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Market Segmentation Based on Subcultural Socialization: A Case Study

Haylee Uecker Mercado
MARKET SEGMENTATION BASED ON SUBCULTURAL SOCIALIZATION:
A CASE STUDY

By
HAYLEE UECKER MERCADO

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The members of the Committee approved the Dissertation of Haylee Uecker Mercado defended on May 27, 2008.

________________________
Jeffrey D. James
Professor Directing Dissertation

________________________
Felipe Korzenny
Outside Committee Member

________________________
R. Aubrey Kent
Committee Member

________________________
King Beach
Committee Member

Approved:

________________________
Cheryl Beeler, Chairperson, Department of Sport Management, Recreation Management and Physical Education

The Office of Graduate Studies has verified and approved the above name committee members.
To my grandfather, Frank Uecker, who passed down the value of a hard day’s work that has allowed me get through this journey.

"Every morning in Africa a gazelle wakes up. It knows it must move faster than the lion or it will not survive. Every morning a lion wakes up and it knows it must move faster than the slowest gazelle or it will starve. It doesn't matter if you are the lion or the gazelle, when the sun comes up, you better start running."

-Author Unknown

To Derek, a life cut way to short, but passed away doing what he loved.

“I'm glad I didn't know
The way it all would end the way it all would go
Our lives are better left to chance I could have missed the pain
But I'd of had to miss the dance”

-Garth Brooks
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1. “Excellence is not a singular act, but a habit. You are what you repeatedly do.”
2. “Inch by inch, life’s a cinch. Yard by yard, life is hard.”
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to advance our understanding of the influence of subculture on building awareness of a product and ultimately a stronger connection to a product, in particular sports teams. The research questions examined in this study were to understand: 1) how one’s Cuban upbringing influenced his/her values, meanings, and beliefs relative to a sport product, sport sports teams, 2) what agents influenced sport socialization for different generation and acculturation levels, 3) which were the primary sport socialization agents for Cuban Americans, 4) whether level of acculturation impacts level of attachment toward a particular sport and/or team, and 5) the similarities/differences in interest in sport by generation. Given the nature of the research problem, the methodology employed the qualitative procedures and it was determined that the case study alternative was the most appropriate for this research project. Through the use of 16 in-depth interviews with participants with varying levels of acculturation, an understanding of this particular Cuban subculture emerged.

The findings from this study suggest that this subculture has a strong sense of family and that the family plays an important role in not only socialization, but sport socialization. This includes the father/child attachment, retroactive socialization, and the absence of school and coaches as influencing agents. The findings also indicate that there is an attachment to the hometown team, no matter the record. This attachment prevailed across all ages, gender, and levels of acculturation. Based on the findings, marketers should focus their efforts on understanding the role of the family and the influence on sport consumption along with highlighting the idea of supporting the hometown team when communicating with this subculture.
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The growth of ethnic populations in the United States, particularly over the last decade, has awakened a great interest in marketers. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, the minority population in America reached almost 80 million people. One minority population in particular has changed dramatically since 1990. In 2000, the U.S. Census Bureau released figures showing the Hispanic population had grown nearly 10 percent, making Hispanics the largest minority group in the country. According to the same 2000 report, approximately one in eight people in the United States are of Hispanic or Latin American origin. In 2005, the Census Bureau released a report stating that there was an estimated 42.7 million Hispanics in the United States, making people of Hispanic origin the nation’s largest minority. This equates to 14% of the total U.S. population (U.S. Census Bureau). Current projections estimate that over half of the total population growth in the U.S. is accounted for by Hispanics. Net natural growth of the Hispanic population (births minus deaths) surpassed immigration as the main source of population growth. It is estimated that 53% of Hispanic population growth is accounted for by births, while 47% is account for by immigration (Synovate, 2004). The Synovate has estimated that if current trends continue, the U.S. Hispanic population will reach 56 million by 2010, and by 2020, it will surpass 80 million (2004). The Census Bureau has projected that the Hispanic population will reach 102.6 million by 2050, constituting 24% of the nation’s total population.

These demographic shifts in the U.S. have served as a catalyst for the growth of a body of literature exploring the relationship between culture and consumption. Marketers and researchers alike are increasingly turning their efforts towards minority markets. It has been noted that culture is a key that can unlock powerful marketing potential for professionals in their respective fields (Korzenny & Korzenny, 2005). Humphreys (2000) noted that the buying power of the Hispanic markets increased 118% from 1990 to 2001, for a total of $452.4 billion. Neilsen Media research estimates that the buying power of Hispanics will exceed $1 trillion by 2008, which is a 55% increase over the 2003 levels. This purchasing power signifies a substantial opportunity for marketers. There is a perception that Hispanics tend to be brand conscious, loyal consumers; this would
suggest that Hispanics represent an important market to target that is presumably easy to reach because of geographic segregation. The top 20 U.S. Hispanic markets make up 428.2 million of the 575.4 million total Hispanics in the United States (Humphreys, 2000).

With these striking numbers, marketers need to look at how this population makes purchasing decisions. The study of consumer behavior was developed within the broader field of marketing to better understand how to market to consumers. This area of study enabled a better understanding of how and why individuals make their consumption decisions. By improving this understanding, marketers are better equipped to predict the reactions of consumers to informational and environmental cues, and can make more strategic and appropriate marketing decisions, thus gaining a competitive advantage in the marketplace (Schiffman & Kanuk, 1997).

A consumer’s behavior is influenced by environmental characteristics, such as culture and subculture. Culture has been an abstract concept that has exerted a broad and deep influence on consumer behavior (McCracken, 1989). In order to understand the relationship between culture and consumer behavior, McCracken (1986; 1989) suggested that culture must be treated as meaning and that consumer products act as the transporters of these meanings. According to McCracken’s “meaning transfer model,” meaning originates in the culturally constituted world, and through advertising, attaches itself to consumer products. Marketers are able to assign virtually any meaning to any product by identifying the symbolic elements that represent the characteristics and cognitive constructs of a culture, and attribute them to the good. Once this has occurred, consumers are easily able to transfer the meanings of the product to themselves.

Several attempts have been made to develop integrative views of current research on cultural consumer behavior (Douglas & Craig, 1997; Luna & Gupa, 2001; Samli, 1995). However, existing models of the effect of culture on consumer behavior do not offer a framework in which literature can be adequately integrated, are not firmly grounded in theory, or do not contain a full account of how specific cultural dimensions affect specific consumer behavior components (Luna & Gupa, 2001).

There is also limited research illustrating how minority consumers behave and how they may react to different types of influences within American culture. Ethnicity
and culture have recently been recognized as important segmentation variables in marketing (Singh, Kwon, & Pereira, 2003), and a body of literature currently exists that emphasizes ethnicity as a major cultural determinant of consumer behavior (c.f., Cohen, 1992; Deshpande et al., 1986; Donthu & Cherian, 1992). Despite the emphasis, Holland and Gentry (1999) noted that this line of inquiry is very new, dating back to just the 1980’s, and it has only been concentrated on using a single culture as a unit of analysis. There is a still a need to look at culture at various subcultural levels in order to more fully understand their impact on consumer behavior.

Hofstede (1991) indicated the need for investigating the effects of subcultures within countries. Farley and Lehman (1994) further argued that culturally based differences in behavior would exist even if the world were not organized into nation-states. Differences are due to life experiences of people within those cultures, rather than mechanical or controllable factors.

According to Donnelly (1981) subculture refers to segments of society embracing certain distinctive cultural elements of their own. Subcultural elements typically include a shared set of identifiable beliefs, values, and means of symbolic expression. As one adopts the values and beliefs of a subculture, one’s identity becomes more closely associated with the subculture. Interactions within the subculture first help to construct and later confirm the identity the participant takes on by joining in (Donnelly & Young, 1988). As the participant becomes committed to the subculture, he or she develops a sense of identification with the subculture, and may incorporate the behavior into the self-concept. As previously noted, one subculture of growing interest to marketers is the Hispanic subculture.

Robinson (1998) posited the notion that although there are some pockets of pan-Hispanic melding in major cities, there is no such thing as a true Latino subculture. Despite this argument, the author contends there are 17 major Latino subcultures in the United States today. Examples include: Cubans, South Americans, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Colombians, and New Mexico’s Hispanos. One approach to better understanding subcultures and their impact on consumer behavior is to examine the various agents that influence socialization into a subculture. This is apparent for marketing in general and sport marketing specifically. Marketing academics have called
for more comparative studies to improve theoretical understanding and generate testable propositions (Deshpande et al., 1986; Singh, et al., 2003), but to date there has been very little done to answer the call.

One area in particular which could help answer many of the questions of how one develops a sense of identification with the subculture and how that impacts behavior, is that of consumer socialization. Consumer socialization is the process by which individuals acquire skills, knowledge, and attitudes relevant to their functioning as consumers in the marketplace (Ward, 1974). Cross-cultural consumer socialization, then, is the process through which individuals acquire the above under diverse cultural conditions (Singh et al., 2003).

Several studies in the last two decades have investigated cultural differences as well as the impact of various cultural dimensions on consumer behavior (Holland & Gentry, 1999; Jacoby, Johar, & Morrin, 1998; McCracken, 1986). Despite some focus on the topic, the cultural grouping or unit of analysis typically has been defined by national or geopolitical boundaries. It should be noted, however, that although national culture is an important construct, cultures and nations are not equivalent (Erez & Earley, 1993; Hofstede, 1980). Thus, cultural groupings should not be an assumed state nor should the unit of analysis be a matter of convenience. Cultural studies should base their inquiry on identifying or verifying a "proper" cultural grouping prior to examining cultural influences. National origin refers to the place where a person was born or the country from which a person’s ancestors are from (Brass, 1991). For many people living in the United States; cultures, beliefs, opinions, and consumer behavior patterns are a result of influences from their native countries, and, for those born in the United States, the national origin of their ancestors (Rossman, 1994). What is lost in only focusing on the national origin are the influences that the new or current country’s beliefs, opinions, and consumer behavior patterns have on an individual. These may be different depending on when and how a person came to this country or if a person was born in this country.

The international marketing literature contains numerous studies examining behavioral differences in consumers across nations (e.g. Brass 1991; McCarty & Hattwick 1992; Hafstrom, Chae & Chung 1992; Husted 2000; Lynn, Zinkhan, & Harris 1993; Steenkamp, Hofstede & Wedel, 1999). Although this research has made significant
contributions toward understanding differences between nations, there is a gap in the literature pertaining to subcultural differences within national boundaries, or intra-national differences (Andreasen 1990; Heslop, Papadopoulos, & Bourk, 1998). The purpose of this study is to add to the understanding of intra-national differences in the socialization process and what effect those differences have on a consumer’s behavior.

**Statement of Problem**

With the recent increases in the proportion of immigrants, the increasing number of Hispanic citizens due to high birth rates, and the emergence of this segment’s economic impact on the U.S. population, researchers have valuable opportunities to study the socialization of individuals and groups within cultural contexts (Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000). With these new population trends and the economic impact these trends have, looking at how Hispanic citizens behave may allow marketers to better understand how culture affects purchase decisions and what patterns the various Hispanic subcultures follow.

It has been suggested that Hispanics tend to be brand conscious, loyal consumers, and are a market that is presumably easy to reach because of geographic segregation (Humphreys, 2000). While, these stereotypes have been suggested, there is a lack of research to determine whether or not there are differences between the various subcultures of the Hispanic population. Further, researchers have mainly taken into consideration Mexican American’s and not other subcultures of the Hispanic population, especially when there are striking differences among them. For example, out of the Hispanic population, Cuban Americans are considered the most similar to Anglo-Americans, and are considered economically the most successful group compared to any other Hispanic subculture such as Mexican Americans (Guarnaccia, Angel & Worobey 1991).

Several attempts have been made to develop integrative views of current research on cultural consumer behavior. However, there are several problems with the current research and there needs to be a more in-depth look at how culture affects consumer behavior in relation to specific products. One product to consider is sport. Sport has been said to be a microcosm of society that reflects social, political and economical issues of
the world around us (Frey & Eitzen, 1991). The significance of sport has increased dramatically and will now be discussed.

**Sport Relevance**

Sports are an important part of just about every society around the world. Sport has been described as a national passion, a mere recreational activity that somehow has become symbolic of national character (Hackney, 2006). In one way or another, people around the world have a connection with sports, whether they are playing or watching or just know someone who does either. Sport is also a huge subset of the entertainment and leisure industry. Sport is estimated to be a $213 billion enterprise (Gillentine & Crow, 2005). The sport industry represents the 4th largest growth industry in the United States and the 11th fastest growing industry in the world (Pitts & Stolar, 2002).

Higgs and McKinley (2005, p. 12) noted that there are several reasons why we should study sport. The following three are highlighted:

1. **Sport is omnipresent.** It is everywhere and affects our lives in numerous ways. Sport is a fascinating and multi-dimensional activity and is far more exciting than many other aspects in our lives.

2. **Sport coverage has increased dramatically over the past decade.** It is nearly impossible to turn on the television, pick up a newspaper, or switch on the radio without seeing some sort of sport coverage.

3. **Many of the role models adopted by our children are athletes.** Sports stars are seen as entertainers and may provide a distraction from reality. The media coverage given to athletes is unparalleled.

The second reason noted by Higgs and McKinley, the increase in sport coverage, is particularly important. As the sport industry has grown, the nature of sport business has changed. Sport has become a major element within the entertainment industry. Of particular note is the relationship that has grown between the sport and television industries. Although both sports and television had independent origins, their relationships now make it hard to imagine one without the other. The relationship is important to consider in light of the use of television as a tool to communicate cultural norms.
According to recent data, there are currently 285 million televisions in use in US households. Per recent survey results that appeared in USA Today, there is currently an average of 2.8 working televisions in each US household. In the average home, a television set is turned on for more than a third of the day — eight hours, 14 minutes (“Consumer Study Reports,” 2005).

Spectators consume sports to a far greater extent through television than through personal attendance at events. The four major networks account for a majority of mega sporting events (e.g., Superbowl, World Series, NCAA Final Four), but cable television and local independent stations have joined the networks as primary outlets for sports programming. Recently, direct satellite broadcasts began to expand its appeal (www.museum.tv). For example, ESPN, which reaches 70% of American homes with television, broadcasts 24 hours a day and has expanded to more than 10 networks (ESPN.com). Sports on television are live television, it is history in the making, it is being up close and personal as possibly momentous events unfold. The thrill in the victory of a favorite team, to join the excitement of the moment in an exhilarating game or to learn more about the teams, players or games on television are among possible satisfactions that are obviously specific to sports on television.

Investment in sports by fans is a vital part of the success of a sport organization. In order for a team to exist, there must be a fan base which purchases tickets, buys souvenirs and other team-related paraphernalia, which demonstrates continued support for at team through attendance at games. As previously noted, sport teams also exist through fans watching their favorite team on television. If a team can only exist through fan support, it is then imperative to understand how one becomes a fan. Understanding how one becomes a fan and how one consumes sport is of interest. In particular, those fans from the non-dominant culture; e.g. Hispanics. It has been assumed to date that this group gains all of its information and television viewing through the two major Spanish speaking television networks; Univision and Telemundo. Some have suggested the key to advertising to this demographic is to convert everything to Spanish (Delgado, 1999; Hudson, 2001). It is important to understand the Hispanic consumption of sport and the media outlets of choice in order to reach this particular segment of the population. Phinney et al. (2000) suggested that understanding the process of socialization could
provide a better understanding as to how consumers may behave and by further examining how people are socialized into sport, researchers would be able to attract and retain fans as consumers.

While research has examined the topic of sport socialization, (e.g., Greendorfer, 1992; James, 1997; James, 2001), there has been no effort to examine the topic across cultures or within subcultures. The current study will extend previous research in this area by examining socialization into sport relative to a specific subculture. This area of study examines the agents and agencies which attract or draw an individual into sport; that is, the way in which a person becomes involved in sport, particularly as a spectator or fan. Spreitzer and Snyder (1976) looked at the various agents that influence an individual’s involvement in sport. Those participating indicated that an individual’s mother, father, and spouse had a significant effect on their involvement in sport. James (1997) suggested the socialization into sports is influenced by parents, siblings, peers, coaches, teachers, and signification others. James (2001) found that fathers had the greatest influence on the formation of team preferences.

The current study seeks to determine the influence of various agents in the process of socialization into sport for a particular subculture. By examining a segment of the Hispanic population through interviews, the current project will take an in-depth look at the agents and sport consumer behavior based on the level of acculturation. This is important because within each subculture there may be different levels of acculturation that may influence behavior. It is important to understand how one first becomes aware of sport and how s/he may then become attracted to sport. Within the sport management literature there is a theoretic framework that accounts for these levels and will now be discussed.

**Theoretical Framework**

The psychological continuum model (PCM), developed by Funk and James (2006), provides a useful framework for conceptualizing psychological outcomes that are related to a sport object and exploring the process through which individuals form psychological connections with sport objects. The PCM is an integrative model in that thinking, feeling and doing are important elements in developing a psychological connection to a sport object. Unlike other models, the PCM focuses on the psychological
connection an individual forms and provides a framework for better understanding when
different phases of learning are operative in relation to developing a stronger
psychological connection to a sport or team (Funk & James, 2001).

The PCM integrates four general stages (see Figure 1): Awareness, Attraction,
Attachment, and Allegiance (Funk & James, 2006). The lowest stage, awareness, is
when an individual realizes that a sport team exists, but s/he is not interested in following
that specific team. Funk and James (2006) further explained that awareness is a process
through which people gain knowledge about a particular team, but no preference is
formed. The second stage, Attraction, is when an initial attitude toward a particular sport
team has developed. This interest in the team stems from social factors (My
father/friend/spouse likes the team so I like them), hedonic motives (it is entertaining to
watch them team; the chance to escape from one’s daily life), and/or situation factors
(cheap seats, low prices, brand new arena).

The third stage, Attachment, is when a psychological connection between an
individual and a sport object (e.g., a sports team) takes on personal importance.
Attachment represents “the degree or strength of association based upon the perceived
importance attached to physical and psychological features associated with a team or
sport” (Funk & James, 2001, p. 121). The fourth stage, Allegiance represents a
connection that has become persistent, resistant to change, influences cognition, and
produces consistent and durable behavior (Funk & James, 2006).

In the proposed study the PCM will serve as a framework to assess when and how
individuals from a particular subculture across generations become aware of a particular
sports team, and whether they progress in the formation of a stronger connection to a
team that would be indicative of attraction or attachment. The framework will allow for a
better understanding of how individuals become aware of and how they form stronger
connections with a sports team. Such knowledge would enable an organization to develop
and implement marketing strategies to facilitate the formation of stronger connections.
Figure 1.1 - The Psychological Continuum Model (Funk & James, 2001 p. 122).

**Purpose of the Study**

As a result of the inconsistency and gaps in the literature in both subcultural consumer behavior and subcultural socialization processes and agents, an investigation of Hispanic subgroups is needed to further the literature on sport fandom, particularly, the socialization process for a particular subculture. The need to better understand the process across various subcultures has been suggested (Greendorfer, 1992) for marketing in general and sport marketing specifically, but has not been explored. These ideas are important to explore because they will aid marketers in developing and implementing more effective marketing strategies as well as provide a better understanding of the Hispanic population that has been the target of many promotional and marketing efforts. The purpose of this study is to advance our understanding of the influence of subculture on building awareness of a product and ultimately a stronger connection to a product, in particular sports teams.
Significance of Study

The need for information on the Hispanic population based on subcultures has become more apparent because of the growth of the Hispanic population, the increase in purchasing power, and the shortcomings of past research. Leiblich (1988, p.181) noted that “advertisers are shelling out money for primetime spots and then scrimping on funds to test whether they work” to reach Hispanic consumers. By focusing on subcultures, marketers are able to get a better grasp on specific characteristics of their target market instead of making brash generalizations about an entire ethnic group. Many marketing campaigns have failed because marketers have generalized from one subculture to all (Korzenny & Korzenny, 2005). The current study, however, will not seek to generalize, but rather to provide an in-depth examination of a particular group or subculture that may provide a better understanding of how this group may be different or similar to other subcultural groupings. It will also show the importance of studying subcultures instead of taking one whole culture and assuming they are all the same because they may have the same label or native language.

Operational Terms

Throughout the following sections there will be several references to terms that a reader must be familiar with. It is essential to clarify the different terms in order to follow the content provided. The following definitions are presented to give some clarity and provide a starting point for the review of literature.

Culture – a relatively stable set of beliefs, values, and behaviors commonly held by a society (Hofstede, 1991).

Subculture – segments of society embracing certain distinctive cultural elements of their own. Subcultural elements typically include a shared set of identifiable beliefs, values, and means of symbolic expression (Donnelly, 1981).

Ethnicity – one’s identity or sense of self as a member of an ethnic group (Phinney, 1996).

Race – categorizing people based on their physical appearance (Phinney, 1996)

Hispanic – people whose origin is Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, South or Central American, or other Hispanic/Latino, regardless of race (U.S. Census, 2000).


