant's family.

Marianismo: How the participant describes female gender role, and how she prepares her for her role as a woman.

Media: What the participant says about her children‟s media use and safety.

Neighborhood: Characteristics within the neighborhood (close vicinity to participant's house) that impacts activity.

Place of activity: Where activity occurs - inside vs outside, home vs yard vs neighborhood vs. community

Religion: How the participant describes religion or spirituality and leisure time

Resources: Specific agencies or places within the community that the participant describes as a resource for her children

Respeto: Respect and consideration, part of building trust

Role modeling: Behaviors by participants that model how the children should live.

Other: Quote does not apply to other categories but is important anyway.

Participate with: To take part with, to share in an activity, to provide help

Role model: A person whose behavior is imitated by another; acts that the parents do to model acceptable behavior or to teach how to do something.

Safety monitor: To watch for and mitigate harm, warn against danger.

Socialize: the act of forming interdependent and cooperative relationships with others, marked by pleasant companionship with others.

Time orientation: How participant describes importance of living in the moment – fun, joy…What motivates behavior

Time schedule: How mom lists her children's leisure time activities according to time

APPENDIX L:

ANALYTIC MATRICES

What kinds of activities depicted in pictures

	Outside	Inside
Girls	**Active:** Riding bike Playing volleyball with cousins Jumping rope Running with friends while playing hide-and-go seek Riding ATV Soccer with brother Riding horse Dancing Playing in snow **Sedentary:** Talking with friends Blowing bubbles Sitting on driveway Sitting on porch swing Sorting, counting, scrubbing acorns Petting horse with Dad	**Active:** Wii Playing ball in living room with brother Dancing at community party/ at Grandma"s house (2) Yoga pose at Grandma"s house Belly dancing **Sedentary:** Playing with baby Playing with cats Playing guitar Creating mask/dress up Playing alone with dolls/dollhouse; Playing with Barbie Cooking (3) Laundry Going to church Solitary games (Dominoes, Rummy Que) Talking on Cell phone Reading; reading books in Spanish and English; reading science books for fun; at library (3) Watching TV Writing on white board Computer games Eating an apple Helping brother with homework at kitchen table On living room floor playing board games alone and with brother Posing in swim suit Putting on makeup Coloring and puzzles at kitchen table At library playing with toys on a mat At library pulling out toy train to put together Laying in bath tub for reading at library At library creating puppet show Singing

What kinds of activities depicted in pictures

	Outside	Inside
Boys	**Active:** Soccer with Dad, brothers, neighbors, team Running in backyard with brothers, friends (2) Exploring – bugs Riding brother‟s tricycle Skateboarding, scooters Walking puppy Water gun play with friends Riding bike: doing wheelies and jumping bike on homemade ramp, riding through park with family (3) Trampoline Riding go-kart Hula hoops Walking around town Swimming pool with family Horseback riding Skipping stones in Mexican river **Sedentary:** Sitting by a pumpkin (2) Sitting in rocking chair at cultural heritage site Sitting in rockers outside restaurant Outside church for friend‟s First Communion	**Active:** Racquetball Dancing: with brother, and at birthday party with other children (2) Rough-housing with siblings Indoor wave pool with family Sit up, pull up, push ups, stretching with brothers Getting candy from piñata Musical chairs **Sedentary:** Trying on Amish-type hat Sitting with siblings, snuggling with family Holding a rooster Sitting on a pony with sister for picture Playing piano Imaginative play – spy, playing with trains, dinosaurs Watching television (2) Playing computer games Playing with newborn baby sister Hiding inside a closet Drawing: alone and with sibling (2) Reading Computer work First day of school Sitting on toy horse at cultural heritage site Chess Sitting at quinceañera with family Picture with extended family Grandmother‟s birthday party Eating cereal Bible study Biting into birthday cake with arms behind back Playing Mexican bingo with family at kitchen table Video games

Participants' Category Names for picture card sort

Boys	Girls
Playing inside	Playing with toys
Relaxing	Learning to care for self
Outside Play	Spiritual time
Testing limits	Normal girl outside
Love	9 years: learning and developing identity
Family	Time with mom
Recreational activities	On computer
Developmental skills – cognitive activities	In a group with friends outside
Relaxing/Downtime	On her own
Physical activities/ exercising	Physical activity/burning calories
1st Friday of month in town	Animal interaction
Outside in pool	Imagination/creative
A fun day at wave pool	Helping
Quinceañera	Learning: Spanish and English
Chess practice	Taking time: Playing with little brother
Celebrating grandma‟s birthday	Different personalities: Self discovery for future
A day at the park	The arts of writing and painting
Eating Cereal @ night	Imagining self in different places or as different person
School	
Bible study	
Learning about old days and eating at restaurant	
9th birthday – biting the cake	
Championship soccer finals	
Church	
Outdoor on a horse	
Trip to Mexico	
Kicking back and relaxing	
Exercising activities	
Fun – having the time of their lives	