Organization and Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is presented in five chapters. Chapter 2 begins with an overview of the viewpoints of research and a literature review of culture and the socialization process along with the differing perspectives of the concepts. Chapter 3 presents a detailed discussion and explanation of the methods used in the research project as well as the methods of inquiry and also presents the interview protocol that used for the project. Chapter 4 provides a micro-ethnography as well as the findings from the research project. Chapter 5 entails a discussion of the overall project along with suggestions for future research and concluding remarks.
CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

Etic and Emic Viewpoints

Before engaging in a study of culture and its impact, it is important to understand two predominant viewpoints of how to study culture: etic and emic. The terms “etic” and “emic” typically used in anthropology were coined by Kenneth Pike from the terms phonemic and phonetic (Morey & Luthans, 1984). The etic approach involves the comparison of one culture to another. Researchers identify culture-free variables that are common to all cultures and that can be directly compared in order to discover if any differences or similarities exist between cultures (Luna & Gupta, 2001). For example, researchers interested in comparing the similarities and differences of professional sport consumer behavior between English and Hispanic individuals on attitudinal, behavioral and socio-economic variables would administer the same questionnaire to both groups in the appropriate language (Laroche, 1985).

The emic approach to cross-cultural research does not directly compare one culture to another, but rather seeks to provide an understanding of a particular culture by examining the attitudinal and behavioral phenomena unique to that culture (Luna & Gupta, 2001). Whereas etic methodologies provide culture-free measures that can be directly compared, the emic approach provides culture rich information about a culture, and thus direct comparisons are not possible. For example, researchers employing the emic approach would try to define either the English or Hispanic consumer, and attempt to create a marketing strategy aimed solely at that market. Usunier (1999) suggested that the emic approach offers more reliability and provides data with greater internal validity, however this is at the expense of the cross-cultural comparability and external validity characteristically found through etic methodologies.

Morey and Luthans (1984) contend that many researchers fall somewhere between the two perspectives by employing both emic and etic approaches to complete their total research and analytical designs. Further, there is an “imbedded emicism” at the fieldwork level in all cultural research which native viewpoints, meanings,
interpretations, etc., are given great importance for understanding behavior (Pelto, 1970). However, moving inductively up the levels of analysis, the researcher becomes increasingly etic as the importance of collective categories for comparison becomes predominant. So, in order for general propositions about human behavior to be tested, emic categories must be fit to etic concepts (Morey & Luthans, 1984).

While the emic and etic viewpoints are not without critics, as noted by Berry (1980), the very name cross-cultural embodies both these approaches. To be “cultural” requires the emic viewpoint, and “cross” requires the etic perspective. One could begin with the etic perspective characterized by the presence of universals. Emic descriptions can then be made by progressively altering the imposed etic until it matches an emic point of view. For example, with rapid globalization and technological networking, there seems to be a convergence of consumers’ preferences of products and services across cultures. In this case, consumer preference can be modeled from an etic approach. However, the how one is socialized into sport and the motivations behind the preference may differ significantly across cultures. This would then require culture-based adaptation based on an emic approach.

From a North American perspective, in general, one can hypothesize that cross-cultural research conducted in European countries would require relatively fewer emic adaptations as compared with Asian and Pacific-Rim countries. Research instruments should include items based both on etic and emic considerations. Approaches for the analysis of items applicable to all cultures and specific to each culture have been developed (Przeworski & Teune, 1970), but much of the literature has tried to compare culture, when in fact by doing this, have lost important information about consumers. It is my contention that consumer research should be done at the subcultural level instead of taking a small segment of a national population who happens to live in the same country and trying to generalize to an entire cultural population, with no regard to individual or group differences. The following section will look at the research done to date in this area along with the reasons for looking at the subcultural level.
Overview of Research

An important starting point for outlining how individuals from various cultures may connect with a sports team is to clarify the meanings of three key terms: culture, race and ethnicity. There is a lack of clarity and consistency with respect to the definitions and usage of the terms culture, ethnicity, and race (Phinney, 1996). Although these terms are often confused, it is critical to understand distinctions between each of them. Culture refers to the meaning systems and lifestyles of particular groups of people (Hofstede, 1996). Harris (1983) defined culture as, “... the learned, socially acquired traditions and life-styles of the members of a society, including their patterned, repetitive ways of thinking, feeling, and acting...” (p. 5). The term culture makes no reference to biological characteristics, such as skin color or race. This is because culture refers to learned patterns of behavior; therefore it should not be confused with the terms ethnicity or race. According to Phinney (1996), the term race has generally been used as way of categorizing people based on their physical appearance. In recent years most physical anthropologists have ceased using the term “race” as a way of categorizing human groups because it has been shown to have no scientific validity (Phinney, 1996). Nevertheless, racial categorization is still used by many people. The term ethnicity is widely used to refer to the categories by which people often label themselves and others (Deshpande, Hoyer, & Donthu, 1986). In many situations it is a more appropriate term to use than the terms culture or race. Ethnicity is a dynamic, multidimensional construct that refers to one’s identity or sense of self as a member of an ethnic group. Ethnic groups are subgroups within a larger context that claim a common ancestry and share one or more of the following elements: culture, phenotype, religion, language, kinship, or place of origin (Phinney, 2002).

Ethnicity and ethnic identification are two terms that are also often inter-mixed with culture and cultural research. Although closely related, ethnicity and ethnic identity are two separate constructs. The term ethnicity is often used to encompass race and refers to a group with a common national or religious background (Ogden, Ogden, & Schau, 2004). The most common meaning refers to the categories or labels used by people to identify themselves or others. These labels may be based on such attributes as cultural identity, descent, physical appearance, or nationality.
Ethnicity is also used objectively to refer to broad groups of Americans on the basis of both race and culture of origin. For example, a person who grew up in Mexico and then moved to the United States would be referred to as Mexican because of his/her place of origin, even though that person may be considered white in Mexico and may feel that he/she is American because he/she now lives in the United States. Ethnicity is contextual and is based on societal perceptions.

Ethnic identification, on the other hand, is a group’s or individual’s identification or maintenance of an original ethnic persona (Laroche, Kim, Hui, & Tumuik, 1998). Ogden et al. (2004) defined ethnic identification as a subjective view that is a self-designation which relays a person’s commitment and strength of association to a particular group. This self-designation suggests that ethnic self-identification better reflects the internal beliefs of individuals about their perception of cultural reality. An example of one who is high in ethnic identification would be a person who may have his/her national flag hanging in his/her car, spend much of his/her free time with people from the same background, wear ethnic clothing, and maintain the traditions which his/her parents passed on. This person’s identity would revolve around his/her ethnic background by letting people know the background through verbal and non-verbal cues.

Ethnicity and culture are often regarded as the same concept. A common assumption about the meaning of ethnicity focuses on the cultural characteristics of a certain group, that are classic of an ethnic group, and that stem from a common culture of origin passed on across generations (Phinney, 1996). Culture is the most important factor that contributes to a person having an ethnic-based identity (Subervi & Rios, 2005). Elements such as religion, languages, music, art, literature, myths, as well as individual, family and societal values and rituals are among the numerous elements that converge in the formation of local, national, or regional cultures. Members of a society may consider an individual part of the ethnic group identified with the culture depending on the degree to which he or she (a) knows about the characteristics of culture, (b) has positive values about or towards the culture, and (c) behaves in public and/or private settings in ways that are harmonious with the culture.

Since it is obvious that there is a clear relationship between ethnicity and culture, there needs to be a way in which to distinguish the terms since both are described in
terms of behaviors, values, and customs. Culture has typically been reserved for a group of people that share the same geographic region of origin, whereas, ethnicity describes a group of people who reside outside the geographic region of origin associated with their ethnic group. In other words, culture is the foundation in which ethnicity is derived. It is important to note that culture is seen as a sociological construct, where ethnicity is seen as in psychological construct. For the current study, culture will be the construct used and will be discussed further in the following section.

Culture

Culture may be defined in so many ways that the result is often a definition that is too broad or vague as to severely limit its usefulness. Two often cited works noting the ambiguity of culture are those of Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952, 1963). In those reviews of literature over 160 separate definitions of culture were identified. In the years since that groundbreaking work, the number of definitions has grown significantly. The culture variable is complex, and the way in which it influences behavior is difficult to analyze. There have been some attempts by researchers (Rohner, 1984; Hofstede, 1996; Kara & Kara, 1996) to present a comprehensive definition of culture. One of the difficulties with such attempts is the duality of structure inherent in culture. According to McCort and Malhotra (1993), “culture is both determined by its members and determinant of the characteristics of its members…an ever evolving force, simultaneously emanating from and acting upon its members” (p. 95). McCort and Malhotra (1993) have described culture as perhaps the most abstract construct affecting human behavior.

Sociologically, culture is viewed in the broadest possible sense, referring to everything that is a part of a peoples’ way of life (Damen, 1987). Sociologists also contend that we are the only species whose survival depends on what we learn through culture, rather than by what we are naturally given through biology. In this context, culture refers to what a particular group of people have in common with each other and how they are different from every other group. Cultural anthropologists, on the other hand, have defined it as the human-made part of the environment (Herskovits, 1955), and thus it can be distinguished into objective culture (e.g., tools or roads) and subjective
culture (e.g., categorizations, beliefs, attitudes, norms, role definitions, or values; Triandis, 1972).

Despite the various meanings and conceptualizations of culture, Rohner (1984) posited that there are five basic assumptions underlying its conceptualization: (1) no matter how culture is conceptualized, it is a phenomenon that is learned by individuals; (2) culture as a learned phenomenon varies from one society to another; (3) the learned and varied phenomenon does have a fundamental orderliness and regularity in human life; (4) culture refers to a way of life, traditions, heritage, designs for living, or life scripts; and (5) culture is a phenomenon that is shared by individuals. By ascribing to these assumptions, a researcher is able to have some level of continuity or compatibility for investigating how culture affects and is internalized within people.

In addition to the five assumptions and even though considerable variation exists, all cultures also share five components: symbols, language, values, norms, and material culture (Hofstede, 2001). A symbol is anything that carries a particular meaning recognized by people who share culture. Symbols serve as the basis for everyday reality and vary within cultures, cross-culturally, and change over time and interpretation of symbols is strongly culture-bound. In essence, symbols are “words, gestures, pictures and objects that carry often complex meanings recognized as such only by those that share the culture” (Hofstede, 2001, p. 10). Geertz (1973) defined culture as a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which individuals communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge of attitudes toward life.

The second component, language, is a system of symbols that allows members of a society to communicate with one another. All cultures have a spoken language though not all have a written language. Korzenny and Korzenny (2005) argued that the connection between language and culture is similar to the way in which memory and emotion are linked. The Spanish language is a key element in Latino identity, recognized as an important common bond or denominator for and among Latinos. People are more likely to recall experiences that have emotional value to them. In a parallel way, language gets shaped and acquires rich meaning as human’s associate experiences with words, sentences, books, etc.
Phinney et al. (2000) posited the idea that values represent central or desirable goals that serve as standards to guide the selection or evaluation of behavior, people, and events. The values of a society in which children are raised provide a framework that shapes parental behaviors and interactions with children and the resulting developmental outcomes. The values people hold vary to some degree by age, sex, race, ethnicity, religion, and social class. Values convey what is important to us in our lives. Each person holds numerous values (e.g., achievement, benevolence) with varying degrees of importance. A particular value may be very important to one person but unimportant to another. Values are a motivational construct. They represent broad goals that apply across contexts and time (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1997). For example, giving importance to power values implies striving for power at work, at home, with friends, and so forth. People generally know what is important to them. Hence, when asked about their values, they can usually give reasonably accurate reports. People may act in accordance with their values even when they do not consciously think about them. Thus, values may operate outside of awareness but they are available for retrieval from memory. Individuals are likely to experience some inconsistency and conflict with their personal values. Further, values can and will change over time. Values and norms are not descriptions of actual behavior, but rather reflect how we believe members of a culture should behave. Within all cultures, parents engage in practices aimed at socializing a child to become a responsible adult member of the society (Phinney, 2000).

Hofstede (2001), on the other hand, stressed that culture influences behavior through the manifestations of values, rituals, heroes and symbols. Values are considered to be invisible manifestations of culture, whereas the practice of rituals, heroes and symbols are its visible aspects. Culturally determined knowledge and experience is stored and expressed through these manifestations. Therefore, each group or society’s cultural manifestations will be different. Values, in this sense, are “…centrally held, enduring belief(s) which guide actions and judgments across specific situations and beyond immediate goals to more ultimate end-states of existence” (Rokeach, 1968, p. 161). A ritual, which is also referred to as ‘symbolic action’, is “a social action devoted to the manipulation of the cultural meaning for purposes of collective and individual communication and categorization” (McCracken, 1988, p.84). Heroes represent
“persons, alive or dead, real or imaginary, who possess characteristics which are highly prized in a culture, and who thus serve as models for behavior” (Hofstede, 2001, p. 10).

There are several assumptions that have been made concerning culture. First, Hofstede (1991) claimed that the “core of culture …is formed by values” (p. 8). Erez and Earley (1993) echoed Hofstede (1991) in asserting that culture is “the core values and beliefs of individuals within a society formed in complex knowledge systems during childhood and reinforced throughout life” (p. 43). The second assumption, as discussed by Trandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai and Lucca (1988), is that culture is fundamentally an objective and observable phenomenon. They further contend that cultural dimensions depend on referent groups and are not absolutes. The third assumption is that culture is relatively stable over time (Hofstede, 1980). The final assumption is that culture can be identified based on shared attributes of a group. It is a collective characteristic or an attribute shared by the group. It has been also suggested that culture may be comprised of a heterogeneous harmony (Turner & Trompenaars, 1997).

**Cultural Levels**

Fundamental to cultural studies is defining the proper level or layer at which culture should be assessed. Multiple criteria are used to isolate cultural diversity within the larger societal context (Spradley & McCurdy, 1975). These criteria may include attributes such as ethnicity, religion and region. Regional or geographic-based affiliations are often cited in the literature as the most relevant (Murdock, 1967). Franklin and Steiner (1992) assert that place and culture are inextricably intertwined. Essentially, belonging to a group is facilitated by geographic proximity. While these are the starting points for any project, it may be just as important to look at those with the same nationality with the same socioeconomic status, religion, core values, etc., to get a more realistic view of how they may be similar or different. Hofstede (1991) argued that there are “layers of culture” that exist and there is a strong need for additional development in culture assessment to identify these multiple culture based groupings. He further noted that the layers include the national level, regional or ethnic/religious/linguistic levels, and possibly gender, generational and social class levels (1991). The current study will further examine the regional or ethnic/religious/linguistic
levels called subcultures. Despite the call for more research in culture, particularly in relation to the study of subcultures, there are some concerns as to how such research may be conducted and various problems with this line of research.

*Methodological Problems*

Despite the importance of culture, concerns have been raised regarding both the quantity and rigor of research in this area. For example, Boyacigiller and Adler (1991) observe that, notwithstanding the continued commitment of many academic journals, the number of cultural studies in business is “neither an impressive showing nor a particularly favorable harbinger” (p. 269). Historical reviews of the methodological approaches used suggest that cross-cultural studies have yet to resolve many conceptual and methodological issues if you consider rigor. These concerns are consistent with similar issues raised by other researchers: Douglas and Craig (1983), Cavusgil and Das (1997), and Auklah and Kotabe (1993). Cultural research has yet to determine methodological issues related to the conceptual foundation for research design and hypothesis formulation, equivalence, sampling, data collection methods, data analysis, effects of confounding variables, and the difficulty of conceptualizing and assessing culture (Cavusgil & Das 1997, Auklah & Kotabe 1993, & Sekaran 1983). It is my argument that many of the mythological issues could be addressed by looking at the subcultural level instead of trying to take on an entire culture. By breaking the culture into subcultures researchers will be able to allow a conceptual framework to develop from the data because there tend to be more differences among cultures than between. Research at the subcultural level will provide a more accurate view of values, beliefs, and traditions that may influence behavior. The following section will define subculture and explain the importance of looking at consumer behavior at the subcultural level.

*Subculture*

Fine and Kleinman (1979) noted that contemporary Western societies are not homogeneous. Nations are not heterogeneous with regards to class, ethnic background, race, and religion. In addition, countries are divided into regions, age cohorts, and ideological and political groups. These divisions frequently correspond with further dividing the segment and of the amount of knowledge shared by members of the society.
Culture, then, is not uniformly spread throughout a social system, particularly in societies based on the division of labor, such as the United States. The authors note that sociologists have been increasingly using the term subcultures to describe societies composed of sub-societies.

There are many sources of culture. While nationality may be a starting point of the discussion of culture, it is not always the main source of culture when regarded from an “operational culture” perspective (Usunier, 1996). The concept of national culture may seem dangerous in many respects because it sums up a complex and multiform reality. In short, as a variable nationality is too artificial to avoid the traps of stereotypes. Writers who have attempted to generalize about cultures typically qualify their descriptions by pointing out that their research is limited, that groups are heterogeneous, and that many conclusions are based on informal observations or stereotypes (Phinney, 1996). Figure 1 below shows the basic sources of cultural background at the level of the individual that must be considered (Usuineir, 1996).

![Sources of culture](image)

Figure 2.1. - Sources of Culture (Usuineir, 1996, p.12).

It would then seem reasonable and more practical to look at the notion of how each of the factors included in Figure 1 may or may not affect particular subcultures in trying to avoid stereotypes and over generalizing. Subcultures can be defined as
segments of society embracing certain distinctive cultural elements of their own (Donnelly, 1981). Subcultural elements typically include a shared set of identifiable beliefs, values, and means of symbolic expression. Haviland (1999) suggested that, although subculture is conceptually based on cultural values, it refers more specifically to a subgroup within a society, usually identified in the social science literature by a particular region. Although the geographic location of a subculture often overlaps with political borders, it has been suggested that the permeability of country borders permits cultural values to transcend the borders (Oberholtzer, 2004). It then seems plausible that individuals may adopt the geographic criterion as a basis for the initial identification of a particular subculture (Oberholtzer, 2004). For example, many people who appear to be from an “ethnic” decent are often asked where they are from. In most cases, their responses are the country from which their ancestors immigrated. In the case of Hispanics the response might be Mexico, Cuba, Puerto Rico, etc.

Subcultures, then, are conceived of as stemming from group cultures. Cultural forms are created through the individual or collective manipulation of symbols. From its point of creation, the cultural form is communicated to others, and diffused outward from the individual’s own interaction partners. The transmission of culture is a product of interaction.

It is important to recognize that the Hispanic market does not constitute a single, homogeneous market (Valdes, 1991). Hispanics have been coming to the USA for more than a century from many different areas and cultures, the Hispanic market comprises several subgroups. These subgroups can be identified in many ways: country-of-origin; reasons for immigrating to the USA (e.g. political, economic, to join family, etc.); and, lastly, how well assimilated they are in US society.

It is also significant to note that it is not always easy to agree upon all the elements that distinguish the Hispanic culture or the various regional subcultures. Individuals and groups may vary in their evaluation of what is required to claim their identity in general or as it relates to a particular subculture of interest. Despite all that, there are identifiable elements and patterns stemming from, and related to, different subcultural heritages. There has been some literature done in this area, but it has been mainly cross-cultural.
The literature examining international markets contains numerous studies examining behavioral differences in consumers across nations (McCarty & Hattwick 1992; Hafstrom, et al. 1992; Lynn, et al. 1993), although this research has made significant contributions toward understanding differences between nations, there is a gap in the literature about subcultural differences within national boundaries, or intra-national differences (Ogden, Ogden, & Schau, 2004). Jacoby et al. (1998) reviewed consumer behavior-related articles from 1993 through 1996 and found that research on minority groups was scarce. Marketing practitioners have stressed that understanding culture is very important when attempting to market to minority groups (Ogden et al., 1998). Despite the increased importance of cultural-related research in marketing, only a limited amount of attention has been given to subcultures and consumer acculturation (Kara and Kara 1996). Ogden et al. (2004) noted that this research gap handicaps marketers when making tactical decisions related to ethnic, or subcultural, marketing. An understanding of individual subcultures is essential for greater success in comprehending and capitalizing on differences that exist within a nation.

Along with the call for more work in this area, Fine and Kleinman (1979) posed four conceptual problems with the literature on subculture: “(1) Subculture has often been treated as synonymous with the population comprising the subsociety, (2) subculture has been examined without sufficient concern for delineating the group of individuals serving as its referent, (3) the subcultural system is pictured as homogeneous, static, and closed, and (4) subculture is depicted as consisting in its entirety of values, norms, and central themes” (p. 2).

There is a huge gap in the literature that examines consumer behavior at the subcultural level; analysis at this level may be the way in which to start to understand how to segment a population instead of using racial and ethnic markers. How a particular subculture and their values and/or beliefs influence a person’s connection to a particular product, a sports team, and ultimately the person’s behavior will be the focus of this study. In order to understand the influence of subculture, it is important to understand the acculturation process and what effects it has on an individual within a particular subculture.
Acculturation Process

Enculturation

Scholars and marketers have come to realize that an understanding of enculturation, acculturation and assimilation are critical. Enculturation is the learning of one’s first culture and is a process that all humans born into a social group experience. Individuals become part of a culture by learning the morals, values, orientations, and perceptual patterns of their social surroundings (Korzeny & Korzeny, 2005).

Enculturation fundamentally consists of language and ethnic identity. It has been noted that enculturation is usually pervasive and difficult to erase and is expected to affect the way in which immigrants adjust to a second culture. Berry (1998) considered the degree to which individuals valued keeping their original culture orientation, and the degree to which they found it valuable to maintain a relationship with a second culture. He suggested that those who value their primary culture and do not care for a second culture tend to separate from the second culture by segmenting with those who have similar values and tend to keep their primary tradition. Individuals that want to maintain their original culture and also relate to their second culture integrate or acculturate, and those who do not value maintaining their original culture and find the new culture more worthy assimilate the new culture, as illustrated in Figure 2:2.

Figure 2:2 - The Acculturation Process

In recent years, as Hispanics have been welcomed for their differences and have tended to acculturate or maintain their original culture, fewer Hispanics are inclined to assimilate because they have a renewed interest or value their culture of origin, or their
enculturation (Korzenny & Korzenny, 2005). There are those who believe that people do not fully assimilate, but rather acculturate at different levels. In other words, people do not really lose or forget their original culture (Winebrenner, 2005). At the heart of the acculturation versus assimilation debate is what happens to an individual’s own cultural identity when circumstances require a sustained exposure to a different culture (Winebrenner, 2005). Over the last three decades, scholars have argued over which social mechanism best represents the process Hispanics use to integrate with mainstream American culture. To understand the depth of this dispute, it is necessary to provide clarity in the fundamental differences of these ideas.

Acculturation

According to Berry (1980), there are three phases of acculturation: contact, conflict, and adaptation. In the initial stage, contact, an individual is exposed to new ideas and values that may be unlike his/her cultural roots. A person at this stage may be overwhelmed by different ideas of work ethic, American slang, and freedom of speech. Conflict arises when the person confronts the need for personal and inward cultural change and then has to choose what part of the old culture he/she must shed and what new parts to incorporate. The process may last several years as an individual works through his/her feelings of betrayal of his/her original culture. The level of acculturation
or assimilation that an individual achieves depends on the adaptation stage. At this stage the person evaluates conflicting cultural values and asks himself/herself which values he/she is willing to compromise. “Do I want to speak primarily English? Do I want to watch sports? Do I want to celebrate Labor Day?” The level of integration depends strongly on the individual’s choice of maintaining various aspects of his/her original culture and ultimately defines the level of acculturation reached by the individual and it varies from individual to individual (Korzenny & Korzenny, 2005).

There are various internal and external factors that influence an individual. Internal factors are: ethnicity and nation of origin, personality and ability to cope with change, age, education, language proficiency, knowledge and understanding of the host culture, and reasons for migrating. External or environmental influences that play a role in the process of acculturation include: socio-economic status, presence of family support networks, presences of peers in the community where the newcomer lives, and attitude of the host community towards immigrants (Winebrenner, 2005). Recent studies on acculturation have indicated that acculturation can be understood by studying three interrelated components of culture. These components are objects (symbols, rituals, etc.); values (beliefs, attitudes, etc.), and actions (habits, styles, etc.) as noted in Hofstede’s work (2001).

Assimilation

Assimilation, perhaps the oldest of the three acculturation paradigms, is the focus of the “melting pot” literature in many studies. The assimilated group is expected to submerge its distinct cultural traits and exhibit or adopt the new (majority) culture’s traits and values. Assimilation occurs when a group chooses not to retain its original values and reject behaviors of the majority (Glazer & Moynihan, 1975; Triandis et al., 1986) and implies change in terms of learning and adapting to new or different cultural elements without necessarily having to abandon the original culture in all of its manifestations (Subervi & Rios, 2005). This is sometimes termed the “salad bowl” theory, i.e. participation without assimilation. Studies by Berry (1980), Stayman and Deshpande (1989), and Penaloza (1994) suggest that the greater the pressure felt by the ethnic group, the higher the perceived benefit of adaptation, and thus the greater dissociation from its
own culture. The experienced pressure heightens the possibility of “overshooting” behavior. This idea is similar to assimilation as it is a means of taking on the new culture while cutting off that of the original. A bulk of the research in this area has focused on the Hispanic population, primarily due to the research influx of the population and because it has been suggested that this population has had a storied history of going through these three stages (Stayman & Deshpande, 1989; Subervi & Rios, 2005).

Research in marketing and the social sciences suggests that while ancestry is not a variable that differentiates aspects of Hispanic life, the degree of assimilation in US society does. Sabogal et al. (1987) found that Cubans, Central Americans, and Mexican-Americans do not differ in their perceptions, understanding, or importance of familialism as a cultural value. More important in discerning across the individual groups was the assimilation level of the study participants. Additional studies in marketing by Webster (1994), Deshpande et al. (1986), and Segal and Sosa (1983) have suggested that the key to categorizing and understanding Hispanic subgroups may lie in the degree of assimilation. Studies suggesting significant attitudinal differences between strong and weakly assimilated Hispanics include Valencia (1985), with behavioral differences between Hispanic subgroups reported by Donthu and Cherian (1994), Webster (1992), and Schwartz (1992).

Subervi and Rios (2005) contend that Latinos do not assimilate, they acculturate. Further, they posit that Latinos are pluralistic as they are selectively situational in terms of which cultural characteristics they embrace and express. A person is not simply assimilated or not assimilated, acculturated or not acculturated. It is all a matter of degrees of adaptation, and specific areas in which the transformation may occur. Each of the processes is dynamic and multidimensional and is contextual and situational. This can be extended to the sport context or situation. While many people feel that soccer is the sport of choice for most Hispanics, it may depend on situation in which sport is consumed. For example, if an individual is on the low end of the acculturation scale sport fandom may be considered to be a family affair or family outing, the individual may be apt to be a fan of soccer. On the other hand, if an individual farther along the acculturation scale and is trying to fit in at school with his peers who are avid football fans, he/she may be more apt to consume football in order to fit in. In order to further
understand how one may behave in each of those cases it is important to understand the socialization process and how one is socialized into sport.

Socialization

Damon (1983) stated that “social development is a life process built upon a paradox.” (p. 3). He further explained that “the paradox is that at the same time we are both social and individual beings, connected with others in a multitude of ways, as well as ultimately alone in the world” (p. 3). There are two functions of social development that are typically examined; socialization and formation of an individual’s personal identity. Socialization, in the broadest sense, can be thought of as the way in which an individual becomes a member of a society, embodying his/her own experiences, and an actions stemming from the learned behavior, a part of the culture of the society (Schwartz, 1978). Sage (1974) suggested that socializing experiences are thought to begin at birth and to continue throughout one’s life. The socialization process produces attitudes, values, knowledge and behaviors which are related to cultural norms and the roles which an individual will play in society and is thought to occur through formal and informal channels (Sage, 1974).

The socialization process includes all of one’s tendencies to establish and maintain relations with others, to become an accepted member of society, to regulate one’s behavior according to society’s expectations, and to live in harmony with other people (Schwartz, 1978). In other words, the way in which a person assimilates into society and becomes a respected citizen (Damon, 1983). Socialization is a complex developmental learning process that teaches the knowledge, values, and norms essential to participation in social life. It is through socialization that we learn all types of social roles, among these are roles related to sport and leisure participation and spectating (McPherson et al., 1989). The critical years in which the primary and lasting socialization occurs is in childhood and adolescence. In the early years, children need close physical and emotional contact with mothers and must respond actively in ways that encourage such contact. By middle school, though, children must learn to act cooperatively and fairly if they are to be accepted by their peers. By the time of adolescence, the standards of society must be understood and respected. In these and many other ways, children
experience the extensive needs and demands of socialization throughout their
development.

The second function of social development is the formation of an individual’s personal identity. Often called individualism, this function included the development of one’s sense of self and the forging of a special place for oneself within the social order (Damon, 1983). Additionally, this function involves understanding one’s distinctive personal characteristics with the requirements of interpersonal relations, as well as gender, family, and professional roles. The formation of a personal identity requires distinguishing oneself from others, determining one’s own unique direction in life, and finding within the social network a position uniquely tailored to one’s own particular nature, needs and aspirations.

Both functions of social development are essential for a person’s adaptation to life. Individuals do not function as independent entities in society; rather they interact with other people (Blumer, 1969; Crompton, 1981). It is necessary to consider socialization from the perspective of the society into which the child is being socialized. The persons who socialize the child are members of society, and their socializing actions are influence by the position that they occupy in society; thus a child’s significant others are also socialization agents. Formal channels of socialization include schools, church groups, and community based programs. The family, peer groups, and mass media are the primary informal channels of socialization. For each person a set of socializing agents act upon that individual and draw him or her into certain activities and away from others. The social experiences into which an individual is introduced produce social consequences in the form of attitudes, values, and behaviors (Sage, 1974). Much of the learning that takes place in childhood occurs through imitation, modeling, and identification with the behavior of others. The socialization agents in different social segments present different expectations to children, who will, accordingly, have different socialization experiences. While regional differences have received some attention, more interest has been focused on social class differences (Handel, 2006). When the child manages his/her own conduct by the same values and norms that his/her socializing agents pass on him/her, he/she is said to internalize the values and norms. They are available within one’s self, thus no longer needing to be presented by the socialization
agent. Internalization takes place over an extended period of time and is accomplished through identification with significant others (Handel, 2006).

_Sociologies of Socialization_

Because of the interdisciplinary, eclectic approach to the study of socialization, McPherson (1986) argued that it is unlikely that any one theoretical perspective will ever adequately explain the process or the end product. There have been, however “two sociologies” that have been used by researchers to examine the process of socialization (Dawe, 1970). These “sociologies” are known as the normative approach and the interpretive approach. The normative approach is used less frequently used and is when deviance is viewed as nonconforming and incomplete socialization (Dawe, 1970). An example of a theoretical framework using this approach would be social imitation. This concept argues that an individual is more or less passive and learns by observing and modeling the behavior and perceived values, beliefs, and norms displayed by socialization agents (McPherson et al., 1989).

The interpretive approach, on the other hand, states that the individual seeks to gain control or mastery over his or her situation, relationships and institutions. Dawe (1970) further explained that the focus of study is on such elements of the process as the definition of the situation, presentation of the self, and negotiation with others. This more recent approach to the study of socialization has been prevalent within sociology as a result of three interrelated developments (McPherson, 1986).

The first is that “an adequate explanation or theory must account for both the transmission of culture and for the development of autonomous human beings” (McPherson, 1986, p. 114). In other words, there are two interacting levels of analysis for which different theoretical approaches are most appropriate. At the macro-level, more universal outcomes occur and learning is more generalized from one situation to another making the process more predictable. At this level, social learning theory, role theory, reference group theory, and cognitive and social development theories are most likely to be powerful explanatory frameworks.

At the micro-level, the focus is on individual learning and situation-specific outcomes. As a result, the process is less predictable because it depends more on the
active involvement of the person being socialized to determine the outcome. Therefore at this level, McPherson (1986) suggested theories that account for interpersonal interaction and negotiation are more useful. For example, the symbolic interactionist perspective views socialization as an active rather than a passive process. In other words, this perspective recognizes that new and novel meanings and definitions can be created out of the process (Mortimer & Simmons, 1978).

A second development that promotes the greater use of micro-level theories has been, as McPherson (1986) suggested, a general realization that socialization continues throughout an individual’s life. As a result, there has been greater research interest in socialization during the middle and later years. In addition, social scientists have recognized that the use of one perspective is not likely to account for the life-long process of socialization, and that the use of particular theoretical perspectives may be most appropriate at different stages in the life cycle. For example, Dowd and George (1980) discussed the use of theory in relationship to the life span. They each agreed that during infancy and early childhood, the functionalist perspective using social and cognitive development theories might be the most appropriate. However, during adolescence and throughout adulthood, it is possible that the exchange or symbolic interaction perspective would better capture the socialization process.

The third, and perhaps the most influential, factor leading to an increased use of the interpretive approach was the debate concerning whether the analyses have viewed people as “over” or “under” socialized (McPherson, 1986). In the “oversocialized approach”, it is assumed that the individual’s behavior is completely determined by society. On the contrary, the “undersocialized approach” assumes that individuals act totally independently regardless of their past experiences (Dautenhahn & Edmonds, 2002). The optimum situation is the compromise of these two views in which people interpret meanings based on their experience.

Most contemporary models of parenting and socialization (Maccoby, 2000) are applicable only to children growing up in monocultural contexts. It is also important to look at bicultural socialization because cultural transmission is more complex for many persons who come from immigrant-heritage backgrounds. It is then important to
recognize the differences in transmissions across generations and how immigration and generation can affect one’s socialization process.

**Culture and Socialization**

The view of dual-culture transmission has enriched sociologists’ thinking about socialization processes and how individuals participate as members of two cultural groups. Research in this area is exemplified in the work of numerous investigators (Bernal, Knight, Garza, Ocampa, & Cota, 1990; Hurtado & Gurin, 1987; Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000; Umana-Taylor & Fine, 2004). These researchers have examined topics relevant to ethnic socialization, ethnic identification, and biculturalism.

Like previous research done on monoculture socialization, it is important to keep in mind whether the transmission of two cultural orientations experienced by the young person is carried out by the primary agents of socialization (e.g., parents and grandparents) or by secondary agents (e.g., teachers, peers, and other role models). This is important because these socializing agents may emphasize different aspects of culture during the transmission process. Four major criteria have been examined (Mena, Padilla, & Maldonado, 1987; Tatum, 2001; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Winters & De Bose, 2003) that have the potential for creating a situation of bicultural social transmission: (1) Immigrant children and adolescents, (2) Second-generation individuals, (3) Third- and Later- Generations, and (4) Mixed Ethnic and Racial Heritage Children. Since this study focuses on the Hispanic population, it is now imperative to understand what research has been done in the area of Hispanic socialization.

**Hispanic Socialization**

Research on early childhood socialization suggests that Hispanic parents differ from parents of other ethnic groups in their child rearing values and the interpersonal behavior they want their children to display at home and school. Although there have been some empirical and theoretical advances made in our understanding of minority child socialization, most of our existing knowledge comes from studies of middle-class Euro-American families (Ogbu, 1981, 1988). This means that our assumptions about normative child rearing behaviors and beliefs and child competencies rest upon a Euro-
American set of values. The unfortunate implication is that child socialization processes that differ from these value-laden assumptions are regarded as deviant.

Across cultures, a person's early development usually takes place within the milieu of a family. Parents' interactions with children typically include a hierarchy of priorities, such as ensuring their children's physical health, survival, and self-maintenance as the child grows while fostering behavioral capacities that maximize cultural values (Levine, 1977). With their preschool children, parents often focus on regulating the children's affective states by directly dealing with children's emotional expressions and monitoring the children's moment-to-moment activities and providing feedback (Maccoby, 1984; Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Effective psychosocial functioning emerges from these interactions and endures well beyond the time children are physically dependent on their parents (Hartup, 1989).

Other than direct observation of parent-child interaction, one window into the socialization process is afforded by the child rearing values of the parents' ethno-cultural reference group (Garcia-Coll, 1990). By following culturally influenced values and beliefs, parents try to foster prosocial competencies (Ogbu, 1981) for successful functioning during childhood and in later years. Minority group parents have culturally determined developmental goals for their children and, therefore, their reactions, perceptions, and behaviors will differ from majority group parents (Garcia-Coll, 1990). Furthermore, how parents socialize children is influenced by the circumstances in which the parents themselves developed. Individual development, then, occurs in interaction with the family, which itself is influenced by the larger sociocultural context (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1986; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). By taking an ecological orientation we can deal with many of the environmental forces that affect individual development.

*Family Ecology*

The concept of family ecology encompasses the family's demographic factors and customary manner of functioning, which reflects the interactions the family as a social system has with other societal institutions (Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990). Among Hispanic and other minority families of low socioeconomic status, for
instance, the need for adequate child care may require the mobilization of the extended family. Thus, a child's attachment to several significant adult relatives may be an important source of socialization despite the presence of the parents as the primary caregivers (Garcia-Coll, 1990). The cumulative effects of socioeconomic disadvantage and negative stereotyping felt by racial and minority families leads them to develop adaptive strategies based on their beliefs about what it means to be a member of an ethnic or racial minority group (Harrison et al., 1990).

Adaptive strategies arise from the need to survive and to maintain continuity from one generation to the next. These strategies are the observable social behaviors that we link with cultural patterns (DeVos, 1982). Families then formulate socialization goals to teach their children the strategies necessary for survival. These goals are derived essentially from cultural knowledge of the tasks their children will have to face as adults—not just work skills, but ways of dealing with being a racial or minority person in a class- and race-conscious society (Harrison et al., 1990). The competencies needed for survival (Ogbu, 1981) that comes from socialization goals are instilled through close interaction between children and older family members. Vygotsky (1978) termed this interaction the "zone of proximal development" (Rogoff& Morelli, 1989; Wertsch, 1985b), in which more experienced members of the culture guide children to acquire the skills needed to function in the culture. One result of this mentorship and skills acquisition is that the child's self-esteem is improved, and a sense of self and group membership is achieved (Rogoff& Morelli, 1989). The presence of nurturing, supportive, and disciplined mentors, as suggested by Vygotsky (Wertsch, 1985a) and Erikson (1968), are essential in transmitting the values, beliefs, and behaviors of a culture. This strategy helps protect the family's continuity and preserve its culture. The socialization goal that emerges is to have children accept that family is to be the central focus of their lives. A child rearing practice that incorporates these goals is the insistence on children's conformity to parental and extended-family authority, which often extends to conformity to the authority of other adults as well.

The body of research on Hispanic child socialization is undersized, creating difficulty in specifically identifying and accounting for differences within and between Hispanic subgroups. Nonetheless, education and social class appear to account for some
group differences in parental behaviors. Laosa (1980), for example, found that Mexican-American mothers with higher levels of education and income used teaching strategies characterized by praise and inquiry, and those with lower education and income used more modeling. Two other variables, acculturation—the process by which immigrants adopt and adapt the values and behaviors of the host culture (Padilla, 1980)—and length of residency in the United States also suggest group differences. Further research is needed, however, in the area of early childhood socialization to establish more clearly the influences and interactions of education, income, acculturation, and U.S. residency between and within different Hispanic subgroups. To date, there have been no studies that have looked at how Hispanic subgroups are socialized into and/or through sport. This line of research could unlock the key to marketing to this segment of the population by finding out what similarities and differences there may be. By determining these differences and similarities, marketers will be able to market to this segment more effectively.

**Sport Socialization**

Sport differs from other sources of entertainment through evoking high levels of emotional attachment and subsequent fan identification (Sutton, McDonald, Milne, Cimperman, 1997). This mechanism of identity construction via emotional attachment lends credibility to the notion that sport serves as an agent of socialization while creating long-lasting and largely rewarding social bonds. All sport fans demonstrate some level of psychological connection to a sport object (e.g., sport, team, athlete); understanding the way in which connections are formed among Hispanic subgroups serves as the basis for this study.

There are two ideas which are apparent when discussing the socialization of sport consumers 1) socialization into sport and 2) socialization through sport. During the 1970’s several sport sociologists and researchers addressed the topic of socialization into sport in relation to sport participation. Notably, work in this particular area was first done by Kenyon and McPherson (1973); the author’s defined socialization as the social process whereby persons learn to become participants in their society. They argued that socialization requires some form of social interaction for its foundation where the identity
can be cultivated and later maintained. The authors further discussed this idea by proposing that an individual is to be socialized into sport involvement rather than via sport involvement and the subsequent learning of sport roles is likely to occur in about the same way as the learning of non-sport roles. The authors also included social systems influences and from this perspective sport-role learning was viewed as the exposure of the role model. The findings from the study noted that before high school, individuals are encouraged to participate in sports primarily by family members and to a lesser extent by friends. Additionally, in high school, individuals receive greater reinforcement from coaches and peers than from family members. For the college athlete, the greatest amount of reinforcement comes from peers. The agents in the process of role learning that were determined to be the most salient were: family, school, peer group and community, with family being the most important; especially fathers. While these findings are significant, the study focused primarily on adult males and does not indicate socialization agents throughout their lives (Kenyon & McPherson, 1973).

Snyder and Spreitzer (1976) tried to fill the previous gap by examining some correlates of sport participation among adolescent girls and reported there was a positive relationship between parental interest, coaches’ encouragement, and sport participation. They concluded sport socialization begins in childhood and continues into adolescence and that encouragement from significant others was important. Although the authors did address a younger age group than previous investigations in this area, it would seem irrational to draw conclusions that sport socialization begins in childhood if that has yet to be tested. Another question to consider is whether the socialization processes differ between males and females.

Greendorfer (1977) noticed this gap and suggested that even though there was little to no research done on gender, there is some evidence of variance between the sexes in the socialization process. In contrast to the assertions made by Kenyon and McPherson (1973), Greendorfer (1977) found that social systems, other than the school, are primarily responsible for socializing females into sport. This information contrasts those findings by Snyder and Spreitzer (1976) that the family was not of prime importance.
Greendorfer and Lewko (1978) extended the previous research to include children in addition to testing both boys and girls and the role of family members in sport socialization in children. In this study the authors found that parents, rather than siblings, have significant influence on both sexes, particularly the father. In fact, the inquiry revealed only the father served as a significant influence on children’s sport participation.