Family Participation with Activities: Girl

Activity Girls	Parental Direct Participation	Parental Indirect Participation	Father's Role and Behaviors in Activities	Mother's Role and Behaviors in Activities	Reasons for participation
Household chores	Sets chores that child will do – usually after school	Expectation that chores will be done	Does chores too	Role models behavior Works with child to teach her to do the chores Provides praise and rewards	Preparation for adult life To have responsibilities in the home Mom won"t always be there – and wants her daughter to be prepared to take care of herself and her family.
Life choices	Makes suggestions	Provides role modeling through making life choices Participates in activities that daughter may also want to participate in	Gives daughter options – such as playing soccer Volunteers to coach	Balances options – "That"s kind of wrong for you to tell her what she"s gonna do." Asks what she wants to do. Volunteers to help team Provides encouragement – you can do it.	She has options in life – it"s not what we want, it"s what she wants.
Cooking	Being in the kitchen Cooking for family and festivals	Cooks, expectation that daughter will help too.	Helps provide groceries needed for food preparation	Shops for groceries, helps provide for food preparation Supervision Participating in baking/cooking activities with daughter Education – measuring, math, fractions Involves daughter in food prep Watchful eye – makes sure daughter is safe Teaches to read recipes and measure – uses it as a teaching moment A way to be together and talk through issues with cooking "just learning together" Making empandas and selling them at festival – learns to cook and then how to handle money and help others at festival	A way to teach Child learns to ask questions Life preparation Learning is fun Learning teamwork Understand that sometimes people need help A way to bond with daughter Making good memories with mom Learning team work understand that people sometimes need help
Puzzles	Helping put larger puzzles together			Keeping puzzles together Helping child put large puzzles together Sits at table and helps child put together larger puzzles Encouragement – You can do this Willing to put the same puzzle together several times – even though she may not want to	Memory skills Learning to adapt to anything – find ways to work out problems

Solitary play	Gives child time to play alone	Does not interfere with child when she‟s alone, understands need for time alone		Encourages child Understands need for alone time Spends some time alone herself – and likes it.	“That‟s one of her Build a Bears. X is very very creative. She could spend hours playing by herself. Hours. I mean you‟d be looking for her and she‟s in the corner playing with her Build a Bear or she also likes to play with little, tiny, little dolls. … That‟s something we kind of learned as she was growing up with the issues with her speech. She had a hard time interacting with other kids. She‟d rather be by herself. It‟s changing now that sister‟s here (newborn sister), maybe um, and again more in the summertime because we keep her around other kids. She plays at the farm. There are other kids around.”
Outside play	Plays with child Work in yard with child Provide swing set Have yard with trees so daughter can explore.	Provide house/yard for child to play in Gives daughter time to explore yard on her own		Reminds child to be properly dressed Watches weather to be sure it‟s safe to be outside (not too snowy/cold) Watchful eye – watches child to make sure she‟s safe when out.	Get outside and have fun “she‟ll do pretty much anything just to get out of the house and go outside.” Solitary outside play: “It gives her some… when she‟s by herself it gives her time to kind of think” time for introspection Being outside builds confidence, self-esteem and social skills Learning to do activities now – so that it‟s a habit that they do when they are older Build endurance to run and jump. If not physically active, then child gains weight and has trouble participating – a circle.
Being feminine	Talk to daughter about inner/outer beauty		Helps provide money for clothing	Role modeling wearing make up Doesn‟t spend a lot of time telling daughter she‟s beautiful Telling daughter she has beautiful skin, doesn‟t need make up, discussing inner/outer beauty Buys clothing for daughter	Wants daughter to develop inner beauty as well as outer beauty

Music: Playing Guitar and singing	Buy the guitar Encourage children to play instruments Buy karaoke machine so daughter can sing		Buy the guitar Encourage her to instruments Compliment her efforts	Paying attention to child as she develops her personality –making sure that they have opportunity to try if they want to. Compliment her efforts	Able to do things with her hands, learning how to play notes. Singing – confident, happy, I did a good job raising her. She can do anything
Family	Being there for them/with them	Providing safe loving home	Working to provide for children	Love, would do anything for them Help her out, being involved with daughter and her friends, Making hard choices to stay in US for children"s future well-being Playing with children Teaches child to volunteer to help others by volunteering herself Don"t push, be flexible – don"t push – tomorrow"s going to be a better day. Taking time to talk, answer questions, be a sounding board	Teaches daughter about priorities and making right choices Being part of family teaches child to be responsible citizen – "if you"re a good citizen then you"ll become better" Taking time to talk, allows daughter to emotionally grow, think through problems
Computer games/ Video games	Buy computer and games		In some cases, dad may be more permissive of computer/video games	Get computer turned on, choose game for her; monitor what she is doing on computer, look over scores that she gets on computer games. Sets limits on how much time is spent on video games	Education Entertainment Educational computer games – can see how she progresses and skill mastery– rounding numbers Learn at her own pace without someone sitting over her shoulder – she gets that enough at school. Good scores – emotionally confident.
Children interacting	Take children to cousin"s home/let cousins come visit Encourage children to play & do chores with siblings Make time so children can play with others	Giving children time to play and not getting involved unless it gets too rough	Observation	Observation	Playing soccer with brother Kicking ball inside the living room with brother Play volleyball with cousins Play football with male cousin – have fun together.