Sage (1980) also looked at childhood socialization influences, but unlike Kenyon and McPherson (1973), he looked at both male and female intercollegiate athletes in order to determine whether there were differences between the sexes. This also filled the void suggested by Greendorfer (1977) that there could be differences between sexes. The results showed that parents of both male and female intercollegiate athletes tended to be involved in sports themselves, with parents of males being more involved than parents of female athletes. She also noted that fathers tend to be more supportive of their sons than of their daughters.

McPherson (1976) was one of the first to investigate sport socialization into the role of sport consumer. The author illustrated the differences between direct and indirect sport consumers and drew the following distinction – someone attending is direct and someone watching at home is indirect (has an opportunity to impact the event). The author noted there are four sources of sport consumer socialization: family, peers, school, and community. In adolescent males the order of importance was the peer group, family, and school; while for the females the family, peer group, family, and school were most influential.

The idea of community was also examined when Anderson and Stone (1981) suggested that communities are seen as markets and little concern is given to the relationship of community members to the team, nor to the relationship of the players to the community. “The explicit role of the event is recreational but social interaction takes place which may generate enthusiasm for and identification with the community” (Anderson & Stone, 1981, p. 168). These formal and impersonal relationships form the basis for the idea of community that Kenyon and McPherson (1973) and McPherson (1976) were attempting to convey. The idea of community seems to be a prevalent and logical variable, however there has yet to be any empirical evidence to suggest this may be a prime agent in the socialization process.
Wann, Tucker, and Schrader (1996) and James (2001) also examined the factors involved in the initial identification with a specific sports team, although not a study on socialization, many of the ideas cut across the construct. Wann et al. (1996) found the five most common reasons for following a team were 1) their parents or family followed the team, 2) they liked the players or the players were good, 3 and 4) their friends or peers followed the team and geographical reason, and 5) the team is successful.

Since most of the previous socialization literature has only examined adults, college aged individuals and adolescents James (2001), included children ages 5-9 (in subsets of 5-6 and 7-9 in his study. This fills a huge void on previous socialization research. By using Piaget’s Theory along with both leisure and sport socialization processes to explore who the primary socialization agents, and whether there were differences in the formation of team preference based on level of cognitive development, the study fills the need of looking at young children. The results indicated a person’s father was the most influential. In a few cases, a male sibling was found to have influence; all the participants indicated they did not think their mother had a favorite sport team suggesting mothers had little influence on child developing a preference for a specific sports team.

There have been no other studies, with the exception of James (2001), examining the question of how individuals become fans through the socialization process. This is an area of study that is very underdeveloped. While the quality of the literature has been good, the quantity is lacking. The current literature does not adequately address the creation of a sport consumer, the values that are transferred, and the reasons why the father’s influence is so important. There has also been little done to extend the previous research, and there have been no qualitative studies done to ascertain whether the current socialization agents being studied are exhaustive. For example, the influence of media, video games, and the Internet has not been suggested. Instead, researchers have tried to either refute or reiterate what has already been done. Additionally, there has also been little effort to look at the process from a longitudinal perspective to see how an individual begins, maintains, changes, or severs ties with a particular team throughout the consumer’s lifetime. Another problem with the current socialization research is that the authors have not created a control sample. In neglecting this, the current field has not
explored differences in those who have identified with a team and those who have not, despite having similar socializing agents and influences in an effort to determine what the actual influencing factors by the socialization agents are important and influential.

While several authors (Greendorfer, 1977; James, 2001; McPherson, 1976) highlight the importance of the father in this introductory role as sport facilitator, no mention is made of the mother’s supervisory role in the same context. This form of socialization could reveal a more independent function of the child in his/her socialization through sport, relying more on their curiosity rather than influence toward the activity to generate participation. Since research has demonstrated men are more closely and highly identified than the large majority of women with sport, the child will have to seek out alternative influences for their sport socialization. The need exists to investigate this phenomenon further and gain an increased understanding of the mother’s role in sport socialization since a majority of society’s sex roles are changing and the way women are rearing their daughters may reflect this dramatic change. This would be in response to Greendorfer’s (1987) piece where she stated there is still a need to look into the gender roles that are provided by society and how those affect socialization into sport. Since sport is still seen as being dominated by male hegemonic values, the literature needs to take these factors into account. The field should also advance the notion of how these ideas may or may not influence the socialization process of both the socializing agents and those being socialized. Since this has not been taken into account, socialization and gender role behavior could be congruent concepts, devaluing all of the works that have been done looking at gender differences. Greendorfer (1977) called for this twenty years ago and there has yet to be anyone who has taken this premise into account.

In response to the changing times, socialization research has not kept up. There has been little to no mention of television, Internet, and/or video games as a socializing agent. While general socialization literature has examined this effect, sport has yet to factor this into its research. This could be an important aspect as we are now in the age of technology with sporting events and sporting news happening 24-hours a day through several avenues.
Other researchers that have looked at findings within cross-cultural consumer socialization are Zayas and Solari (1994). The authors found that across cultures, a person’s early development usually takes place within the setting of a family. Parents’ interactions with children typically include a hierarchy of priorities that maximize cultural values. They further contend that individual development occurs in interaction with the family, which itself is influenced by the larger sociocultural context. They found that in most Hispanic families, parents socialize children to behave in ways important to the family’s culture, whether or not it is in accordance with the norms of the dominant culture. The drawback of this study is that it too relies on only a subset of the Hispanic population which creates problems in identifying difference within and between the various Hispanic subgroups.

While these themes follow those suggested in the general socialization literature, it would be fertile to explore this variable along different times in one’s life. In the general literature, it is suggested that as an individual gets older, peers will become a greater influence. One would guess that the parents in the Asian and Hispanic cultures would have greater influence for a longer amount of time (past adolescence) than those of Anglo children. This based on the strength of parental influence of those cultures that has been highlighted.

The issues in the consumer behavior literature are many of the same that face the literature on culture. The first being there is still no widely accepted definition; thus no widely accepted instrument that measures culture effectively. Second, culture and its constructs are examined in different ways, which would make comparing groups and studies almost impossible. The variables that are included within each study are the next item of contention. There has been no discussion of how these items have been developed and the validity and usefulness of the instruments has not been determined.

Another criticism is most of the work on culture has examined ethnicity based on a nominally codeable demographic classification based on last name and country of origin instead of looking at one’s culture, particularly their subculture. This is important to note, because if one bases his/her results this way, s/he is not capturing the true sense of culture. Just because a person may have been born in a particular place or be of particular decent, does not mean that s/he has the same cultural values, beliefs, and
consumer behavioral patterns. Cultural research up to this point has really been looking at race (which is biological) rather than culture. This has huge implications in the future research in that there has been a “false foundation” laid.

Research examining sport socialization has not explored how socialization agents impact an individual’s attitude toward a product. Future research is needed to gain better insights into how socialization agents impact consumer behavior across cultural and subcultural groups.

**Culture and Spectator Sport**

In 1987, Fishwick and Greendorfer suggested that cross-cultural differences could exist because of the diversity of meaning attached to sport in various cultures. Empirical support for the notion was found in a study of Brazilian children’s sport socialization (Greendorfer, 1989). The study showed cross-cultural variation that was not found in previous studies. For example, strong sister and social setting influences existed for females, while there was a lack of strong peer influence for both boys and girls. This is the sole study done on cross-cultural socialization in sport.

Researchers have long viewed culture as an influencer on the behavior of consumers (Conway Dato-On, 2000; Hofstede, 2001; McCort & Malhotra, 1993; McCracken, 1986; Rokeach, 1968). A review of consumer behavior in the sport literature, however, revealed that it is only in the last 10 years that research attention has been given to examining the sport consumption behavior of people with different cultural and/or ethnic profiles (Armstrong, 1998; Kwon & Trail, 2001; McCarthy, 1997; Pons, Laroche, Nyeck & Perreault, 2001). Armstrong (1998) suggested that the low attendance rates of African Americans at major sporting events are a result of having been considered as “a part of the general market and, hence, having not been considered a distinct segment” (p. 12). In a comparison of American and international students, Kwon and Trail (2001) examined the motivation of students to attend collegiate sporting events. While not examining the direct consumption of sport per se, Pons, et al. (2001) studied the impact of acculturation and ethnic identity on consumers’ orientation toward sporting events. Finally, in the only previous study to acknowledge that the language of the
consumer may explain cultural differences in sport consumption, McCarthy (1997) provided suggestions for marketing sport to the Hispanic community in the United States.

One of the biggest differences that may influence the consumption of sport, particularly spectator sport, is the idea of the broad cultural differences between individualism and collectivism. These notions have been observed to distinguish mainstream American and Western European cultures form the cultures of Asia, Africa, Latin America, along with many indigenous peoples (Phinney, 1996). According to Phinney, Ong, and Madden (2000), collectivism is an emphasis on group interdependence, conformity to group norms and interpersonal relations. In other words, the family structure is typically patriarchal, and children are expected to obey their parents and fulfill their obligations within the family (Phinney et al., 2000).

Individualism, on the other hand, is said to emphasize the importance of the individual over the group and to see the individual as independent, autonomous, and self contained (Phinney, 1996). The dilemma occurs when families from different backgrounds immigrate to the United States because they are confronted with a culture with very different attitudes about the obligations of children toward their parents.

The reason this may be of interest in sport consumption is the view that children need to fulfill their obligations within the family first. Sport in many cultures is seen as a leisure activity or “play” and does not have the same cultural value as it does in mainstream American culture. While many of the same tenants are prevalent in culture and American sport (rituals, values, symbols, and heroes), they are not seen in the same way. This is where the idea of socialization through sport may come into play. If parents see acculturation as a way to succeed in this country, they may try to socialize their children through sport. In this sense, a child will learn the rituals, values, symbols, heroes, etc. of their new country through America’s dominant “religion.”

The socialization process through sport will then create an interesting dynamic to the previous research on sport socialization. In this view, it could then be argued that the socialization agents in cross-cultural athletes would be peers and/or coaches. Coaches may prove especially prevalent in Asian cultures where they are taught to respect authority, whereas Hispanic children are more likely to have peer influences because they have a greater chance to interact with their peers at schools, clubs, and social events.
The variable that has been primarily untouched in sport literature is the influence of media. According to Singh et al. (2003), media has always been considered as a main source of product and service information in consumer behavior literature. The authors showed that Asian American youth tend to rely more on mass media for consumer information than Anglo youth. In addition, Hispanics are heavy users of television and radio and have similar media usage patterns as Asian Americans. Despite this observation, there has been no research done to see if these have an impact on this segment’s socialization process. It would then seem fruitful to examine these groups to determine whether previous findings may extend across cultural and subcultural contexts or if there are differences that could have serious implications on future marketing strategies.

Conclusion

The preceding content has identified several gaps within the literature that need to be explored further in order to gain a better understanding of how an individual within a particular subculture may be socialized into sport fandom. The first gap is the lack of literature and research that has involved subculture. The literature review has demonstrated that a major weakness with previous marketing studies is that they tend to view consumers in a particular country as being a homogeneous group and, therefore, report on the country's consumers' perceptions of products without distinction to any segmentation (other than gender and age) that may exist. By not exploring individual subcultures, all you are left with is broad generalizations and traditional information that may not be efficient when trying to reach particular segments of the population. It is then critical to explore specific subcultures.

The second gap in the literature is the influence of agents upon an individual’s socialization into sport based on differences such as culture. It is important to determine whether various agents have a differential affect on an individual depending on generation and acculturation levels of the individual, in order to establish their influence and the importance a particular agent may have on an individual at various stages in one’s life. As noted earlier, there are three phases of acculturation: contact, conflict, and adaptation. In the initial stage, contact, an individual is exposed to new ideas and values
that may be unlike his/her cultural roots. A person at this stage may be overwhelmed by different ideas of play or how to fit into both worlds. Conflict arises when the person confronts the need for personal and inward cultural change and then has to choose what part of the old culture he/she must shed and what parts of a new culture to incorporate (Winebrenner, 2005). At this stage the person evaluates conflicting cultural values and asks himself/herself which values he/she is willing to compromise. “Do I want to watch sports? Which sports do I want to watch? Who will my favorite player be?” The level of acculturation depends strongly on the individual’s choice of maintaining various aspects of his/her original culture and ultimately defines the level of acculturation reached by the individual and it varies from individual to individual (Korzenny & Korzenny, 2005).

Throughout these phases, one may have contact, conflict and adaptation to sport and various sport teams. It will be how he/she reacts to these questions and the consequences of each action that may guide their socialization process into sport.

Acculturation and family may not be the only factors that determine what agents influence the socialization process. With the explosion and accessibility of mass media along with the widespread appeal of sport, it is important to consider how such exposure to more media (television, internet) impacts individuals at all levels of acculturation and generations.

As noted in Chapter 1, the PCM (Funk & James, 2006) provides a theoretical framework that will guide the study of how an individual may become aware of a particular sport or sports team through a socializing agent such as dad, mom, friend, sibling, media etc. This study will focus on the first two levels of the PCM because the goal is early connection (awareness) and growth of that connection to attraction. The first two levels are primarily influenced by extrinsic or sociological factors and understanding what factors and processes influence movement from awareness to attraction has significant marketing implications and the influences that allow for movement from awareness to attraction of sport. The subsequent chapter will provide an overview of how the project will fill in the subcultural gap in the socialization research through a case study of a subcultural group across three generations, introduce the research questions driving the project and present the interview protocol.
CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to advance our understanding of the influence of subculture in building awareness of a product and ultimately a stronger connection to a product, in particular sports teams, based on the level of acculturation. In order to achieve this task, various questions and concepts were examined through several interviews. This chapter presents the research philosophy, approach, design, and methods used to address the research problem. This line of research could unlock the key to marketing to this segment of the population by understanding the socialization process. The chapter consists of five chief sections, research philosophy, research approaches, research design or strategy, case-study protocol, and interview protocol.

Research Philosophy

Postitivism (also called logical positivism) has origins dating back to the nineteenth-century and basis knowledge solely on observable facts and rejects speculation about “ultimate” origins” (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). Lincoln and Guba (1985) describe it as “a family or philosophies characterized by an extremely positive evaluation of science and scientific method” (p. 19). The authors further explain that in the positivist paradigm of inquiry, reality is seen as existing; the real world is driven by natural causes; reality is singular, objective, and apart from the researcher. Lincoln and Guba (1985) ascribed several axioms to positivism:

1. Ontology (nature of reality): Reality exists; it is a single reality, objective, and apart from the researcher.

2. Epistemology (the relationship of the knower to the known): Researcher is independent from what is being researched and does not influence the findings.

3. Axiology (role of values in inquiry): Inquiry is value-free and unbiased; objectivity is sought.

4. Rhetoric (the language of the research): Writing is in a formal style, using quantitative terminology. Definitions are set at the beginning of the study.

5. Generalizations: Time- and context-free generalizations are possible.
6. Causal linkages: There are real causes that are temporally precedent to or simultaneous with effects.

The process for the research (the methodological assumption) is by deductive reasoning. Deductive reasoning is the logical thought process of reasoning from generalizations to specific conclusions. It has been loosely defined as moving from the general to the specific and begins with generalizations and moves to specific observations (Dempsey & Dempsey, 1999). Babbie (2004) further explains deductive reasoning as moving from (1) a pattern that might be logically or theoretically expected to (2) observations that test whether the expected pattern actually occurs. In other words it begins with “why” and moves to “whether.”

A paradigm contrasted with positivism is empiricism, a philosophical tradition which argues knowledge is obtained by direct experiences through the physical senses. This is the broader approach to the study of social phenomena and is naturalistic. This occurs in the form of the naturalism, or constructivism, paradigm of inquiry. The term constructivism refers to the idea that learners construct knowledge for themselves---each learner individually (and socially) constructs meaning as he or she learns (Schmitt, Klimoski, & Ferris, 1991). The dramatic consequences of this view are twofold: 1) we have to focus on the learner in thinking about learning (not on the subject/lesson to be taught) and 2) there is no knowledge independent of the meaning attributed to experience (constructed) by the learner, or community of learners.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) set up a series of five axioms that contrasted with those of the positivist view:

1. Ontology (nature of reality): There are multiple, contrasted realities.
2. Epistemology (the relationship of the knower to the known): The knower and the known are inseparable.
3. Axiology (the role of values in inquiry): Inquiry is value-bound.
5. Generalizations: Time- and context-free generalizations are NOT possible.
6. Causal linkages: It is impossible to distinguish causes from effects.
This process of the inquiry (the methodological assumption) is by induction. Inductive reasoning is the logical thought process of reasoning from particular facts (specific observations) to a general conclusion or conclusions. It has been loosely described as moving from specific to the general. Inductive reasoning begins with specific observations and moves to generalizations and the emphasis is holistic—that is, on the entire phenomena as they emerge during the investigation (Dempsey & Dempsey, 1999). Inductive reasoning will be the process of inquiry for this project in order to move from a specific group within a subculture to the general subculture. One must understand which process you will take because it determines which method you will use in order to answer the research questions. This is also an important starting point because of the lack of research done in this area that would allow the research to start from a certain point; instead it must occur at a specific local level in order to generalize to a larger segment of the population. In order to put this process of inquiry into motion, one must first decide which research approach to use; either qualitative or quantitative. The following section will provide a detailed explanation of each approach and the reason why the current study has chosen to focus on the qualitative approach.

**Research Approaches**

Quantitative research has traditionally been based on positivist paradigm of inquiry. Quantitative research has also conventionally been associated with the scientific method of inquiry, thus having the characteristics of the scientific method that include order, control, empiricism, and generalization. In quantitative research, the study variables are preselected and defined by the investigator and the data are collected, quantified (translated into numbers), and then statistically analyzed, often with a view to establishing cause-and-effect relationships among the variables. The quantitative approach to research has its roots in the “hard” or mathematically based sciences and reflects the rigor of the scientific research methods often associated with such fields as physics and chemistry (Dempsey & Dempsey, 1999).

In qualitative research, on the other hand, the investigator seeks to identify the qualitative (non-numeric) aspects of the phenomenon under study from the participant’s viewpoint to understand the meaning of the totality of the phenomenon (Dempsey &
Dempsey, 1999). This type of research begins with questions, with the ultimate purpose of learning.

Qualitative research can also be described as a formal process of inquiry, often conducted within a natural setting and characterized by a flexible, emerging design and the collection of primarily narrative data that provides insight and understanding of the meaning of phenomena from the participant’s perspective. Qualitative research has two unique features: (1) the researcher is the means through which the study is conducted, and (2) the purpose is to learn about some facet of the social world. Both these characteristics are integral to a view of learning that sees the researcher as a constructor of knowledge rather than the receiver. From this perspective, the researcher accumulates data, not reality itself but rather representations of reality. The researcher transforms these data through analysis and interpretation into information (Rossman & Rallis, 2003).

Qualitative research has several distinct characteristics that can be contrasted with quantitative methods. Whereas quantitative researchers generally have only minimal contact with the subjects of the study, qualitative researchers frequently use themselves as the data-gathering instrument. This means that rather than using precisely developed data-gathering tools and instruments to gather data about their subjects’ knowledge, interests, and backgrounds, qualitative researchers may spend long periods of time with participants of their study, observing and recording their behaviors and actions. The researcher keeps detailed notes about events that have been observed, interviews that have been carried out, and any other facts that might have an impact on the study (Dempsey & Dempsey, 1999).

Rossman and Rallis (2003) explained that there are generally eight characteristics common to qualitative research:

1. Qualitative researchers are oriented toward the natural world. They gather data about sensory experiences: what people see, feel, hear, taste and smell.

2. Qualitative researchers try to understand people through multiple methods (interactive and humanistic).

3. Qualitative researchers value the messiness of the lived world; they make a sustained focus on context integral to their work and assume that a detailed understanding of human experience is gained by exploring these complexities.
4. Qualitative researchers systematically reflect on how she/he affects the ongoing flow of everyday life and is affected by it.

5. Qualitative researchers try not to impose a rigid a priori framework on the social world; they want to learn what constitutes important questions from the participants themselves.

6. Qualitative research is emergent in nature. These emergent aspects have been historically defined as resting on principles of inductive logic (as discussed in depth later on).

7. Qualitative research relies on sophisticated reasoning that is multifaceted and iterative.

8. Qualitative research is fundamentally interpretive.

The central strength of qualitative analysis is its potential to discover and manipulate unexpected patterns, which can often be very informative. To do this, it requires an ability to listen for, and be receptive to, surprises. Most qualitative researchers welcome outliers, unlike quantitative researchers, because it allows them to explore new avenues in research. More specifically, using the phenomenological perspective in order to focus on the life work with openness to the experiences of the subjects and to search for invariant essential meanings in the descriptions (Kvale, 1996). With the phenomenological perspective, the focus of the interview will be on the meanings of the subjects’ experiences, which is relevant for clarifying the questions posed for this study. Giorgi (1994) argued that a more comprehensive phenomenological approach would deepen the qualitative perspective because it allows for privileged access to basic experiences of the lived world.