Animal interaction	Purchase cats Have a horse		Takes daughter out to ride horse, pets horse Helps daughter to care for horse Makes sure daughter is safe on the horse	Encourages horse riding Encourages daughter to play with cats Reminds daughter of responsibilities with animals	Has desire and learns to nurture Provides child with time on her own. "That"s healthy emotionally, she"s trying to relate to other beings, not human beings, but they"re living things." "When..XX.. was little she had a lot of speech delay and I don"t know, I guess also a little bit of behavior problems, so being close to animals has been good for us. Just being around animals (helped her speech development)." Horses – being active/burning calories. Reciprocal benefit. Being hands on gentle, learning to ride and take care of the horse.
Cultural and Language Preservation	Speaking Spanish at home		Speaks Spanish Plays in band/Hispanic music	Speaks Spanish to children, but encourages them to speak English too. Reciprocal relationship – children help mom improve her English	Providing children with an idea of how parents and ancestors lived.
Reading	Helps get library card Provides books	Encouragement to read Reading to child	Helps provide money for child"s books	Role modeling- reads books too Drives to library Engaged with daughter while at library Providing books in Spanish and English	Education Fun at local library Just for fun – does it because she wants to – likes learning about the body – opens her mind to future opportunities.
Learning to budget	Provides ticket jar for activities such as helping around house, good behavior, good grades.			Provides ticket jar – child collects tickets for doing chores and then gets to choose rewards, activities, or food. Gives extra time on the Wii.	Teaches child responsibility Teaches child to save tickets for what she really wants to do Child usually chooses movie night. "One of the rewards after school is, you know, when she helps doing things around the house she gets to play that for a little reward."

Facing fears	Provides opportunities for child to participate	Encourages child to try activities	Provides presence, participation, and encouragement – sense of safety Watchful eye, and filter	Sense of safety, encouragement, participation with child Watchful eye and filter – assess the situation – if it‟s not dangerous, try it.	On encouraging child to try an activity if it‟s not dangerous: “An eventually, if they don‟t (want to try it), then not pushing them, but just give them the chance because XX. my little daughter, she did not care for… you know, and I said “Just give it a chance.” “But I‟m scared.” OK…
Being Creative					“I think it‟s how eventually you get to see what you‟re going to do in life. Whether you know, you play with bears, you‟re doing this, trying to figure it out.”
Having fun	Provide opportunities for child to have fun			Encourages and role models play. Reminds child to have fun in life.	Learning to have fun in life “Whatever she‟s doing, whatever she plays, don‟t forget she needs to play well, like nothing bad, no healthy, no bad words, and no, like all the time I‟m talking to her I‟m like you have nine years, are a good girl, and do what make you happy. Whatever you doing, you still happy. If you‟re not happy, you no do it…, you know, don‟t forget, you need to be happy – you need to play.” Toys Toy mats on floor – creativity/imagination. Toy train – learn to put it together TV – Karate kid2 motivated to watch yoga on TV Imagining different self/places – self discovery

Community Places: School Church Library Indigent health clinics Boys and Girls Club Church food pantries Playgrounds within walking distance	One mom – busy street, city bus flies down street, unfriendly neighbor who threatened her children				Library: computer classes English classes Books Adult literacy Schools here don‟t offer as many children‟s programs as mom had in Mexico

Family Participation with Activities: Boy

Activity Boys	Parental Direct Participation	Parental Indirect Participation	Father's Role and Behaviors in Activities	Mother's Role and Behaviors in Activities	Reasons for participation
Watching TV/movies	Buy TV/pay for cable	Family bonding time A way to pass time when Mom"s not home	More permissive Watch sports (soccer) on TV with sons. Watches TV with boys	More control over what they watch Monitoring what they see on TV and computer Watches with boys, limits on their TV time and what they watch	Dad: Pass the time Mom: Let the boys learn about the world around them "there"s too much stuff going on on TV, and you can get into on the computers and you"ve just got to be safe" Being together- "we always kind of enjoy watching a movie here and there all together."
Computer time	Buying computer/ paying for internet	Installing parental control on computer		Monitoring computer programs, internet time and watching what they are doing on the internet	Playing games Searching google for information
Community activities	Taking sons to community activities: pumpkin patch, go-karts, plays, weekly community activities, area cultural heritage attractions			Finding activities around town Locating activities Participation with sons Driving sons around town	Expose boys to variety of options that are fun, good, future oriented Expose sons to different aspects of US culture, and subgroups of local culture (Amish)
Facing fears: Trying new things	Encouragement/gentle pushing to try new things Allowing exploration of world around them – yet being there for reassurance	Knowing the child – understanding strengths/fears Reading child"s non-verbal cues		Filtering/Assessing situation for safety Verbal encouragement, Finding opportunities to try new things	Help son grow strong, less afraid. Facilitate growth Trying new things with eye on future possibilities

Exercise/ Sports: Indoor Weight lifting, stretching/ flexibility Jumping on Trampoline in back yard Soccer: Indoor and outdoor Volleyball, basketball	Zumba at YMCA Riding bikes through park Swimming in pool and community wave pool Soccer Providing equipment – soccer ball, football, basketball, chin up bar, weights Purchase trampoline Pays league fees, buys clothing, equipment	Providing place to play at home- large yard with volleyball and basketball nets Watching the boys have fun Watchful eye – safety Express interest in particular sports – which is transferred to child	Playing outside – keeping a watchful eye for safety Buying pool for family fun Playing soccer with sons, help practice dribbling Role models for sons, "You know how boys are, they just want to be like their dad and so XX…. you know, XX… is not so much of a sports guy, he's more artistic." Playing outside with boys – soccer, football. Goes to son's games, cheers him on, pays for goals.	Takes her sons to YMCA Rides bikes, swims, walks with children Finds sports activities that are affordable in town Managing conflicting schedules and being in two places at once Encourages siblings to exercise together Enticing boys to go outside to play "Let's go, c'mon let's do something' And if I'm not out there, they're not out there." Enrolling in class Participation Driving to center Participating in the activities with the children – bikes, swimming, running Cheerleader and encouragement to continue Takes children to medical appointments – learn about health risks (son had hyperlipidemia at age 10) – encouraged son to begin exercising Driving to soccer games, finding indoor soccer so child can play in winter, cheers him on, proud of child, pays for goals.	Role modeling healthy behaviors for sons; mom getting healthier, having fun with others Make them tired so they burn off excess energy, calories and sleep better– give mom some quiet time Racquetball – more constructive activity/having something healthy to do Zumba – being with others, fun, laughter, remembering steps. Activity with mom Able to make friends, learn to socialize and behave in a group. Able to learn skills that they can do in a group – builds self esteem Competition – to do well and be proud of accomplishment Exercise burns calories, burns off excess energy, improves/encourages sleep or quiet time, which helps mom have some time to herself. Soccer – proud of accomplishment when team wins/scores goal. Let the boys have fun, burn off calories on trampoline Worry about safety, make plans to make trampoline more safe

Family	Being there for them/with them Making child feel special by having Birthday parties Going to school	Providing safe loving home	Encouraging mom that she"s doing her best, giving Mom some time off Providing balance to family Participating in activities with sons Providing balance to mom"s role	Loving Direction Encouragement Documenting through pictures Teaches about true friends Setting boundaries and rules (it takes a village) Reassurance and kissing wounds Setting expectations "I have extremely high expectation, I want them to be valedictorian at their school, I want them to be at the very top." Being together: "he really enjoys like being close to me. I think he"s one of those boys that is just more attached to me … he likes me to rub his back or his head, so every time he"s close to me, he"s great." Taking pictures Attending sports games Playing games Encouragement Setting rules Having fun Making child feel special – going to school, celebrating birthdays at home and school, making special time for child Strategies for resisting peer pressure Maintaining civil relationship with son"s father Providing healthy food/snacks, clean home	On the value of bonding: "Whenever one stays over somewhere, like a sleepover. "Where is he, when is he coming back," even though sometimes they"ll get, you know frustrated at each other and start like screaming and yelling "Oh you did this, you did that, you took this." "No I didn"t" you know? But they still look forward to seeing each other.. (It shows) that they actually love each other and that they"re coping with each other… and by bonding early in their childhood it means that they"ll be close when they"re older." "I think uh that the more involved that the parent are with your kids, that"s you know, that" how they develop themselves and you know have better um opportunities in life too, and like if they have like ah, not a good childhood then I think that would affect everything growing up…That"s what I think, but again, I give everything I have."

Cultural and Language Preserva-tion	Speaking Spanish, Participating in cultural games, events with others of same heritage	Maintaining heritage and identity, being who they are	Providing money, support Playing games with children	Saving money to take children to Mexico Taking children to Mexico to visit extended family Speaking Spanish at home Participates in Mexican activities – piñata, quinceañera, Cinco de Mayo Taking children to activities to learn about US holidays, seasons, people	Showing son how people live in Mexico. Differences between US/Mexico, Showing options "…With my older one growing up, um, there wasn"t much out there because the community, Hispanic, was not as big as it is now. When we first moved here 14 years ago um, it was like counting ducks here and there.. It"s like everybody just came over this way…. But it"s you know, the culture, it"s like how we do things, how we celebrate things, um, it"s different. Ah, we"re more happy go lucky going people. We"re like into you know, big noises and things like that, very active, for example, say Cinco de Mayo, we have to celebrate with music and this and that and it has to be something very entertaining, otherwise we won"t attend. "
Creative activities	Buying piano, paying for lessons Providing equipment (paper, pens)	Motivation by praise, hanging artwork/magazines around house Expressing pride	Offering input into decisions (Piano – "My husband said it would be very good for them" Working to pay for lessons and piano Praise/feedback	Encouraging child to practice Driving to lessons Providing praise and feedback Posting artwork on refrigerator and around house	Makes child mentally healthy Play music, accomplishment Learn the rules and do what they"re supposed to do – get a good report after music class

Spiritual health	Going to Church	Living by example – giving thanks for what they‟ve been given Praying		Mom‟s Law: Sets the rules that she expects to be followed for church attendance “You don‟t have no options with me on that…On church you don‟t. yeah, I‟m the law.” Talking about God Sends children to Mennonite non-denominational Bible Study “As long as you‟re living here in my house then you are going to church… I did everything that I think that‟s the right thing for them.”	Mom feels that it is her job Sets the foundation for doing the right thing Teaches child to be thankful for what he has Learns to behave in church – quiet/listens Learn respect, manners Out of trouble, off the streets
Having fun	Participation with child in activities: swimming, walking, riding bicycles Video games Playing Bingo	Letting the kids play rough together even if mom isn‟t thrilled about it	Watchful eye when out, protection from danger Playing video games with sons Playing Mexican Bingo with family every week	Facilitates participation by driving to activities, biking to activities, swimming in pool, doing the hula-hoop with children Finds things in community to do Watchful eye/protection Plays games and pretends to lose “I pretend to get mad to make it more exciting” Bends rules a little to facilitate fun (in pool late at night) Patient tolerance of son‟s rough-housing Sometimes sits and watches dad and sons play video games Playing Mexican Bingo	Fun, interaction with family and other people in community, antidote for boredom A way to bond with family – opens up time for conversation, learn ways to resolve conflict when game doesn‟t go well Relaxing=recharging Following personality Watching TV – learning about the world Computer games – learning, brain health, memory, cognition No video games – too addictive
Learning to budget	Offering financial incentive to score soccer goals ($5/goal) Mexican bingo – with nickels	Letting children win or lose Saving nickels for Bingo	$5 per goal Making family game night a priority Playing games for nickels Role modeling humor and gracious winning/losing	$5/goal Encourages son to save for something he really wants rather than waste it on things that he doesn‟t need “That doesn‟t mean if I want something, then I‟m gonna go and buy it. No … he needs to earn it.” Making family game night a priority Playing games for nickels Role modeling humor and gracious winning/losing Role modeling saving money to purchase more expensive items.	Teaches son to save money and set goals, budget Learning about winning/losing Saving money for important, expensive items (Letter jacket for high school) A way to encourage son to continue to do well.