While many scholars draw a hard line between the two processes, Kvale (1996) argued that the whole research process involves the interaction of qualitative and quantitative approaches. The author explained further that qualitative analysis is the starting block for an investigation of the existing knowledge about a phenomenon and the development of qualitative concepts and hypotheses for a specific study. The data collection and data analysis paths can be mainly qualitative or quantitative, often with an interaction. Reporting the results, on the other hand, is primarily qualitative. It is also suggested that tables and correlation coefficients require qualitative interpretations of
their meanings. Even though these aspects of the research process are often disregarded, they are an important part of the process none the less (Kvale, 1996).

Another choice was whether to adopt a quantitative or qualitative approach, or some mix of the two. Several authors (Cavaye, 1996; Hussey and Hussey, 1997; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Myers, 1997) have commented on the choice between qualitative and quantitative methods in fieldwork (empirical) research. Myers (1997) distinguished between qualitative and quantitative research methods:

Quantitative research methods were originally developed in the natural sciences to study natural phenomena. Examples of quantitative methods now well accepted in the social sciences include survey methods, laboratory experiments, formal methods (e.g. econometrics) and numerical methods such as mathematical modeling. Qualitative research methods were developed in the social sciences to enable researchers to study social and cultural phenomena. Examples of qualitative methods are action research, case study research and ethnography. Qualitative data sources include observation and participant observation (fieldwork), interviews and questionnaires, documents and texts, and the researcher’s impressions and reactions,” (Myers, 1997: online).

Since there have been no instruments developed that would measure the various elements within this study, it was determined that a primarily qualitative approach for data gathering will be used since the research will seek to understand, “people and the social and cultural contexts within which they live,” (Myers, 1997: online). The selection of a qualitative approach also fits well with Hussey and Hussey’s views (1997) in which the authors defined qualitative research as, “a subjective approach which includes examining and reflecting on perceptions in order to gain understanding of social and human activities (p.20).” Kvale (1996) argued that while qualitative research may be seen as primarily subjective, the process is neither an objective nor subjective method. Rather, its essence is an intersubjective interaction. Agreeing with Kvale (1886), this approach was planned for this research project.

According to Hussey and Hussey (1997:10), “four different types of research purpose exist: exploratory, descriptive, analytical or predictive.” Whatever the purpose of the research, empirical evidence is required. They define empirical evidence as, “data based on observation or experience.” This understanding of the importance of gathering empirical data by observation or experience is also identified by Easterby-Smith et al.
(1991). They use the term fieldwork which they say is the study of real organizations or social settings, and that this research may use phenomenological methods. This research project was designed to take into account both the non-empirical and empirical research approaches. The non-empirical approach will be used to inform the structuring and execution of the empirical research activities.

Given the nature of the research problem, it was decided to select the case study alternative as being the most appropriate for this research project. This research method will now be explored in detail in the following section.

Research Method

Case Study

Case study research is a time-honored, traditional approach to the study of topics in social science and management (Yin, 2003). Since there are only a few occasions studied, the case study researcher usually exposes more variables than he or she has data points, making statistical control impossible. Case studies then, have the ability of discovering causal paths and mechanisms through the sheer richness of detail. While this may be considered a strength of this line of research, it also has the capability of identifying causal influences and interaction effects which may not be treated as operationalized variables in a statistical study (Yin, 2003).

The case study is the popular method for research conducted that looks at culture, regardless of whether it is quantitative in nature or qualitative. Yin (2003) wrote “in general case studies are the preferred strategy when ‘how’ or ‘why’ questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon with some real-life context” (p. 1). Additionally, Yin wrote, “The case study’s unique strength is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence – documents, artifacts, interviews, and observations” (p. 8).

Jensen and Rodgers (2001: 237-239) set forth a typology of case studies, including the following types:

1. **Snapshot case studies**: Detailed, objective study of one research entity at one point in time. Hypothesis-testing by comparing patterns across sub-entities (ex., comparing socialization agents across generations).
2. *Longitudinal case studies.* Quantitative and/or qualitative study of one research entity at multiple time points.

3. *Pre-post case studies.* Study of one research entity at two time points separated by a critical event. A critical event is one which on the basis of a theory under study would be expected to impact case observations significantly.

4. *Patchwork case studies.* A set of multiple case studies of the same research entity, using snapshot, longitudinal, and/or pre-post designs. This multi-design approach is intended to provide a more holistic view of the dynamics of the research subject.

5. *Comparative case studies.* A set of multiple case studies of multiple research entities for the purpose of cross-unit comparison. Both qualitative and quantitative comparisons are generally made.

For the purpose of this study, the snapshot case study was utilized to provide detailed and rich data, which provided the research with the insight, discovery and interpretation of these subcultures instead of hypothesis testing.

Merriam (1988) noted that because the research being done is qualitative, it is assumed to be in flux, multifaceted, and highly contextual, because information gathered is a function of who gives it and how skilled the researcher is at getting it, and because the evolving design of a qualitative study precludes a priori controls, achieving reliability in the traditional sense is not only imaginary but impossible.

Yin (2003) identified five components of research design that are important for case studies and that will be included in the current study: 1) a study’s questions, 2) its propositions, if any, 3) its unit(s) of analysis, 4) the logic linking the data to the propositions, and 5) the criteria for interpreting the findings (p.20). These components will be further discussed in the following sections.

**Questions**

Four questions were identified to guide this study in order to accomplish its goals:

1. How does one’s Cuban upbringing influence his/her values, meanings, and beliefs relative to sport?

2. Do the agents influencing socialization into sport differ across generation and acculturation levels?
a. What agents were the primary contributors to Cuban Americans socialization into sport?

b. What were the various ways in which agents socialized the Cuban Americans into sport?

3. Does level of acculturation impact one's level of attachment toward a particular sport and/or team?

4. What are the similarities/differences in interest in sport/teams by generation?

**Propositions**

While this study was exploratory in nature, it is important to understand that the purpose of the study was to add to the understanding of intra-national differences in the socialization process and what effect those differences have on a consumer's behavior. In particular, the intent was to advance our understanding of the influence of subculture on building awareness of a product and ultimately a stronger connection to a product, in particular sports teams.

In order to successfully complete the project, there are several propositions that were considered as a part of this study.

1. There are many subcultural values and beliefs that are affecting the dominant culture at any given moment. These subcultural values and beliefs are made up of people in different cultural spaces (e.g., ethnic, geographic, age, or professions). They are common demographic variables that line up with cultural spaces.

2. In order to really understand whether brand experience, including product, services, communications, and contact points, will resonate with the larger cultural-style inflection, we must first understand how these differ, and then how they are similar.

3. By not understanding the differences among the acculturation groupings with respect to a product, a small group is targeted in an often traditional matter. The consequence is one of limiting the growth of a brand with this market; as soon as people acculturate, they no longer resonate with the brand. In short,
when aiming to capture the largest part of the bell curve, we must understand the differences to find the similarities.

It is important to understand the propositions as they guided the interview protocol by allowing the researcher to probe for information to address the propositions stated above. By understanding and addressing the propositions, it allowed the researcher to move toward answering the research questions and fulfilling the purpose of the study.

Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis for this study was determined to be a both the individual and family levels. The initial rational for the study was built around the family since the participants were recruited as a family. The family dynamics and differences within and between may also be an important element. The project was also concerned with how an individual becomes socialized into sport, particularly the role of a sport spectator. While the study examined several generations, the primary focus was on each participant and his/her sport socialization process. The individuals recruited came from a specific Latino subculture, the Miami Cuban subculture.

How many Hispanic subcultures exist in the United States today? Ethnologists are bound to differ on this question, but U.S. News puts the number at 17 (Robinson, 1998). The U.S. Hispanic market is comprised of subcultures from over 20 countries in Central and South America, the Caribbean and Spain, with the majority (63%) of Mexican heritage (Sonderup, 2004). The culture, beliefs, opinions and consumer behavior patterns of U.S. Hispanics are not identical, as a result of the influence of differences in their native countries' geography, indigenous ancestry and colonial origins. Table 3.1 presents an overview and taxonomy of the 17 major Latino subcultures in the United States, listed by geographic region.
Table 3:1 - Latino Subcultures in the United States today (Robinson, 1998)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CALIFORNIANS</th>
<th>MIAMIANs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Immigrant Mexicans.</td>
<td>10. Cubans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Middle-class Mexicans</td>
<td>11. Nicaraguans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Central Americans of Pico Union.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEJANOS</td>
<td>NEOYORQUINOS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. South Texans.</td>
<td>13. Puerto Ricans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Texas Guatemalans.</td>
<td>15. Colombians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHICAGO LATINOS</td>
<td>ELSEWHERE IN THE U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Chicago Mexicans.</td>
<td>16. New Mexico's Hispanics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Chicago Puerto Ricans.</td>
<td>17. Migrant workers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the purpose of this study, it was determined that the Cuban Miamian subculture would be used as a starting point of participant selection. Alone among Hispanic subgroups, Cubans were warmly welcomed by the U.S. government and U.S. born Cubans have the highest incomes of any Hispanic subgroup, and over two thirds of them live in Florida (Robinson, 1998). As of 2004, 60% of Cubans had graduated from high school, and 29% held management positions. One third, however, do not speak English well or at all; many of them are older Cubans with little incentive to learn the language in a Spanish-speaking city (US Census, 2004).

This group was chosen as the starting point in this research because of their migration into the United States and the accessibility of this group to the researcher. The notion of migration is important; since this group was generally welcomed they may be more acculturated than those from other subgroups, but yet have been said to still have strong Cuban national pride (Robinson, 1998). Another reason is that Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980) found that the concept of familism or familialism, is one of the most distinct and important culture-specific values of Latinos as a whole (Vega, 1995). Social scientists have identified this cultural phenomenon in various Latino subgroups including Mexican Americans (Mindel, 1980), Puerto Ricans (Corez, 1995), and Cuban Americans (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980). Familism, specifically, is described as a cultural
commitment to Latino family life and consists of strong identification with and attachment to members of the nuclear and extended family as well as strong feelings of loyalty, reciprocity, and solidarity toward members of the family (Vega, 1995). With this strong sense of familism, it was determined that looking at this particular subculture across generations would be an effective way to examine the impact of family as an agent in the process of socialization into sport.

While family and its influence may be the general starting point to examining socialization, it was noted in Chapter 2, that there is also evidence of other socialization agents that may contribute to an individual’s awareness and attachment to sport such as television, internet, peers, and coaches. The impact of each may be different depending on the level of acculturation.

In connection to the sources of subculture that were noted in Chapter 2, the sources that were selected for this study were family, peers, and media. These three were chosen because much of the general socialization literature suggests that family, peers, and media are primary influencers in the socialization process (Sage, 1974; Handel, 2006), while the sport literature has primarily looked at the family and peer influencers. It is important to look at the media’s influence in the process in order to determine its effect. Consumers are constantly exposed to various advertising through television and the internet and there has been no research done that has looked at how this may influence socialization among the Cuban culture. With there being so many media sources utilized today, it may provide useful information that could help marketers to design more effective strategies to communicate with this group. While the interviews will specifically explore the four primary socializing agents, it is possible that other sources will emerge that bear additional investigation. The flexibility of the interview process will allow for examination of additional sources as needed.

Links

In order to examine the impact of socialization and acculturation on the connection to a particular product (e.g. sport), the PCM (Funk & James, 2006) will be used as a useful framework for conceptualizing psychological outcomes that are related to a product and for exploring the process through which individuals form psychological
connections with products. By understanding these process and outcomes practitioners will be better able to market to this segment of the population.

Criteria for Interpreting the Findings

According to Creswell (1998), “no consensus exists for the analysis of the forms of qualitative data” (p. 138). Despite the quote, he suggests that analysis for a case study should consist of making a detailed description of the case and its setting. For this project four forms of data analysis and interpretation will be used: categorical aggregation, direct interpretation, patterns, and naturalistic generalizations. The categorical aggregation is when the researcher searches for a gathering of examples from the data, hoping that issue-relevant meanings will emerge. The constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) was used as it is a systematic coding and grouping process that organizes the data. This process allow for the emergence of themes. Recurring phenomena was classified and verified.

The second step was direct interpretation. Direct interpretation is when the researcher looks at a single instance and draws meaning from it without looking for multiple occurrences. In essence, it is the process of pulling the data apart and putting them back together in more significant ways. By doing these, the researcher was able to establish patterns and look for an association between two or more categories. Finally, the researcher will develop naturalistic generalization from analyzing the data. Naturalistic generalizations are those that people can learn from the case either for the particular study or for applying it to a population of cases.

Stake (1980) proposed the concept of naturalistic generalization which is described as a partially intuitive process arrived at by recognizing the similarities of objects and issues in and out of context (p. 69). Kemmis (1974) pointed out that naturalistic generalizations develop within a person as a result of experience, may become verbalized, and may pass from tacit to propositional knowledge. According to Stake (1980), naturalistic generalization ensues more commonly from a single study to one that is similar than from a single study to a population. This is consistent with the project purpose in that this project does not aim to generalize to a particular population, but rather to a subculture that is similar to that which was studied.
Construct validity can be problematic in case study research. It has been a source of criticism because of potential investigator subjectivity. Yin (1994) proposed three remedies to counteract this: using multiple sources of evidence, establishing a chain of evidence, and having a draft case study report reviewed by key informants. The proposed study will endeavor to provide evidence of construct validity by using data triangulation, where the researcher will take the transcribed data and compare it to the audio, and log journals to ensure that the best themes have emerged from all of the data collected. By looking at several generations, the researcher was able to establish a chain of evidence by connecting the interviews with those done by other family members. The draft case was also be reviewed by key informants. Each transcript was emailed, and/or mailed to each participant for their verification. The researcher and a second scholar familiar with the topic area reviewed the data and identified themes that emerge from the data to determine which themes were the most consistent.

Internal validity is a concern only in causal (explanatory) cases. This is usually a problem of "inferences" in case studies, and can be dealt with using pattern-matching. Pattern matching involves an attempt to link two patterns where one is a theoretical pattern and the other is an observed or operational one. Since this study is not causal in nature, internal validity will not be of concern.

Some of the criticism against case studies in the area of external validity relates to single-case studies. However, that criticism is directed at the statistical and not the analytical generalization that is the basis of case studies. This study did not intend to generalize its findings to that of the entire Hispanic population, thus taking into account external validity.

Reliability can be achieved in many ways in a case study. One of the most important methods is the development of the case study protocol. A case study and interview protocol has been developed and will be examined below.

In order to analyze the text more effectively and efficiently, the use of the computer program NVIVO7 was implemented. This program provided an organized storage system so that the researcher could quickly and easily locate material and store it in one place. This program also allows the researcher to look at the database line for line and think about the meaning of each sentences and idea. Without this program, the
researcher is likely to casually read through the text files or transcripts and not analyze each idea carefully. Another advantage of this program is that the researcher was able to search for themes, cross themes, and create diagrams in order to generate a picture of the analysis.

There were also several assumptions that were considered in order to effectively analyze the case study data.

1. Cases were selected based on dimensions of a theory (pattern matching) or on diversity on a dependent phenomenon (explanation-building).
2. No generalization to a population beyond cases similar to those studied.
3. Conclusions were phrased in terms of model elimination, not model validations. Numerous alternative theories may be consistent with data gathered from a case study discussed.

Case Study Protocol

A case study protocol contains more than the interview and data collection, it should also contain procedures and general rules that should be followed in using the interview protocol. It is to be created prior to the data collection phase. It is desirable in a single-case study. Yin (1994) recommended the use of case-study protocol as part of a carefully designed research project that would also include the following sections:

1. Overview of the project
2. Field procedures
3. Questions for study
4. Guide for the report (Yin, 1994, p. 64)

Since the case study overview and questions for the study have been discussed in the previous sections, the field procedures, and guide for the report will be discussed in the following sections.

Field Procedures

Primary data was used to explore and examine what socialization agents had an influence on the participants, and whether there was a differential influence across the generations. During the development of the methodology to be used for the field
research, the interview was selected as the primary data gathering technique as it is best suited to the case study method. Interviews are one of the most important sources of case study information. There are several forms of interviews that are possible: structured, semi-structured, and unstructured or survey. In an unstructured interview, key respondents are asked to comment about certain events. They may propose solutions or provide insight into events. They may also corroborate evidence obtained from other sources.

When selecting a case for study, the researcher used information-oriented sampling. Information-oriented sampling was used rather than random sampling because the typical or average case is often not the richest in information (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Extreme or atypical cases often reveal more information because they trigger more basic means and more actors in the situation studied. In addition, from both an understanding-oriented and an action-oriented perspective, it is often more important to clarify the deeper causes behind a given problem and its consequences than to describe the symptoms of the problem and how frequently they occur. Random samples emphasizing representativeness will seldom be able to produce this kind of insight; it is more appropriate to select some few cases chosen for their validity.

Families were initially selected through personal conversations with third generation individuals currently enrolled the Sport Management Program at a large southeastern university. Each of the families was homogeneous at the third generation level with regards to education and area of upbringing.

The initial interviews consisted of asking the potential participant about his/her family and their familiarity with sport. They were then asked about generational, subcultural affiliation and family makeup to ensure that there are representatives from each generation and that each potential participant was exposed to all of the agents that have been suggested as influencing the socialization process.

Contact with second and third generation family members was done through the initial family member. Appointments were made to interview those willing to participate. A preliminary meeting with several family members was conducted to introduce myself and for the researcher to build a sense of rapport with each family. This meeting was centered in a family member's home to get a sense of their general knowledge, rituals,
traditions and surroundings. This allowed the researcher to collect observational evidence; pictures, make notes about environment (i.e., describe the home and situational influences) that may not be accessible during a typical interview process. From this initial meeting, further individual interviews and locations were set up. The locations were either at the individual’s house or at a local meeting place if there was not a private place in which to conduct the interview. The preferred method of interviewing was face-to-face at a setting agreed upon by the subject. The interview was audio taped and then transcribed to assist in the accuracy of the information being reviewed. Interviewing allowed the researcher to gain a better perspective on each participant. Each interviewee had the option of allowing his or her name to be used or to remain anonymous. There were several types of interviews used in order to utilize the interview time to the fullest. By using several types of interviews, the researcher acquired a better perspective of each participant as a whole, and was then able to ask specific questions to gain more in-depth information. Using a variety of interview types also made it less disruptive to ask questions to get set responses in order to measure the level of acculturation. For the purposes of this research, the following types of interviews were used:

- Unstructured interview. This allowed participants to express themselves without any restriction.
- Semi-structured interview. This allowed for free responses from participants to specific questions.
- Structured interview. This offered a series of fixed responses, using closed questions (used primarily during the final stage to identify age, generation, primary language, length of time in the country, acculturation level etc.).

The following explains the general considerations that were taken into account before and during the interview process.

- Purpose of the interviews and roles of the interviewer and interviewees. A brief explanation was given of the purpose and format of the interview to be conducted.
- Length of interviews. The structured interviews which used the research interview protocol outlined in Appendix A were planned to be of roughly one half of an hour’s duration and varied from ten to fifteen minutes. The semi-structured
and unstructured interview durations varied from 30 minutes to 75 minutes in order to get an in-depth look into this particular subculture and the socialization process the participant goes through with regards to sport. This allowed time for free responses along with the structured interview questions.

- **Size of the interview group.** Most interviews were conducted on a “one-on-one” basis while other interviews may be conducted with multiple respondents present (family members) due to language restrictions of the interviewer.

- **Mixture of locations.** Some interviews were conducted at the home of the interviewee, while other interviews were conducted at a central location as a matter of convenience to the researcher and/or the family.

- **Language issues.** Some of the interviewees did not speak English as their first language. This was addressed as part of the interview briefing where it was determined whether or not the participant would be able to interact with the researcher in English, or if an interpreter needed to be present.

  Problems may arise if the researcher and the participants do not share the same language. Different languages create and express different realities, and language is a way of organizing the world (Patton 1990). One cannot understand another culture without understanding the language of the people in that culture (Patton 1990). Translating from one language to another can be very complex because of subtle differences in meaning. According to Young-Hee (1998), the first priority of translation should be to the overall meaning of the words, and not the linguistic structure. Moreover, cultural assumptions are embedded in the language that people use. In particular, a cultural arena includes those who have similar understandings, expectations, and values; such people usually have had common experiences or a shared history. A cultural arena is not defined by a single belief or rule, or by a handful of phrases unique to the group, but by a whole set of understandings that is widely shared within a group or subgroup (Patton, 1990).

  There have been several approaches suggested (Patton, 1990) but for this case the translator provided verbatim translation, in which the interpreter acted only as a means between the interviewer and interviewee. The researcher and
interpreter met prior to the interview to go over the questions to ensure that their meaning and topic would be translated effectively. All interviews that may deal with language were tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim in English and the text material will be analyzed. The interpreter was seated beside the researcher on one side and the participants will be seated opposite the researcher and interpreter. The researcher looked at the interpreter when directing a question, to ensure that the interpreter understood the question. At the same time, using peripheral vision, the researcher made sure that the interviewees had their attention directed to the researcher. While the interpreter was conveying the question to the participants, the researcher focused on the participant and observed non-verbal signs they made through eye, hand and body gestures.

- Field notes for each interview were maintained to assist the researcher in monitoring the data. A separate log was also kept identifying times, dates, and subject of each interview as well as time spent and potential language issues during that may have been encountered.

- The target number of families to be interviewed was six. According to Yin (2002), that there is no magic number for case studies, but a researcher should strive for six units (six families). While patterns may emerge as early as four, patterns may not be observed until eight. But my starting with six families, the researcher will have a marker in which to start from.