Sibling interaction	Parents indirect: Encouragement, tolerance				Being there for each other "We just moved into this house so they don"t know many people in the neighborhood there. But there"s not many kids around so…. They got each other. So I think they help each other, they maintain activities with each other." Brothers: Twins – they play with each other. Like they"re best friends and yet they"re brothers." "He was taking care of the baby while I was cooking, and he likes to participate, like if I"m busy and Dad"s not home and stuff, he likes to help and stuff. He"ll feed her, he doesn"t change her diaper yet, but he"ll feed her and he"ll burp her. He likes to hold her and rock her when she"s crying and I"m busy." Bonding and loving Hide-n-seek- overcome boredom by staying occupied

Getting Healthy Physical

	Outside	Inside
Girl	**Active:** Swimming in summer Making snowmen – couldn‟t in pic – wrong kind of snow, playing in snow, sledding in snow (three different girls) Riding a three-wheeler In spring/summer – helping out with yard work pruning, trimming, planting Swing set in yard Soccer – “She‟s gonna be active, it‟s gonna impact everything in her body.” “This is what happens after she runs and runs and runs. She‟s tired and just eating popcorn and some water.” “It keeps her… makes her want to stay healthy.” Popping bubbles Riding scooter in drive-way Riding ATV Running around yard with friends playing hide and go seek Jumping rope Gathering acorns Playing tag Riding horse Playing and Sledding in the snow, Volleyball Bike riding – showing mom she can stand up on bike. Mom is always with her when she‟s on her bike for safety. Baseball **Sedentary:** Being silly – jumping and twisting around Outside with friends sitting on tricycle Brushing/cleaning/inspecting acorns	**Active:** Belly dancing Pretending to do yoga at grandma‟s house – watches it on TV (motivated by Karate Kid 2) Pretend swimming inside – Can‟t get in water d/t hx of UTIs Catching balloons, dancing at birthday party – Salsa dancing Running up and down basement stairs as a game Tag Wii Cheerleading Basketball Gymnastics Ballet Pillow fighting **Sedentary:**

Getting Healthy Mental/Spiritual

	Outside	**Inside**
Girl	**Active:** Swimming in summer – interacting with other children, seeing how other parents treat their children Being silly – jumping and twisting around – fun Riding horse Household chores – learns responsibility **Sedentary:** Sitting in porch swing Outside with friends sitting on tricycle Brushing/cleaning/inspecting acorns	**Active:** **Sedentary:** **Singing** (karaoke machine) having a good time **Dress-up** Swimming suit in winter (wants to swim) Playing with child"s make up – pretending to put it on and wanting to put it on mom. Lip gloss – wants voluptuous lips Wearing mom"s perfume **Pretend** "Swimming" in library reading bath tub **Cooking** Zucchini bread with mom – fun, helping. Learning math/measures/fractions Helping mom make muffins Empanadas for church festival **Library** – Reading, CDs Word games: rhyming, English/Spanish words Puzzles – putting them together, pulling them apart – " Just because, I think mentally, its just because for a challenge or whatever comes um, down her way, even in the future." Able to do them accurately and fast. **Toys** Floor mat toys - @ library – imagination/creativity Toy trains @ library – putting together/pulling apart Farm mat @ home – learning about animals, where they live, what they eat, bonding with brother **Playing** – Because I think that the kids will play too much, that"s so happy. **Tea set with mom** **Puppet show @ library** – creating the show, and then putting on the show for mom **Princess stuff** – being a girly girl **Drawing pictures and writing notes** = a way to say thank you to grandparents for birthday present

		Barbie – dressing her up, putting glitter in her hair - as process of playing dolls with mom a way to learn to care for others; learning fashion sense; a way to pass time as mom does volunteer work. Sharing Barbie clothes with friends **Mom's pregnancy** – taking the time to teach about fetal development. **Caring for mom's friend's baby** **Playing with animals** – learning to nurture, cleaning out litter box – responsibility. Playing with dog – dressing it up as a Musketeer – creativity, fun. **Computer games** – Foo pets, math games **Television** – investigation, medical shows, yoga, cartoons. **Chores**: helping with animals, put school stuff away, homework, reading, tidying up, help with dinner, set table, rinse dishes, wash dishes, put dishes away, clean room, take out recycling/trash, laundry – folding, hanging and putting in closet. **Sleepovers:** Movies, playing with toys/Barbies, playing games **Sitting on chair**: "Watching TV. On that chair, that"s her favorite chair, doing nothing." **Playing Guitar** **Celebrating Mexican holidays** **Church**: **Solitary games** or with Mom at night: Rummy Que, dominoes, jump the peg **Talking to cousins on cell phone** **Reading for fun at home** – **Playing with build a bear** **Dolls** **Has a corner in her room with a map** – pretends she is taking her bear on a trip by looking at her map. **Playing with dollhouse** – using imagination.

Getting Healthy Physical: Boys

	Outside	**Inside**
Boy	**Active:** Learning how to do something new, competition (jumping bike and doing wheelies – and seeing who can jump the highest) Trampoline –Showing off, they just go outside and play and jump and jump and jump until they're like thoroughly wet in sweat. At pumpkin patch and riding go-kart Piñata fun Riding horse Soccer with dad, brothers, friends, team Riding bikes, scooter, skateboard, tricycle – testing limits, trying new things, getting exercise, Bikes in yard, through parks, into town Playing in snow –shorter time outside come in when they're cold, wet. Throw snowballs and dig forts Playing with brothers and neighbors – they just chase and tackled each other and they were throwing something here, but I don't remember what it was. You know sometimes it doesn't take much for them to make it into a game. Taking dog for a walk in neighborhood Going to health fairs offered by city In Mexico finding some activity to do (grabbing sticks, skipping stones – otherwise he'll be sitting down and not enjoying it.) Swimming in pool in backyard Hula hoops with family Playing in sandspot in yard where pool used to be Football with siblings Go to uncle's house when weather is nice and run around outside **Sedentary:** Sitting in rocking chairs in town with family	**Active:** Wrestling with siblings Zumba – getting energy out/burning calories Racquetball, tennis at YMCA Swimming at indoor wave pool Indoor soccer in fall/ winter Lifting weights, push-ups, pull ups Wrestling Stretching/flexibility Piñata – "So they were trying to pick up the candy. So they were trying to be competitors. Everybody was trying to grab all the candy." Musical chairs (except you dance around the chairs) Wii – tennis and dancing games Hide and seek in the house **Sedentary:** Playing with toys: A way to get his energy out

Getting Healthy Mental/Spiritual: Boys

	Outside	**Inside**
Boy	**Active:** Show mom that boy can do new bike trick – pride/accomplishment Exploring the world: digging holes and catching bugs Riding horse – facing fears and growing mentally strong Being outside on bikes – fresh air – clears the head by experiencing nature Jumping bikes on homemade ramps – testing limits, accomplishment Soccer – doing rather than watching, sense of accomplishment, competition, pride (self and family) Playing with neighbors – divide themselves into teams, have different guns and sometimes the guns don"t even work because I think they have no batteries, but you know, they just pretend and make noises. Playing with brothers and neighbors – they just chase and tackled each other and they were throwing something here, but I don"t remember what it was. You know sometimes it doesn"t take much for them to make it into a game. Participating in community activities Interacting with animals – facing fears Going to Mexico - **Sedentary:**	**Active:** Wrestling with siblings – bonding Hide-n-seek (closet) – overcoming boredom, being creative Racquetball tennis – not following rules… just go and play, and play, and play. Zumba – fun, go crazy, like to dance Soccer – sense of accomplishment, winning, earning $ for goals (learn to save/budget $) **Sedentary:** Playing piano – creative, accomplishment, self esteem learn rules, not a chore, do it on their own Legos Video games: Mario Brothers, Nintendo DS, Playstation (sibling bonding) No video games: I don"t want it to affect their learning ability. I don"t want you to be one of them kids who just sit in front of the TV Playing with toys (dinosaur, trains) Imaginative play – spy- creativity Celebrating Mexican holidays – culture/biculturalism US holidays –(Halloween) socializing Coloring/drawing – helps concentration, role models for siblings Computer games – education, learning to take turns – safety – watch adult pop ups (even on cell phone) Television – selected programs for education, family bonding time Discovery channel, cartoons (Sponge Bob, I Carly) Reading for fun and education Church/praying- teaches child to make right choices Church/Bible – not really into it, but if there are questions we"re always open to talking about it. Bible study – manners, respect Too much computer time: More frustration and crazy things in your head

		Coloring/drawing/writing: role modeling for younger siblings – fun Arts/Crafts: Making magazine – writing content and drawing pictures for the different pages, stapling it together Painting – learning how to prepare for future: learning should be fun. Maintaining culture – church, quinceañera, speaking in Spanish Chess – concentration, competition Mexican Bingo Night at kitchen table with family – bonding Making a tent out of blankets in a closet – fun, facing fear of the dark