Guide for Interview and Report

In order to achieve the research objectives of this study, an interview guide was developed to access participants subcultural association, values and beliefs about their subculture and sport, level of acculturation, agents that were influential in the process of socialization into sport, sport (e.g.) awareness and/or attachment, and level of acculturation. The interview protocol proposed was not a formalized test or series of questions, but rather an assessment. The interviewer had established question areas or topics which were consistent across interviews, but the interview is not a set of fixed questions asked in a prescribed order. Rather, the interview is a dynamic exchange
between the interviewer and the participant. Through this process, it is likely that a participant may identify socializing influences in a manner not previously considered instead of leading or cuing a response. An interview protocol also provided the opportunity to clarify responses so that interpretation of results is reasonably clear. The findings provide the beginning premise for a standard of comparison regarding what agents may influence sport fandom.

The following is the general information that was sought from participants from each generation. The generation was deemed to be the starting point from which to acquire all levels of acculturation. Change in the generational composition of the Cuban population will have broad consequences because of important differences among the generations in a number of characteristics (Suro & Passel, 2003).

According to the 2002 National Survey of Latinos, Spanish-speakers make up most of the first generation. The second generation is substantially bilingual, and the third-plus generations are primarily English speakers. This may be of importance as both generation and language have been the main predictors in levels of acculturation.

Some of this information was gained through introductory interview conversations; specific questions about each topic and some were answered through oral questionnaires.

**1st Generation:** initial migration pattern and reasons; subcultural affiliation; values, meanings and beliefs of their subculture and sport; awareness and/or attraction to sport and the influencing agents for their awareness/attraction; and level of acculturation. Since it has been found that this group is made up of primarily Spanish-speakers (Suro & Passel, 2003), it is important to determine why or if they have acculturated into American society and how they became aware of and/or attracted to sport.

**2nd Generation:** values, meanings and beliefs of subculture and sport and the reasons for those; awareness of and/or attraction to sport and the influencing agents for their awareness/attraction; and level of acculturation. Since the second generation is substantially bilingual (Suro & Passel, 2003) the focus will be to determine whether the influencing agents are still primarily family or if peers and the media have had influential roles.

**3rd Generation:** values, meanings and beliefs of products and the reasons for those; awareness of and/or attraction to sport and the influencing agents for their awareness/attraction; and level of acculturation. Since the third generation will
include primarily English speakers the focus will be on how much of the values, meanings and beliefs have been passed down through family members, and how peer and media as socializing agents have influenced sport consumption.

The information sought will be further examined by topic area. Each topic will now be discussed.

Subcultural Membership

Subcultural membership has been assumed in research to date. In order to provide a common group and an argument for subculture, it is important to include questions that will allow the researcher to define the subculture and the expectations that surround their membership. The first generation interview started out with a longitudinal view of where the individual grew up, why his/her family moved to the United States and where s/he has lived within the United States. The questions moved toward family or friend connections and the values, and/or beliefs that are common to this particular subculture along with traditions and activities that his/her family and friends participate in. The questions then progressed to how important his/her culture is to him/her and how important it is that this culture is passed to one’s children.

Since the second generation participants were born and raised in the United States, the interview questions varied slightly. Like the first generation, the questions started with a longitudinal look at their lives thus far. The questions then moved to whether or not the individual went to college and what impacted his/her decision and how his/her culture or family influenced their decision. If the participant went to college, it was important to see how he/she may or may not have preserved their values despite living away from his/her family through activities and roommates. The questions then progressed into where the participant lives today and what influenced his/her decision to live in a particular neighborhood or community. The discussion then focused on similar values/beliefs to those around his/her and how important their culture and background is to his/her and how this may influence his/her decisions today.

The third generation had a similar pattern to that of the second generation, but the purpose was to try to establish subculture and how it can cut across generations. The subcultural stability across geographic locations may been seen here because we already know that this generation has moved away from home and gone to college because they
are the starting point of the investigation. This allowed the notion of geographical boundaries to be further studied and how the move from the “community” may not exclude one from a particular subculture. The culture questions provided a nice transition into cultural values, which will be discussed next.

*Cultural Values*

Values are important for understanding various social phenomena (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003). Bardi and Schwartz (2003) suggested that behavior is a particularly important consequence of values and that there needs to be a link between values and behavior in order to establish and change behaviors. Values may influence behavior through mechanisms, such as habits, that do not require conscious decisions. This may be the case in sport fandom, as a fan may not make the conscious decision to follow a particular team, but rather follow a sport and/or team because others around them follow them. The current project examined 5 of the 10 broad values from the Schwartz Value Survey (Schwartz, 1994) in relation to sport consumption behavior in order to determine whether one’s particular subcultural affiliation and values play a part of the sport consumption behavior. The 10 broad values consist of achievement, benevolence, conformity, hedonism, power, security, self-direction, stimulation, tradition, and universalism. The five included in the study were chosen because they are similar to those values and/or motives that are closely examined in the sport literature (Kenyon & McPherson, 1973; Wann, 1995) and provided a reference point from which to look at similarities and/or differences to those already examined. The five values that were examined are achievement, stimulation, benevolence, tradition, conformity, and security (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003).

1. *Achievement* - personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards. This is also a term used in the sport fandom literature to refer to wanting to follow a team because they are successful; in other words, if the team is successful and you are a fan of the team, then you are considered successful.

2. *Benevolence* - the preservation and enhancement of the interests of people with whom one is in frequent contact. This is important in establishing whether or not
a person is socialized into sport because they feel as though they would be letting their family and friends down by cheering for an opposing team or player.

3. **Tradition** - respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or relation provides the individual. If a particular sport, such as baseball, is considered to be part of the customs and tradition of the culture, then the person may be more apt to follow baseball than football.

4. **Security** – safety, harmony and stability of society, of relationships, and of self. This also may have an effect on whether or not one feels that he/she is harmonious with their subculture because of the sport they choose to play or support.

5. **Conformity** – Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms. For example, if sport was considered to be “play” and watching sport was considered to be a waste of time when the subculture values work, then one may have to restrain his/her interest for a particular sport in order to follow social expectations.

These values may have a direct effect on one’s behavior and thus his/her attraction to sport. A person may be aware of sport but not form an attraction due to societal expectations.

The questions presented in Appendix A used to determine subcultural affiliation were taken from Hofstede’s cultural dimensions (Hofstede, 1996) and the Schwartz Value Survey (Schwartz, 1994) in order to establish values and beliefs and the importance of each. These questions were intended to further establish similarities between individuals from the same subculture. Since subculture is depicted as consisting in its entirety of values, beliefs, norms, and central themes it is important to establish these. The line of questioning started with values and beliefs and moved toward cultural norms (traditions) and how important these are to the individual and how important it is to them that their family and friends share in these values. This evolution was important to establish the boundaries in which a subculture is formed and maintained and through working through this line of questioning it allowed for those factors to emerge.
**Sport Connection**

It is important to establish one’s connection to sport before you can progress into the agents that influenced his/her socialization into sport. The sport connection served three purposes for this study: 1) to create a baseline of the participant’s awareness/attraction to and experiences with sport, 2) to progress into the questioning of how one was socialized into sport and the various agents that played a role in this process and 3) the means in which s/he consumes sport. The questioning started with the participants meaning of sport by asking questions that explore what his/her value of sport is and progressing to their sport consumption behaviors. By progressing through this line of questioning, it allowed for a baseline from which to proceed to the socialization questions.

**Socialization**

Bodrova and Long (1996) suggested that you must consider the social context within which development occurs in order to provide a more complete understanding of development. Lewko and Greendorfer (1988) and Ward (1974) have suggested that there are several agents that influence a child’s development. Socialization agents identified in both sport and consumer socialization include parents, siblings, peers, school, teachers, mass media, and community programs. Considering the cultural and acculturation aspect of the participants interviewed, topic areas important for assessment of socializing influences included parents, siblings, mass media, peers, subcultural values, meanings, and beliefs about sport.

Previous research in the area of sport socialization has been based on retrospective analysis of participation (Kenyon, 1968; McPherson, 1968; Lewko & Greendorfer, 1988). Through this retrospective analysis, adult and adolescent subjects were first asked to identify a favorite sport that they have or do participate in, and then to indicate the extent to which specific socializing agents may have influenced their decision to participate how the influencing agents shaped their beliefs about sport. This was then extended to sport fandom where the participant is asked which socializing agents may have influenced their awareness or attraction to a particular sport and/or sports team. It was imperative for this study to probe for agents that have not been
included in past research. These agents include the mass media agents such as television, internet, advertising, etc. These agents and their influence could provide the key that unlocks this segment's socialization process.

These topic areas provided an assessment of the primary socialization agents identified through sport and consumer socialization research by asking participants a series of questions about the various socialization agents (parents, friends, culture) and how they may/may not have influenced their sport consumption behavior.

**Acculturation**

The measurement of acculturation is important not only as a way of identifying individual or personality differences (Marin, Sabogal, Stable, 1987) but also because it has been reported to be related to other important variables such as political and social attitudes (Alva, 1985; Kranau, Green & Valencia-Weber, 1992). Acculturation scales have measured language usage as a proxy for acculturation because language fluency affects a person’s ability to communicate both with members of the host culture and with members of the culture of origin. People who fail to learn the language of the host culture might have difficulty becoming integrated or assimilated into the host culture, whereas people who fail to retain the language of the culture of origin might have difficulty remaining integrated with the culture of origin. Indeed, studies have indicated that language usage explains a significant proportion of the variance in many other acculturation measures (Epstein et al., 1998).

Language usage, however, is not the only important component of acculturation. Acculturation includes other aspects, such as food preferences, music preferences, media use, choice of friends, celebration of holidays, and daily activities (Orozco, Thompson, Kapes, & Montgomery, 1993). Studies of acculturation among adults (Cuellar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995; Padilla, 1980) have identified other important factors in addition to language, including awareness of cultural material from the original and host cultures (e.g., history, art, foods), self-identification as a member of one or both cultures, and ethnic interaction (i.e., a preference for friendships, romantic relationships, and business with individuals from one or both cultures). Although the factor structures of those and other constructs have differed across studies (Berry, 1980; Cuellar et al., 1995; Marin &
Gamba, 1996; Padilla, 1980), previous research consistently has indicated that the acculturation process includes attitudes and behaviors that are distinct from language usage.

The acculturation level of the interviewees was measured using a combination of the Short Acculturation Scale developed by Marin et al. (1987) and the AHIMSA Acculturation Scale developed by Unger, Gallaher, Shakib, Olson, Palmer and Johnson (2002). The items from the two scales were administered orally as part of the interview protocol. Level of acculturation was based on answers to the oral questions. Each participant was instructed to answer a series of questions with one of the following four answers a) the United States, b) Cuba, c) both and d) neither. The responses to the items were used to create a composite score. The scoring for the answers were United States four, Cuba one, United States and Cuba three, and neither generated a score of two. Participants were grouped based on their score; scores ranging from 65-80 represented “Highly Acculturated.” Scores ranging from 50-64 were characterized as “moderately acculturated.” Those with scores ranging from 35-49 were characterized as marginalized, and those with a score ranging from 20-34 were characterized as mildly acculturated.

**Limitations**

There are weaknesses associated with this type of analysis because qualitative inquiry and analysis depends, at every stage, on the skills, training, insights, and capabilities of the researcher; qualitative analysis ultimately depends on the analytical intellect and style of the analyst. The human factor is the greatest strength and the fundamental weakness of qualitative inquiry and analysis. The fundamental weakness of this researcher is the inability to speak Spanish and the lack of training and practical experience in the interview facilitation.

Given that subculture is relatively new, the project does not have standard procedures used to examine this group. Since subculture is also socially constructed, a single subculture was used. The results of this work may not be directly applicable to any other situation. The purpose, however, is not to generalize, but rather to enhance our empirical knowledge of subcultural behavior. Further, it is a study focused on the perceptions and interpretations of only select families that have an interest in sport in the
subculture. There is also the possibility that these families were exceedingly rare or exhibited atypical behavior.

**Delimitations**

The researcher has delimited the study in the following ways:

1. All participants in this study are from the Cuban Miamian ethnicity and have an awareness of sport.
2. Each family will have a representative from each generation.
3. The first generation participants will have a spouse from Cuba.
4. The third generation participants will be sport management undergraduate students from the Cuban Miamian decent.

**Conclusion**

Drawing from research on socialization, it is important to recognize that the social context in which an individual is located may influence the connection to a particular product, particularly sport. It has been suggested that elements such as culture, subculture and level of acculturation (Birman & Trickett, 2001) may contribute to the importance place upon sports by other socializing agents, and may also influence the accessibility to sports through attendance, through television and other mass media communications.

Consumer socialization also provides support for those identified by sport socialization. Work in this area supports the influence of family, peers, and mass media on an individual’s subsequent behavior. In addition to the socializing agents and the variables that may influence one’s connection to sports, this area also reveals the role of acculturation and how that may play in the development of connection to a product (e.g. sport).

By understanding the acculturation process it may be possible to promote a fan’s connection to a particular sport and/team. Taken together, research on culture, acculturation, and sport and consumer socialization the study will be able to demonstrate the importance of examining the social context in which development occurs. In
particular, urging practitioners to segment the population by cultural factors (e.g. subculture) in order to market to segments more effectively.
CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The purpose of this study was to advance our understanding of the influence of subculture in building awareness of sports and teams through sport socialization. Additionally, the study sought to assess the impact of level of acculturation on an individual’s sport socialization process. The research questions examined in this study were to understand: 1) how one’s Cuban upbringing influenced his/her values, meanings, and beliefs relative to a sport product, sport sports teams, 2) what agents influenced sport socialization for different generation and acculturation levels, 3) which were the primary sport socialization agents for Cuban Americans, 4) whether level of acculturation impacts level of attachment toward a particular sport and/or team, and 5) the similarities/differences in interest in sport by generation. As explained in the previous chapter, an interview protocol was implemented to interview Cuban Miamians across three generations. This chapter provides a description of the pilot study, description of the main study including a micro ethnography of the interviews, findings from the interviews and findings from the assessment of acculturation.

Pilot Study

The current study was divided into two parts: the pilot and main study. The pilot study included a sample of 2 men and 2 women representing three generations, as well as different levels of acculturation as determined by the acculturation scale and scoring described in chapter 3. Varying levels of English proficiency were also used in order to determine translation issues and the ability to use of family members as interpreters. The third generation participant scored a 71 and was considered highly acculturated with English being his first language. The second generation participants consisted of one male who was marginally acculturated with a score of 57 and whose first language was Spanish; and a moderately acculturated female, whose first language was English but was fluent in Spanish and had a score of 45. For the interview with the male whose first language was Spanish, a family member (wife) served as a moderator in case there were any questions that needed translating. The first generation participant was a female who
was low on the acculturation scale, had a score of 25 and spoke little to no English. During this interview a translator was used in order to determine whether the questions could be translated with the same meaning, along with testing the questions to see how well they worked. The participant’s daughter agreed to be the interpreter and acknowledged that she was the primary interpreter for the participant on a daily basis. Prior to that interview, the researcher met with the interpreter to go over the questions and discussed possible translation difficulties, which were minimal during this conversation. Difficult questions or terminology were taken into consideration and were not changed prior to the interview, but rather were tried and then rephrased during the interview when the participant had a hard time understanding the term or question. After the interview, some questions were revised with different terminology to include the appropriate cultural term they identified. One example is that culture was replaced with Cuban such as “How has your culture influenced your life” was changed to “How do you think being Cuban has influenced your life” or “Do you feel that you make decisions based on your culture?” was altered to read “Do you feel that you make decisions based on your Cuban background?” Other questions were revised to include specific examples.

During the interview, the researcher took field notes about the interview protocol and added probing questions or restructured questions to allow for greater conversation (see figure 4.1). Questions that evoked one word answers were rewritten to elicit more detailed or free flowing answers. For example, the question, “How important is family and being with the family to you?” was changed to, “Please talk to me about the importance of family.” Changing the wording of the question resulted in a richer dialogue.

Questions were also added to gain a deeper understanding of concepts that the researcher originally felt were assumed such as family. The question “When I say family, what does that mean to you” was added to gain a better understanding of what the family unit meant to each participant. This allowed subjects to define their family and also provided richer data about family constructs and how family is defined within this subculture.

Questions were also added to follow up on concepts that were discovered in the pilot study. One particular question that had not been previously included was, “Why did
you sign your child/ren up for various sporting activities?” This question was added after speaking with a mother that did not have any interest in sport, but felt that it was important for her children to be involved for various reasons. This question allowed the interviewer to gain a better understanding of the importance of sport even if the participant did not participate in sport as a child or is not a fan of sport and why he/she chose to involve his/her children in sport. This question was also expected to enable the researcher to understand how cultural and individual values can be reinforced by participating in sport. In other words, even if a parent is not interested in sport he/she may feel that sport instills important values, therefore having his/her child participate in sport.

The revised questions were utilized in subsequent interviews and were kept consistent throughout each interview. Table 4.1 below illustrates which questions were changed and which were added after the pilot study; all other questions presented were retained as originally written.

Table 4:1 – Question Changes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Revised Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Where were you born?</td>
<td>Please tell me a little bit about yourself and your history of where you were born and where you grew up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where did you grow up?</td>
<td>Tell me a little bit about what you remember about your childhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do your family members have similar values?</td>
<td>What values do families members have that are like yours?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How important is family to you?</td>
<td>Please talk to me about the importance of family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is it important to pass those values onto your children?</td>
<td>Talk to me about the importance of passing values onto future generations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Added</td>
<td>Why did you sign your child/ren up for various sporting activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Added</td>
<td>Please describe some of your experiences with sport.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Added</td>
<td>What are some memories you have about sport?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Added</td>
<td>When I say family, what does that mean to you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Added</td>
<td>How did your kids learn about sport?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Main Study

Subjects

Five families with members representing three generations in each family were interviewed. The sample included 16 adults, 8 males and 8 females (see Table 4.1 for generational and family details). As described in chapter 3 the first step was to perform initial interviews. This consisted of asking the potential 3rd generation participant about his/her family and his/her familiarity with sport along with generational, subcultural affiliation, and family makeup. There were a total of eight 3rd generation participants that were interviewed. Six of this participants indicated they were raised in Miami, had a Cuban descent and were currently or previously enrolled in a sport management program. Interviews were then conducted with families who were willing to participate. The other two indicated that they met the sport enrollment and Cuban criteria but they did not have any living 1st generation Cuban relatives. One participant that initially agreed to participate indicated that his family was not interested in taking part in the study. The other five participants were contacted and were asked for contact information for various family members that were interested in participating. Times and places were then set up to meet with the various family members. Initially, time was spent talking with family members in an informal setting at a family member’s home so the participants would be in comfortable surroundings when talking with the interviewer. Interviews were conducted in various locations depending on the participant. Although most of the interviews were conducted in an individual’s or a family member’s home, some interviews were done in a research lab due to distance from the family and convenience for both the participant and the researcher. Table 4.2 below documents the gender and family make up, along with where the interview took place. The interview primarily consisted of questions about an individual’s family, his/her values, and the knowledge and importance of sport and is illustrated in Appendix A.
Table 4.2 - Family breakdown and (interview location)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Generation</th>
<th>2nd Generation</th>
<th>3rd Generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother (home)</td>
<td>Mother/father (home)</td>
<td>Son (lab)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother (2nd Generation home)</td>
<td>Mother (home)</td>
<td>Son (lab)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother (home)</td>
<td>Father (home)</td>
<td>Daughter (home)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandfather (2nd Generation home)</td>
<td>Mother (home)</td>
<td>Daughter (2nd generation home)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandfather (2nd Generation home)</td>
<td>Uncle (home)</td>
<td>Nephew (lab)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Microethnography

The following section is a micro ethnography that provides an overview and summary of all the interviews that took place. The summary is done by family and by generation to allow the reader to get a sense of each participant’s childhood, experiences in their life, and what part, if any, sports have played in their lives. It is important to note that interviews are similar to any conversation, in that some people may talk more than others, be willing to divulge more information than others, or be able to communicate better than others.

Overview of the Community

No area of the United States from the 1900’s was so profoundly affected by immigration as southern Florida. The first Cuban refugees began trickling into the United States shortly after Castro seized power on January 1, 1959, and the trickle swelled to a flood until the 1962 Cuban missile crisis cut off direct immigration for more than three years. In late 1965, the Cuban government began allowing people to leave again through "freedom flights" from Havana to Miami. The flights brought an average of 3,500 Cubans a month into the country until Castro suspended them in 1973. More than 650,000 Cubans entered the United States between 1959 and 1974. Another large wave of Cuban immigration (an estimated 120,000 people) occurred in the early 1980s with the Mariel boatlifts. Many Cuban Americans already living in the United States had a negative opinion of the "Marielitos" (the name given to refugees who entered the country during the Mariel boatlift), because they believed the Marielitos caused damage to the
Cuban American community's reputation. The Latin population continues to grow as Cubans who originally settled in other areas of the country return to southern Florida, an area they have come to regard as "the new Cuba" (Jacoby, 1974).