Selected Quotes About Definition of Leisure Time and Gender Roles

Boys	**Girls**
Leisure time is just quiet time. You sitting in the couch and being a couch potato and just watch some TV for a little while.	But she‟s just so creative. She doesn‟t care if it‟s a good toy, or it‟s a bad toy. To her whatever she finds, she can play with. Um, she‟s just got this great imagination like nothing stops her. Um, and you know, I see her happy and she loves doing just about anything she can play with. I think she‟ll be a very resourceful person. She can get books here (library) and there and accomplish what she, her goals are very big for her…
But for the kids, they go to school, they come back, they eat their….their, basically their meal, their lunch, and then we do homework. So we‟re intense on that. By the time we‟re done with homework it‟s probably around 4 or 4:30, they do their reading, then they can go outside for awhile, then once they cone inside, that would be down time. So anywhere between 7 and 8 p.m. (they go to bed around) 8:30.	About when she will get to wear make up: “We always tell her she‟s got beautiful skin and she doesn‟t need makeup. I have never told my daughter that she‟s the most attractive little girl. We always tell her how beautiful she is. I mean, you know, I think every parent says “You‟re beautiful.” But we know she may not be the most beautiful in the whole world. I think her personality and the way she is, I just think that she‟s just so enchanting.”
Mondays, Mondays he has ah, a chess at night for two hours for like serious, for more serious people and they have chess. And then Tuesdays they have the Bibles. The on Wednesday they have ah, a soccer practice and chess. And then on Thursday he plays. So Friday he has it off. And he has Friday off so he can do whatever he wants. I keep him on a schedule.”	I picture her, and I‟m like oh, wait, I sounded like my mom. I‟m doing what my Mom would do. Um, no, I think I‟ll be protective of my daughter, but also be open to resources available for her to make smart choices because I won‟t always be there, or she won‟t always be close to me.
“Clean the bedroom, clean the bathroom. Like XX. since he‟s getting older he has to clean the bathroom, takes out the trash and sweep the kitchen floor. They clean their bedroom, make their beds. If they have toys and stuff laying around, if it‟s not mine, the rule is if it‟s not mine then it‟s yours, put it away. After, after all that‟s done, um, we do that throughout the day I guess, cleaning, and then they‟ll come in and help me do dinner. When dinner is done we like to set the table together, one of them does the plates, the cups, you know, the silverware, serve dinner, go eat, hang out. A lot lately since it‟s been getting dark out, we‟ll sit down and watch tv, like a movie together or play games or read books.”	On the weekend, we have parties all the time. Birthday parties. So today‟s one of my cousin‟s little kid‟s birthday party that we‟re going to. Um, I like to be at my family‟s events… so we spend a lot of time, go to parties usually on Saturday.. We get up, we watch TV, we usually watch Animal Planet, I want her to learn, see all kinds of things. We get up, we cook breakfast or lunch depends on how late we would get up. Sundays we usually go to church. Um, we go out to the mall.”

You know being home is not fun for me. Because I‟m cleaning. I‟m cleaning 24/7. But you have to clean, so no matter what I do, I clean. You know, I just hate the mess, I‟ll get that, pick this up… but they‟re kids and they say “I didn‟t do it.” “I don‟t care who did it, pick it up and put it away.”	“Talk about being creative, this was um, XX..‟s car seat my husband was trying to put together so we had a lot of paper that came with it and she was just being creative.” (X is the newborn baby in this family) “She was watching the Three Musketeers so she grabbed the paper and made herself a mask and a cape, she had the cape on and her little doggie was part of the team of the Musketeers. I thought it was so cute, she spent hours playing with the leftovers and being creative.”
“Just hanging out with the kids. Doing things with them, even if it‟s something I don‟t want to do, I‟ll sit down there and do it.”	“Mom says we are like Anglo families, have everything on the table. Mexican tables have no books, no writing. It‟s just for food. You don‟t put… and I always put my laptop on my table. I always have my books, everything right behind here on this corner. This corner is where I have all my, like some of my books which I do have a bookcase downstairs that I have collected throughout my whole education. Yeah, my Mom sad that and I said, “No, I‟m not.” She goes “yeah, I‟ve been to my friends‟ houses (they‟re Anglos) and that they have just about everything and anything on their table.”
“The weekends I usually work, like every weekend. So from the time I get home ah sometimes they do activities with their Dad, but he‟s more like “Oh my God I have a baby and these two other kids, I really cannot go anywhere.” So they do more of the leisure activities. They do a lot of watching TV and playing computer games and that‟s it.”	
“That‟s X… and he‟s a fanatic of exercising now. Because he used to be chunky and um, he‟s 15 now, but when he was like 10 years old he had the high cholesterol, like a 32 year old man. It was so high he had to be on a diet constantly and what he eat and what he exercised about and all that. So, I guess he got used to it, so now he‟s gotta do it like every other day or almost every day.” (Impact of brother‟s activity on younger brothers) “…they‟ve been exercising over the Christmas vacation and so they‟re trying to follow big brother‟s footsteps…Yeah, well now they started doing their own thing, now that they see older brother kind of being skinny and getting all buff. Now they wanna do the same thing. So they kind of try and… ‟cause they‟re chunky too.”	On having fun: “ I think just from growing up and seeing my Mom sometimes and I think I even caught myself several time in that. You get so caught up in trying to provide for the family. You clean the house and having dinner and you forgot to do anything fun for that day, even for ourself.”
	“(Little girls) they play tag or they just you know, try and find ways to entertain themselves.”