The pattern of immigration from Cuba during the mid- to late-1900s reflects the process experienced by the families interviewed. There was a difference in when the families came over, thus affecting their experiences and memories of Cuba, but it did not affect their love for their homeland. Each of the 1st generation immigrants said they would go back if Castro had not taken over power. They also confirmed a desire to go back to visit and bring their families back to Cuban when things settle down because they feel it is important to show their family where they came from. All of the families interviewed had roots in Havana, Cuba, and raised their families in Miami, Fl; particularly the northwest part of Miami at one time or another. This area is predominantly Hispanic and the residents have permeated the area with their cultural heritage and traditions into a hard-working, diverse community proud of its ethnicity and Cuban heritage as well as its family-oriented neighborhoods. The area has one of the largest concentrations of Cubans and Cuban Americans in the country with approximately 62% of the population reporting being of Cuban ancestry (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

The families represented in this study consisted of one family that came over here prior to 1959, three families that came to the United States between 1959 and 1974 and one family that was considered Marielitos. The families in this study each made their home in the Hialeah area at one time or another with each of the first generation participants having lived in this area and raise their children. The participants in this study each had similar memories of the area and similar reasons for moving into the community. The main reason for moving into the community was because they it represented a little bit of home with the majority of the people speaking Spanish, having Cuban food, and the community having similar events as they did back "home" in Cuba.

The families did not know one another prior to the study; rather the some of the 3rd generation participants knowing each other through an institution outside of the community. Each of the families represented below were poor when they first moved to the United States, but each of them worked their way to middle class and each of the 1st
and 2nd generation participants owned their own homes. The homes were modest, but well kept and cared for. Each home was decorated similarly as well, with family photos along with some beautiful artwork filling the walls. The following section provides an overview of each family, their experiences, beliefs about their subculture, values, connection to sport, and socialization into sport. Table 4.3 provides a breakdown of the participants by family and generation.

Table 4.3 Participant breakdown by family (Pseudonyms)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hernandez</th>
<th>Perez</th>
<th>Gonzales</th>
<th>Rodriguez</th>
<th>Ricardo</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gemma</td>
<td>Juana</td>
<td>Norma</td>
<td>Ricardo</td>
<td>Juan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maria</td>
<td>Louis</td>
<td>Carlos</td>
<td>Celia</td>
<td>Vinny</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mike</td>
<td>Carmen</td>
<td>Sophia</td>
<td>Julie</td>
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Hernandez Family

The Hernandez family originated in Havana, Cuba and part of the family immigrated to the United States in 1959, with the rest coming a year and a half later. The family first settled into an area called Cuban Alley and later moved to Hialeah. The family no longer lives in the area, but each has fond memories of the area.

The interview was done at Maria’s house, which was a mix of Cuban and American artwork. It was a modest, but tasteful middle class house that had abstract paintings, Cuban memorabilia and family pictures. The outside of the house was done in stereotypical Miami fashion, with yellow paint and windows all over that allowed plenty of sunlight in all rooms of the house. There were no sport representations in the area of the house that was open to the interviewer’s observation.

The home was not located in Hialeah as they participant had moved away from the area in which she grew up in; but she indicated that it was a ten minute drive to her parents house. Mike, the 3rd generation participant, no longer lives in Miami as he is away at college but indicated that he comes home every chance he gets.

Gemma – First Generation

Gemma was born in Havana, Cuba. She remembers everything about Cuba. She said that
Before Castro…we went to the beach, my father and my cousin. And we got together for every birthday, first communion; we always had a reunion for that. And my friends in school…I had so many… it was wonderful so much love, family love, you know and then after Castro there was so much unhappiness and struggle.

She lived in a home with her mother, father and grandmother as an only child. She also recalled music as being an important part of her childhood, we always got some kind of reunion, you know, almost…at that time, we have some kind of music, you know, can never forget about it because even though here you listen to the same music I was listening to in Cuba, and artists, it just brings me right back.

She did various activities with friends and remembers baseball being an important part of her childhood with her father because he would take her to all of the games and it was some of the few times they were able to spend together alone. Her father worked quite a bit and this was one activity they could enjoy together. It seemed as though most of her childhood memories revolved around watching baseball in Cuba. Even though she was a girl her father taught her how to play and took her to baseball games in Cuba. They followed the local Havana team and she enjoyed having those experiences with her father. When she got older she became interested in boys after going to a private all girls’ school. After school she decided to settle down and get married.

She married in her early 20’s and started a family. At the age of 26 she traveled to the United States on the last plane out of Cuba. Gemma explained, “I got to come with my son, my daughter, my father and my mother, because my husband had to finish his military service he had to stay behind.” Males had to wait until they were 27 years old to leave Cuba, which was about a year and a half after the family arrived. Gemma described the transition from Cuba to the United States:

Well, it was a painful time for me, because I have to leave my homeland over there, you know…It is different, everything was different…the language, the school, everything was different. The supermarket was so different. Because nothing over there…empty supermarkets, nothing
on the shelves. And I come here, all the supermarkets were so big...the stores, oh my God! I almost fainted because it was so different. And, the first time...I had to clean houses...I got to study...in the night. I go to school at night...and learn English.

When her family first arrived in the United States they moved near friends. Several of their friends from Cuba came over at relatively the same time so they tried to be near as many friends as possible until her husband arrived. After her husband got out of the military and came to the U.S. they formed a plan to settle in a community often referred to as Cuban Alley in Miami, Florida. The family chose that particular community because of the language and common background of the people. Everyone in the community spoke the same language and most of them were from Cuba. “I don’t know nothing, nobody about anything over here. I don’t know any person, but in Cuban Alley it was like family, you know” she said. The community was a very tight knit group that did everything together, including raising their kids and having religious ceremonies in each other’s homes. They had mass in their homes because the community Catholic churches would not have Spanish speaking mass. It was at this time that her husband became a Deacon of a local church, which he serves at today.

As the conversation turned to sport and her experiences with sport, Gemma seemed very excited to talk about her love of sports. While talking about her family Gemma had seemed timid. Gemma refers to herself as a baseball “freak.” Her love of baseball transcended countries; she is an avid fan of the Florida Marlins, an obsession that began in 1992 when the team won the World Series. She claims to listen to all the Marlins’ games on the radio and watch some on television. It does not matter what time they are playing or who is playing most times, if a game is on she is either listening or watching it. She remembers her interest in baseball starting as a child, going to every baseball game in Cuba with her father. Her connection to the Marlins began with her grandson, he told her about a player by the name of Levin Hernandez. She described the craze around seeing him play at the World Series:

And we were there. We went to the World Series, then and we went to a party at the stadium, when Livan was introduced everyone was yelling, He’s Cuban, yeah! He’s Cuban! I was there. It was a phenomenon, really. When they introduced Levin Hernandez, I mean, people had tears, it was
ridiculous, it was crazy. All because he was a Cuban, and you know...you have to know the Cuban problem, you know. Every person come here is looking at him because in Cuba, right now, he can play here in America.

She smiled as she relived that season and how she was able to share that with her family. She continues to be a Marlins fan even though they no longer have any Cuban players because she loves talking about baseball with her grandson. She says that it has been a great way for them to stay connected even though he has moved away. After most games they will call each other and talk about the game and she loves sharing that with him. “It does not matter if he is busy, he will talk to me about the game and I love that.” Even though her grandson is not the reason she became interested in baseball or became a fan of the Marlins, she believes it is the reason that she continues to stay attached to the team even when she is busy.

She, her husband, and her father continued to live in Cuban Alley for thirty years. They finally left once all of the children moved out and the house became too big to clean and the area became to run down and too dangerous to live in. They currently still live in the Miami area 7 miles from Cuban Alley.

Maria – Second Generation

Maria remembers coming to this country when she was five with her mother (Gemma), grandmother, grandfather and brother from Havana, Cuba. She grew up in Cuban Alley and recalls how tight knit the community was. Maria explained, “The windows were always open, the doors were always open and there were always lots of kids around to play with.” Much of her childhood revolved around playing sports with her brothers and her friends. Maria recalls her brothers being a huge influence on her sport participation. “They were always playing and letting me play with them.” She also remembers playing baseball, basketball, and racquetball with the local children and never wanting to come home at night. “It seemed like all we did was play outside with everyone and play some many games, it didn’t matter what game it was we were all having a good time.”

She attended a local school that was really diverse, a “melting pot” of all the area immigrants and Caucasian students.
Nobody at the school was allowed to speak Spanish, we were forced to speak English right away, plus my mother wanted to learn English so we were all learning it together. I was young enough that I picked it up right away and didn’t have much of a problem and I have never looked back.

She felt that in order to fit in that she had to speak English. “It wasn’t cool to be Spanish back then, so we had to do whatever we could to try to blend in with everyone and the easiest way to do that was through speaking English.”

Maria got married and became pregnant very young and moved out of Cuban Alley to another community a mere 2 ½ miles from her childhood home. The community that they moved into was full of family and friends. Her uncle (father’s brother) lived across the street, and next to him lived her childhood best friend who lived with her mother and daughter. Another childhood friend lived a few houses down with her brother, mother, husband, and stepfather. She describes that time in her life as being “one big block party because we knew everybody, and it had lots of family functions, lots of barbecues...just excuses to eat and get together, really.”

Maria and her husband divorced after 3 years of marriage when Maria decided to start her own business. Her husband felt that her place should be in the home raising their young son, but Maria felt that she could help provide for the family and that she could do something that made her life complete. She went through with the divorce and started her own business. She built the business into a very successful venture and continued to work there for over 20 years until she was offered a marketing position at one of the local Hotel Casinos; which she still works at today.

The subject of sport came up throughout the conversation with Maria. Maria is an avid Miami Dolphins fan. “I went to the playoff game here with my husband, and I’ll never forget that experience....And I just fell in love with them. And I have really supported them ever since. My brothers are big Dolphins fans too and we are always talking about them.” When I asked if there are any other sports other than football that she likes to watch, she replied “No! I don’t like to watch any sport other than football, I am a football fanatic.” As previously noted, it was her brothers that influenced Maria to
play sports. It was Maria’s ex-husband that influenced her to become a fan of the Dolphins.

Even though my husband and I are no longer together, I still love the Dolphins. I like them because I look at the Dolphins as such a laid-back, you know…they’re the epitome of Miami, you know what I mean? And I’m very much like that if you could live with flip-flops on the beach, and I’m not talking about at a beach house, on the beach, you know what I mean. I love… the Dolphins through thick and thin and …crying all the way through it.

Even though football is her favorite sport, she also follows basketball because she wants to be able to have something to talk about with her son. “If I want to talk to Mike, I better keep up with sports because that kid is obsessed with sports.” When she was asked how her son got into sports she said:

I guess through…because I love sports. I guess through me and ESPN helped a lot. And his father is very…I want to say athletic even though he is not anymore, but his father is a fanatic, a sports fanatic. And they’ll share that. And that kept his relationship with his father going. That’s like what they have always they had in common.

She also explained that until her son was twelve, he hated sports and then all of the sudden he “just become like this monster with sports, and now he knows every statistic of every sport.” She thought that her son had a late start in sports because he had very bad asthma growing up. She can remember being in the hospital with him every weekend for treatments because he would play to hard.

So, he would try, he played, I had him in every single sport, but it was understood that he really couldn’t run because he would go into an asthma attack. You wouldn’t believe it because he has such a physique for it, but you know what, he would have been an awesome football player.

She feels that his obsessions probably came because he was not able to participate and by knowing all the facts and statistics he was able to be a part of the sport community, particularly football and basketball.
Maria still lives in Miami, Florida and continues to be an avid fan of the Miami Dolphins football team. She recently bought the NFL package on Direct TV and is looking forward to the season.

Michael – 3rd Generation

Maria’s son, Michael, grew up with his mother in the area right outside Cuban Alley. He recalls living with his grandparents for a short time while their house was being built and always being near his grandparents. Like his mother, he recalls his community as being very close and always getting together. His mother’s friends had a profound impact on his life as they provided a support network.

Mike went to a private Catholic school, down the street from his home “because everything happened in like a ten-mile radius of my house growing up.” The neighborhood at that point was poor and consisted of a lot more minorities. His mother chose the school because it was one of the more affordable schools, and his grandfather was a deacon, so he helped him get in there. He described the ethnic make-up of the school as:

it was a lot of minorities basically…the make-up…it was a 21-person class and I actually went from pre-K to 8th grade with the majority of those people, like 80% I would say…lot of black kids, a lot of different Hispanics, and then lots of Asians…they weren’t big in that neighborhood but they were so. It was a good make-up and so the whole school was pretty diverse and it was a cool place, it was a good school. Like, my best friend from high school was a white Italian kid named, Ralph.

Mike and Ralph have remained friends and are currently college roommates. He made the decision to become roommates because it felt “like family.” And since he came all this way it felt like the natural thing to do. He recalls Ralph’s family sort of adopting him. “Ralph’s grandfather, John, he taught me how to golf. It was a passing fancy at first, and then he sort of really get into my head about it, and when he died…I started really playing and stuff.”

Sports also played an important part of his childhood. Mike vividly remembers what attracted him to sport:
my dad played football, and my uncle played football, my mom was an athlete and loves sports. But at that point I really didn’t have a great relationship with my dad, so we didn’t talk too much. But the one true thing is…we wouldn’t have a relationship, me and my dad, if it wasn’t for the Dolphins. And it was just a thing that, my mom’s younger brother Albert is a big gambler, and when I would be over there because he was always at my grandmother’s house, of course, because everybody congregates there…He’ll be telling me stuff like you know what the spread is, what had to happen, what he was hoping for, and what play had just gone down…And I guess I started learning from him there and my mom is really big into football too. She loves it, I mean, that is her sport as well. And then I guess I saw a couple of games and…I like the idea…sport is everything to me now.

Mike did not play football as a child or in high school. He had a medical condition that limited him and his mother was too scared to let him play football. So instead he feels that he has overcompensated for not being able to play by learning everything there is to know about the game. “As a 11 or 12 year old I knew all the stats and all the players, I would talk my mom’s friend’s ears off with everything I knew.” He loved football so much that it even influenced what college he would attend because he was a fan of their football team. Mike is currently a senior at a large southeastern university where he is majoring in Sport Management.

Gonzales Family

The Gonzales family also originated in Havana, Cuba. The eldest member of the family, Norma, was the first to come to the United States at the age of 16. She first moved to New York and then made her way to Miami and never looked back. She and her husband and father of all of her children divorced when the youngest child was ten years old. Throughout the interview there was no mention of him and no stories that reflected any type of relationship he may or may not have with the family.

The family members that were interviewed have lived in various Cuban areas of Miami; including Hialeah. This family still lives in the Hialeah area and all three generations are under one roof. Norma came to live with her son after he and his wife were divorced. Both 3rd generation children/grandchildren had gone to college but moved back into the family home after college as it was expected of them to live there until they were married.
The house was a one story ranch house that consisted of four bedrooms and was on the corner of their block. The inside of the house was decorated with several family pictures, abstract artwork, and awards the 3rd generation children/grandchildren had won in high school. The activity in the house was centered around the living room that was beside the kitchen, so while Norma was cooking she was able to converse and spend time with everyone else in the family.

Norma – 1st Generation

Norma was born in Havana, Cuba and remembers coming from a very poor family and lived a very hard life. Norma describes her childhood in Cuba as “miserable” because all that she was allowed to do was to go to school. “No sports, just play in the backyard with my brother and sister.” The United States was always a dream location for her. “I often wonder why I was born in Cuba because I have always felt that I am an American at heart. I couldn’t walk by an American magazine without looking at it and wishing that I could live there someday.” She is the only one from her family that came to the United States; the sentiment she conveyed was that her family members believed because the members were in Cuba and since they were working people, they did not have to go to the US. She said that here, if you work you can have everything; in Cuba if you are rich you can get anything, but if you are poor forget it. “This has always been the land of opportunity for me and my family.”

Norma finally got her chance when her Godfather visited her family and asked if she wanted to come back with him. She happy agreed and started the paperwork immediately. Norma came to the United States by way of the Bronx, New York, when she was 16 years old. She remembers it took her three years to get her green card and it was a very expensive process. Her godfather was a rich man; he had to have at least 50,000 dollars in the bank to bring her over because she was so young. They also had to claim she was older to get her into the country. Upon arriving, she started working doing odd jobs. It was during a trip back to Cuba when she met up with a childhood friend that was also living the United States. The friend asked her to move to Miami because of the warmer climate and better job opportunities. After arriving back in New York, she promptly moved to Miami to live with her friend. The two women quickly signed up for
beauty school together and never looked back. When she first got to Miami, there were very few Spanish people here, “just my sister-in-law so there wasn’t much to do, just hang around and play cards and go to work and come home and have boyfriends.” The two opened up a beauty shop shortly after graduation and worked there for several years. She later ended up marrying her best friend’s brother and the two stayed in the West Miami to raise their families.

Norma chose to raise her family in Miami because it was a quiet town at the time and the weather played a big factor. She also had a good job and felt that she and her husband could support their family on their salaries. It was after the birth of her third child that she decided to sell the beauty parlor to stay at home with the children. She felt guilty for leaving them home all the time to work and because her husband had a good job she felt that the time was right. It was at this time that she felt she was able to instill the morals that she felt they needed to know and follow.

I was Catholic and it was very important that they learned good Catholic morals. I always told them that working hard was very important; it is with hard work that you can do anything. Education was also important to me. I got a good education in Cuba and always wanted my boys to go to college but none of them would go. I was so sad, but what can you do. I am glad that my grandkids went to college though.

Family is the most important thing to Norma and she knows that her family depends on her. When her son got divorced she moved to Hialeah to help him raise his two children. Even though her two grandchildren have graduated from college they are all still living under the same roof, Norma, her son, and two grandchildren. She loves having everyone there and hopes that that the grandchildren decide not to leave until they are married. Even though everyone is busy doing their own thing she knows that they all still need her and that makes her feel good. One way that they continue to spend time with her is during basketball season. It was at this point that the conversation turned to her familiarity with sport.

Norma grew up loving to play basketball. Ever since a childhood friend from a wealthy family invited her to play at the private gym she has loved to play basketball. She did not become a fan of basketball until her sons started to play and watch professional sports. She got into watching basketball as a way to be able to spend time
with her boys. Norma’s interest grew when her granddaughter started becoming interested in basketball and introduced her to the Miami Heat. It was from then on that she has followed the team.

We always watched their games together and would talk about the games. I always hate it when they lose because everyone around the house gets so mad. Even though we don’t watch the games together anymore I still watch them so we have something to talk about.

Norma continues to live in the northwest area of Miami with her son, Carlos, and two grandchildren. She enjoys having the family home especially during basketball season so they can watch the games together when everyone’s schedules work out.

Carlos-2nd generation

Carlos was born and raised in northwest Miami, Florida. He remembers the area was a tough neighborhood full of projects and everything that went along with the projects. The ethnic make up the neighborhood was approximately 30% Caucasian, 40% Hispanic, and 30% African American. His childhood was filled with going to school to get a good education, learning language and to just basically “stay out of trouble.” In order to stay out of trouble, he and his brothers spent most of their free time playing baseball with other Hispanic children in the neighborhood. He explained why they played baseball:

Kept you off the streets more than usual, kept you healthy and gave you something to do, some cultural beliefs where in there too. When we were younger I played a lot of baseball because that’s what they played in Cuba. We played a lot more baseball than anything else all the way up into high school.

Baseball was not the only sport that they played; their free time was also filled with football, basketball, and any other physical activity they could find. Sports played a significant role in Carlos’ childhood because it “kept us off the streets when we were younger, but as we got older it was mainly to keep you in shape.” Their mother always expressed the importance of staying in shape and taught her children that this was a valuable way to spend their time. Carlos remembers watching sports on television with
his father and playing baseball with him after work. His father encouraged all his sons to participate in little leagues, high school teams, and street leagues.

The Miami Dolphins have also been a huge part of his life. Carlos recalled learning about them from a friend of his mothers as a child.

He always had extra tickets to the game so he always invited me to the game and one time my mom even bought season tickets for me so I could go with his family to go watch the team, so even when I was very young, I have rooted for them ever since.

He stated that “even though my involvement with the team has varied throughout the years because of work and family commitments, I have always been a big fan and followed them.”

After graduating from High School Carlos started working and soon married. He and his wife had two children and moved to an area of Miami referred to as Hialeah. They moved from the northwest to Hialeah because he felt it was a better community than they lived in previously. They felt that their current community was too rough and had a huge increase in theft. Hialeah also provided better schools and was an overall better environment to raise their children. Even though Hialeah was not the best place to raise their children, he realized that it was better than where they currently lived and that he could involve his children in safer activities from that area.

The safer activities in which Carlos chose to involve his children usually revolved around sport, similar to his childhood. He signed his children up for church leagues so they would stay fit and off of the streets, even though they did not participate much in church he knew this was the right place for them because it was low cost and a good environment. He believed that “any type of religion was better than no religion, it did not matter what type of church it was. It wasn't a bad place for them.” Sports always echoed the values and the beliefs that he wanted to teach his children and felt that by involving them in the participation of sports that they would be better people for participating.