"Well it's (Mexican bingo night at kitchen table with family) another way to bond too. That's when we get together, talk and have fun, laugh, maybe cry or whatever ,,cause we lost (laughs). You know, we lost all our nickels, um, yeah, it's the way to have with with our family. Um, you know, just time, spending time with Mom and Dad, um brothers, sisters, you know, so… it's a good way to teach ,,em skills. You know, bonding skills, and sometimes we argue, sometimes we talk about it, like it's a good way to make conversation. You know, or ask about how their week went and things like that so . . . and just relax."	"And ah, it's like I try, sometimes I'll like, she'll like stretch and she'll lose a lot of weight, but then it catches up to her. Sometimes if she don't have nobody to play with, she's the only girl and the boys don't want to have nothing to do with her. It's like "No, go away, we don't want no girls, it's only boys." So, I'll try to play with her or sometimes when I'm downstairs doing laundry I'll make her go up and down the stairs."
"Sometimes like I get so frustrated, like maybe I'm not doing the right thing. But that's when my husband says "No, you're doing just fine." But I worry about it, you know, just try not to get so frustrated. Because when he does see me, you know, getting frustrated, he's like "Just relax, go away, I'll handle it." Then I take my time and we all relax and come back. (He's a) good balance."	"Um, I know Anglo families are sometimes they are very, very involved with their kids too. I mean, just like us. Sometimes they have you know, sports every evening. But the difference between us, we try to be very family oriented . . . life is so different from Mexico and here. When you come here you just get so involved in work and before you know it, that's what you do. Work. Um, back at home, we're, I think (there's) more focus on the family, you know, not so much on the material things. I think there's so much competition or I don't know how you could say, of who has the better stuff, who has the latest on electronics, who has the nicest clothes. And back at home you just don't care so much about it, it was more organic."
"Um, usually I try to get them to do their homework first, because that's when their mind is still active and fresh in their mind, of whatever they were explained to do, how to do it. Cause if they wait for it, it's like they relax. Are they over-relaxed? And then that's when they start having problems doing their homework."	On how leisure time differs throughout week: "During the week it's more disciplined. I try to do more of a routine for school and the chores. Um, if you would ask my kids, I'm pretty hard on their chores. They get home from school, they're asked what they would like to do. On the weekend it's more laid back, not so much… more of a break"
"Sometimes they help me clean or they have to be aware of their um, dirty clothes have to be in the hamper or if it's full or halfway full, bring it down so I can do laundry. Um, maybe taking out the trash, but that's not really happening because my husband's not working right now, so he does mostly everything. Um, but um, if there's a project going on, they'll help. They will help with the project."	"Whenever you play, for example, when there's one or whatever, I don't care if you loser, it's only one play. No, (I) don't care (if) you good or no good, it's only play. Because you don't need frustration, it's only play. That's how we play, don't worry, you good, you win, you lose, and listen that's OK."

"When he's afraid of something he's like "No, Mommy, no no." he has this long face. Like "oh come on, let's just do it" and "nothing's going to happen, I'm here." And, and you know when he does things that I tell him, you know, it makes me feel good. He believes in me, and he trusts me when I tell him something. He trusts me."	On sleepovers with a cousin: "She call when she's coming, call one hour (before) and say OK, "don't forget the toys or movies when she coming". When she's coming…I told her don't forget, you not bored. In my house, nobody's bored."
"But I notice that, and I understand ahh, parents that they work and stuff like that, but if you know your kid's birthday is coming I think if you just ask for a few hours and show up there, you'll see a big difference.. they even get excited when they see me because they know I always take them something that I never forget them.. Because it's like "My Mom never comes" and if one of my kids would say something like that I would feel horrible.	Girls who are coming home late are considered they're doing something past curfew that's, you know, umm. It's past those hours that they're supposed to be..and I'm not saying boys don't have curfews. I think girls definitely their virginity has to be treasured, it has to be protected. Um, so I, parents in our culture, when my daughter's walking in that white dress down the aisle and don't want people talking smack that she has done something bad.
Extremely active Want to be just like their dad He always turns everything in to somebody's you know… eating something or something like that… So you know… sometimes..I don't want to say aggressive, but boys are like that… their energy comes out in different ways. "Because you know, he's a boy and they're normally more aggressive than the girls, so I don't want him to be anything, any more than what he normally, any normal kid would be a little bit more aggressive than girls and stuff like that, so he plays games, he plays ah, soccer games and stuff like that or racing cars or stuff like that.	Like to play dress-up, they like to paint their nails, they like to play with dolls, they like to ride their bikes too, they like to play outside and chase and stuff. More into drawing or painting, reading or playing dolls or playing like serving food and stuff like that. More like a mother type of activity. She loves to paint her nails and stuff, you know, she was playing in my make-up the other day. She likes to change her outfits all day, yeah, every couple of hours. Help with laundry, wash dishes, nurture. Play with Barbies – good for emotional health. Like to play sports

A mother about her son playing with his sister: "He thinks there"s a difference between a boy and girls and what a girl should be like and what a boy should be like, but he... He likes it, like he"ll play with her dolls and things, like he doesn"t really like her wrestling with them and doesn"t like them, he doesn"t like her being rough like the boys do…. He likes to encourage her to play with girl stuff." More physical labor – able to do projects on house or yard "More independent. Boys can do certain things that girls cannot do because um…. They can come home late." "Boys tend to be a little more rough with their physical activity than the girls." Play with boy toys Spend more time outside	Can be rough…. "XX… is very rough… She can definitely be active and not get tired…It"s just her (personality) because I also encourage my other daughter but she"s just not so physically active and I wasn"t either. I wasn"t a sports person. I liked to do other things, so it"s just kind of born with that personality I guess." On brother"s view of his sister: "He tries to (mentor his sister), but he thinks there"s a difference between a boy and a girl and what a girl should be like and what a boy should be like, but uh… he likes it, like he"ll play with her dolls and things, like he doesn"t really like her wrestling with them and doesn"t like them, he doesn"t like her being rough like the boys do…. He likes to encourage her to play with girl stuff."

APPENDIX M:

DESCRIPTIVE TABLES

Characteristics of Photographed Activities

	Inside	**Outside**
Sedentary		
Boys	17%	2%
Girls	29%	4%
Active		
Boys	9%	22%
Girls	5%	12%

Active Behaviors

	Inside		**Outside**	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
With family	7%	3%	17%	8%
With friends	1%	<1%	5%	4%
Alone	0	1%	0	0

Total: 106
Total boys active:68
Total girls active: 38

Sedentary Behaviors

	Inside		**Outside**	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
With family	10%	10%	2%	<1%
With friends	2%	0	0	<1%
Alone	5%	19%	0	2%

Total:113
Total boys sedentary: 42
Total girls sedentary: 71

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