Carlos still lives in the same house in Hialeah with his mother, daughter, and son and believes that he will live there for many years to come.
Sophia—3rd Generation

Sophia, Carlos’s daughter, grew up in a house located in a primarily Cuban area of Miami called Hialeah. Sophia remembers following her brother around everywhere as a child. “I just followed my brother around, if he was on a skateboard, I was on a skateboard, if he was playing basketball, I was playing basketball. He was my idol and I followed everything that he did.”

While the ethnic make-up of the community was Hispanic, the High School that Sophia attended was very diverse and her best friend growing up was an “All American” girl. She remembers her childhood friend, Katie, so well because they are still friends today and are also college roommates. “It’s just one of those childhood friends that you click with, you have so many things in common and enjoy their company and you just know their family since I was 3rd grade and they are life family to me.” When they were children, Sophia and Katie participated in activities generally associated with young girls such as shopping, going to the movies and playing sports.

Most of Sophia’s childhood memories revolve around sport, whether it be watching her father and brother or participating in sport herself.

So many memories, where do I start? Basketball, and that whole sport in general has been so memorable, playing it, being a part of it, watching it, working for it. In elementary school I was always in PE playing everything that you could imagine. In 5th grade one of the PE teachers brought up to me this inner city games and it is a Miami little kids sport event and I went and did that. I was the only Spanish kid there to be honest, everybody else was African American. That just opened a new life for me. When I got to middle school I had PE every year and I loved everything about PE and I played basketball. High School I played basketball again and all the other sports and all the other sports coaches tried to recruit me for their teams, but since basketball was year round and if I wasn't playing with the team I was playing in a league somewhere. I would say sports were everything in my childhood.

Sport also played a part in her college decision when she chose to attend a large southeastern university with a strong basketball and football tradition. She majored in Sports Management and was actively involved in the women’s basketball team as a team manager. She is currently living back in Hialeah with her grandmother, father, and brother but would like to move to Orlando soon despite her family’s resistance. Sophia still works in the sports industry and plans to continue to move up the corporate ladder.
Perez Family

The Perez family first immigrated to the United States in 1946, before Castro took over. This family too made their home in Hialeah from 1970-1995 until the 1st generation participants decided to move out of the community and then moved away from the area in 2000 to be close to family members. Juana talked about the small house that she raised her children in and explained that it was like all the other houses in Hialeah. The family had saved for many years to buy a house and when they finally did, they always knew they had to take care of it. There were pictures hanging on walls of the house and it looked like it was not big but was well cared for. The current dwellings of both the 1st and 2nd generation participants revolved around family and family pictures, there were no obvious Cuban representations other than Catholic Rosary beads with a Cuban Saint picture.

Juana – 1st Generation

Juana, was born in Havana, Cuba. She came from a poor but proud family. She does not remember much of her childhood, but does remember coming here in 1946 when she was just 17 years old. Her father came to the US first because as a carpenter in Cuba he had difficulty finding work; once he had enough money he sent for the family. Juana remembers that if “they would have stayed there, they would have starved for sure.” Her father first came to the Bronx, New York, because they had relatives there that could help him while he got on his feet. It was in this area that her family settled for a few years until moving to the northwest part of Miami. It was there that she met her first husband and had four children. The two divorced and she remarried and had another two children. After another ten years of married, she divorced again and has remained single ever since. She continued to live in the Miami area until 2000, when she moved to be closer to her children.

Seeing what her father went through to support the family had a lasting impact on Juana and she credits him for teaching her that you have to work hard to achieve whatever you want in life. Her strict upbringing has remained through all of these years. Juana still believes that a woman should be at home, even if “you can’t do that nowadays with the economy, and all that – it has to be double income, if I had my way, I would just
stick to my culture and stay home with the kids.” When asked about how her background has influenced her life, she summed it up by simply saying “six children.” Juana had a sense of pride whenever she was asked to talk about her background and upbringing. Even though she was young when she came to this country, she does not speak English even though she can understand it. She feels that by maintaining her language she is honoring her past and her country. She also felt that it is important for her children to speak Spanish and for her grandchildren to speak Spanish. She taught most of her grandchildren how to speak the language and will not speak to them in English when they come to her house.

Juana is a huge fan of baseball. She can remember watching games together as a family, especially since she had family that played professional baseball. Her childhood included not only watching but also playing baseball with other kids in the neighborhood. Her brothers all played baseball and watched the Yankees. “All I can remember is talking about and watching the Yankees. That’s all I knew.” Even though her family is scattered today she still watches baseball because “it allows me to feel connected, when I watch it here, to my family.”

Even though Juana has always enjoyed baseball, she never pushed her children into sports. Mainly because she was busy working and trying to help support the family, so she was not around as much as she would have liked.

Most of my kids had to work from a young age and there wasn’t much time or money to allow them to play, they had to go to school and help out around the house. Because there were so many chores, and by the time you finished your chores there wasn’t any time left for fun.

Through the years that she was raising her family, she noted that she did not follow the Yankees as much. It was not until her children grew up and moved out that she was able to devote her time to following the team again. Now it is a huge part of her life. She watches them faithfully on television and occasionally listens to them on the radio. “I know all the stats and everything, I don’t even have to watch the game, I can just listen and I know what’s going on.” Her son, Louis, on the other hand, is not a fan of sport.
Louis-2nd Generation

Louis was born in the northwest section Miami, FL and like his mother, Juana, does not have much of a memory about his childhood.

All I can remember is my dad just going to work and we just lived in the projects. No reason why he picked it. I suppose it was part rent cheap, you know, very convenient, but he never sat down and told me why we moved here. I had cousins there, but no one, I’d never hung out with. All I did was go to school, came back, and once in awhile I’d go outside and play. But I would never stay out late. Never joined a gang. Never smoked, never drank, did absolutely nothing. ’Cause if I did, I would’ve remembered that.

The family split up when Louis was young and he lived with his father until he quit high school and joined the Marine Corps when he was 18. Louis admitted that he did not have a “normal” childhood. He grew up:

- basically just sitting in front of the TV and just watching TV. My father was never there, my mom wasn’t there, I kind of just grew up by myself and I guess maybe being exposed to, in the ’50s they had all these good TV, family oriented shows, like “Leave It To Beaver.” Good home value shows. I just think they left me… and I didn’t want to go on the other side – to be a criminal, drug user. It’s because of this that I feel completely American. I didn’t grow up speaking Spanish because I went to an American school and watched a lot of television.

He stayed in the Marine Corps for 2 years when he got out he moved back to the same community as his family. It was when he was on one of his weekly visits with his mother that he met his future wife. The two dated for a year and then got married. Louis got a job at the post office and continued to work for the government until his recent retirement.

Even though they met some family resistance, Louis and his wife decided that career-wise it was much better for the kids to move out of his childhood neighborhood. They were pregnant with their first child and did not want to raise their children in a real bad area so they decided to move away from the family and give their children and themselves a better life.
Louis recalled that there were not many Hispanics in the area at the time, but they did have his sister and brother-law and a coworker who had married a Hispanic woman nearby. They became fast friends and did everything together. The wives were able to speak Spanish to each other and raise their children with many of the same values that they grew up with. So the two families raised their children together and have remained friends until this day even though they have moved away from one another.

Louis credits his wife to exposing him to the Cuban background. Through this he learned to become very family oriented and working hard. “I know my wife’s family, her cousins, but in my family I have cousins that I have never met or talked to before.” On the other hand, in the recent years he has become close with his family again. All of his siblings and his mother have moved to be closer to one another. Now they get together frequently and spend many holidays together. He feels that he has been learning about his culture in reverse, and the more he talks with his sisters and mother, the closer he feels to his heritage.

When asked about sports Louis he said he did not participate much as a child. He remembers playing basketball, football and track in the academy, but when joined the Marine Corps he did not play sports again and only played sports when he was bored or not doing chores. His family did not expose him to sport; Louis’ mother (Juana), who is a baseball fan, left the family when he was young and his father was too busy working to watch much television or go to games. There were several kids on the block that played baseball and the extent of his participation as a child was playing neighborhood baseball.

When the conversation turned to sport fandom Louis seemed a little embarrassed to admit that he was an avid wrestling fan. He did not remember how he got into watching wrestling, but he was pretty sure it was when he was in his teenage years and happened to turn to the channel. He acknowledged that even though it is not considered a sport, he loves it because it is great entertainment. When questioned as to why he thinks it is fake he said “Because it’s all fake. You talk to the wrestlers; they say all this was planned. Stage acting. But when they do it, it looks so real. And that’s exactly why I like it; it’s entertainment.” He admits that he frequently watched wrestling with his son while he was growing up. “It was something that we could do together and we had so much fun watching and talking about it. It (wrestling) was on television so we didn’t have to
go to the matches to feel a part of it.” He recalled going to a couple of live events and really enjoyed the atmosphere it provided. He says he has been following it for almost 35 years and was so excited when his son surprised him with tickets so they could go together. “I was so shocked, my son called me one night and told me he bought us tickets and I couldn’t wait to go and see them and to spend some time with my son, it was awesome, it was such a great night.” Louis also said that he and his wife actually had to fly to see the match and that he took time off of work which “rarely happened” just so he and his son could go together.

The other sport that Louis likes is basketball. He said that he recently got into basketball when his son brought him to a college game. He thought the game was amazing, “it went into triple overtime and everyone was going crazy and you just couldn’t help but to get caught up in it.” From then on he was hooked. He still continues to follow his son’s alma mater saying that he frequently talks with his son about the latest game and really likes having that to talk about.

Louis knows that his son loves sports and works in sport, so he follows sport a little just so he knows what his son is doing and so he does not feel stupid when his son talks about the recent news or games. “I watch many of the same teams that my son does because then I can call him and say “did you see so and so” and he will always know what’s going on.” Louis is already looking forward to the upcoming season because he and his son’s basketball team is once again ranked.

Carmen – 2nd Generation

Carmen, the wife of Carlos, was born in Havanna, Cuba. She moved around quite a bit as a child between the United States and Cuba. When she was 2, her parents and she moved to Chicago for a short period of time. She moved back to Cuba after her mother and father separated and remained there until she was 5 years old when she moved to New Jersey with her mother. That was short lived as well because she moved back to live with her grandmother because she did not like the United States since she did not speak the language and became quite frustrated that she did not understand what people were saying. Carmen stayed with her grandmother until she was 15 years old when she came once again to the U.S. and stayed indefinitely. She landed in Miami to live with her
mother. It was in Miami that she met her husband through a neighbor. Her mother’s best friend had a son, Carlos, who would visit her once a week. Even though Carlos did not speak Spanish, they had similar values and goals in life. The two learned to communicate by teaching each other how to speak each other’s language. They were married within a year and started a family shortly after. They moved out of the neighborhood for job opportunities but chose to remain near family by moving close to Carlos’s sister. They also chose a neighborhood that had several people who spoke Spanish since Carmen was not very confident in her English skills.

The move was very hard on Carmen and her mother. Carmen remembers her mother being very upset and would only give her blessing if Carmen promised to visit every weekend. “Family is always connected, you had your family and family is supposed to be close and there for each other” was something that was instilled in her as a young child. She was not surprised that her mother was upset as she too was distressed, but she realized that in order to give her children better and more opportunities she and her husband had to move.

Carmen describes her family and fellow Cubans as hardworking people who are happy and love to have fun. She learned early that you can always dream and get what you want if you work hard. These are values that she felt were important to pass on and Carmen believes she and her husband did a good job teaching them to the children. She felt that it was very important for her to lead by example and verbally express these values.

The cultural experiences, on the other hand, were harder for her to pass along because where they lived, it “was more American and Spanish, it was hard for them (children) to relate to my culture.” This was especially evident in trying to speak to them in Spanish at which point they would say, “Well Ma, with who are we going to speak? Everybody speaks English.” Although she tried to tell stories about her experiences it seemed as though it went over their heads. She still feels bad that one of her children does not speak Spanish. Even though her daughter does, she only has gotten into it recently. At home, Louis and she primarily speak Spanish because she is “more comfortable speaking Spanish” because she feels that she can express herself easier and more eloquently.
As the interview moved onto sport, Carmen acknowledged that she never played or watched sports during her childhood and she cannot remember any family members or friends playing or watching sports. She confessed that she did not really know about sports until her children got into school and it was at this point that she enrolled them in various sport programs because:

I wanted them to experience everything in life. And sports is always a part of every day and everywhere you go, everybody is playing sports or talking about sports or doing something, so I wanted them to have knowledge of everything and have to decide what they want to do. It is also good exercise and that it’s a change to meet people and to get together.

It was through her children that Carmen became a fan of basketball. Her son always loved sport and was always talking about sports so she would sit down with him and watch various sporting events on television. Her son would explain the rules and they would have some discussion about the teams and the sport. “I really enjoyed spending that time with my son because he was always so busy with everything and this was something that he would talk to me about.” Her son also invited her to some of his college team’s basketball games and from then on she became a fan of that team. “It was fun to go to the games and we always had good seats and there was always so much excitement” she said. The only time she watches it on television is when her son is home because “he just turns the TV on and we watch it.” The most interesting part of basketball games is the halftime and other than that she does not care whether she watches the games.

Carmen also noted that she watches the sports portion of the news because she wants to be informed so she can talk about sports when people around her are talking about it by saying “Ok, so you like the players because you want to have the knowledge to talk to other people, whether it’s your son or anybody else that’s talking about it.” This was especially important because her boss was a fan of the local professional football team. Carmen indicated that her boss’s office was full of memorabilia and she was always wearing team apparel. It was because of this that “sometimes I just wanted to just know how they were doing, that way when I go back I can talk to her because she would be excited they won, or if they lose then she would be sad, so then I’d just say,
Oh, I knew they were playing bad,” so that way I could talk to her. Carmen’s interest and involvement with sport is based on a desire to connect with her children and coworkers; knowledge about sports and specific teams provides her with something to talk about with each of them. The discussion will not move onto her son, Christian.

**Christian-3rd Generation**

Christian, Carlos and Carmen’s son, was born and raised in Miami, Cuba. He described his neighborhood as “typical” in that it was a middle class diverse neighborhood with various races. He had several friends in his age group that were together from elementary school all the way through high school. Most of his friends were Caucasian and he has a core of 6 friends that he is still close to even though they each chose different schools to attend.

Christian felt that his upbringing was primarily influenced by the American culture. “I didn’t grasp my cultural background or traits until I was old enough to understand the cultural differences.” He recognized that a young age that he none of his friends spoke Spanish and he had to learn and master English. In doing this, he abandoned his Spanish language. He would not speak Spanish at home and by this time his mother spoke fluent English and that was how they communicated.

Even though they did not speak Spanish to one another, his parents passed on some very important core values that transcend any language. For example, “don’t steal, no hitting women, men are the one who protect and support the family, and hard work. Basically the golden rules of life.” Christian further acknowledged that education was also stressed as a way to succeed in life. It was through hard work and education that he believed one could succeed in life. He also believes that he is above average with knowledge about his culture, because as he got older, he became more fascinated with his culture and history and took various classes, read various books, and talked to several family members about their experiences. It is because of what he learned that he understands how important it will be for him to pass this knowledge onto his children because he believes that it is very important for a person to know and understand where they have come from and how they have gotten to where they are today. In doing so he realized that it will be important for his children to participate in family functions such as
holiday celebrations and various other traditional activities. Through this participation, he feels his children will be more rounded and will appreciate his/her heritage.

After high school Christian moved to go to college. He remembers that his parents were very supportive of the move because they realized that in order for him to be successful, he needed an education. Christian chose the college because it was the furthest from home. He was the youngest in the family and felt that he needed to get away to grow up and mature. In doing so, he chose roommates from various backgrounds and learned from each one of them. Even though everyone came from a different background, they all got along and were able to find things to do together. The main thing they did was to get together and party. Music has always been very influential in his life and many of the outings revolved around loud music. The one thing that always brought them together was music. He described music as “influential because the music is loud, uplifting. You cannot help but get up and dance when it’s on.” It was just something that was always around when he was growing up. He explained that music was part of every family gathering. “Even at Thanksgiving, by the end of the night the music was cranked and everyone was dancing.” Many of his friends at college had a similar love of music and they spent a lot of time listening to music and going to concerts.

As the conversation turned to sport he explained that he has had several experiences from both a participant and fan standpoint. He explained that “Some of my best memories in life are from sports or a sporting event.” His first memory was when his mom signed him up for t-ball and then later on for baseball. Although he played it throughout elementary school, he soon lost interest in the sport. In high school his interest turned to basketball and football as he played them both for his school and recreationally. He remembers watching basketball with a family friend before he started playing. He described his experience as:

My best friend from middle school was a basketball fan. We always watch the games and from then on I really got into basketball. After watching it on television I started teaching myself how to play and then I started playing it in high school.
Christian had a completely different experience with football as a coach was the one who introduced him to the game. “He noticed that I was tall and asked me to try out of the team and I did. It was during my junior season that I hurt my knee really bad and decided that I shouldn’t play anymore.” After his playing days were over for both teams, he became a fan of each sport.

He is a big fan of basketball because of his best friend. Even though his friend moved away, he was able to maintain the friendship through their conversations about the team during the season. This is a friendship that still remains today despite living thousands of miles away for over a decade.

Notre Dame is his team of choice for football. He first became aware of the team through television. “Notre Dame was the only team that I could always find on TV. It was through them that I became obsessed with football, I would look up all the information about the college teams and would follow the whole college season.” It was through his “love” for Notre Dame that he was introduced to the National Football League (NFL). His favorite player Joe Montana played for Notre Dame and was drafted by the San Francisco 49ers and he began to watch their games. It was not until after Joe Montana was hurt and replaced by Steve Young that his attraction turned to affection and allegiance.

Steve Young was left handed and I was left handed. Steve played quarterback and I played quarterback. I had to watch every game to see what he was going to do and how I could improve my game. It was through this that I got to know all the other players, and I still watch them today.

Christian then felt that people probably think that it is weird that his father did not get him into sports like most of the other kids he knew. He said:

My dad was always a professional wrestling, I like it but I don’t think it’s a sport. After I started really getting into sports, he started watching. When I went to college he started watching my college team. I brought him to a game and he started following them and watching them all the time. It was crazy because sometimes he knew more about the team than I did. But it was nice to have something like that to talk about. We also talk about wrestling. I hate to admit it but I still watch wrestling to this day. My dad isn’t
that into it right now, but I keep him up to date because I watch it all the time.

He says that one of the biggest reasons that he still watches wrestling is because of the connection he feels with his dad when he watches. There are many times he calls his dad immediately following the match to talk about what just happened. He says this is one way that they can feel close despite living so far away from each other.

Christian lives in central Florida and works in recreational sports. He does not anticipate moving back to Miami anytime soon as he is getting ready to get married and would like to start his life where he is now.

Guerrero Family

Juan – 1st Generation

Juan was born in a little area just outside of Havana, Cuba. He has fond memories of his childhood and how it seemed to fun and exciting playing with the area children and going to family gatherings. His father has his own store and his mother stayed at home with him and his siblings. “I remember much love in the house and being together with all of my family, my cousins, aunts, uncles. My grandparents lived with us until they died. That is how it was done. Everyone looked out for each other.” He recalls his mother and grandmother being very strict and having to do a lot of chores and having to help out at the store when his dad needed it. “We were a family and that’s just what we did. We all helped when they needed it.” His remembers his families being very hard working, sometimes not seeing his father come home until later in the night after working all day. “That’s just what they did back then, work work work.”

Juan also has memories of playing baseball as a very young child. “We had a neighbor that loved baseball and showed all the kids to play. Then we would go later and play ‘til all hours and then moms would all call the kids to come and eat.

When he was nearly 20, Juan married CeCe, a local girl that he had known for several years. They had two children before Castro came into power. It was then in 1965 that they knew they needed to get out. “We just packed up all we could with my wife, her sister, and our two boys and came here (Miami).” When they first got here, he remembers it being chaos with no one really knowing what to do or where to go. “It was
so crazy here, we kept looking for somewhere to go and life but it was hard. Then we found someone that we knew from Cuba and they told us where to go.” They settled near what is now known as Hialeah and have lived in and around that area ever since. “We raised our sons there and I was able to open my store up again, but it took lots of time.” The neighborhood was primarily Hispanic, Cuban in particular, and he thought it was a good place because there were so many people like his family that it felt like home. Family was everything and everyone seemed like family. Everyone worked so hard to get here and when they got here they worked so hard to make it work. Many of my friends made it good here, but they had to work so hard, day and night it seemed.

When the topic of sports came up, baseball was the first thing out of Juan’s mouth. “It was the way of life in Cuba, it will always be near and dear to me. I watch it here sometimes, the Marlins mostly. They are here and had some Cuban players at a time.”

Second on his list of sports was football because his sons both played football.

I really liked football when they played, then I learned about it and started watching it more on TV. They always were watching it too and I would watch it with them. The Dolphins were good then so we would all watch it together and then sit and talk about the game later. Now they both live far away so I can’t watch it with them, but sometimes we talk about it on the phone. I like that.

When his sons first started playing football he was a little scared because he did not know much about the game, but he knew that sports were always a good thing and they would be better off playing a sport than being on the streets like other kids in the area. “My wife was scared when she first saw them, but she got over it because it was so good for them.” They both realized that sports were good for their sons, especially when they were offered a scholarship to play on a college team. “This was a good day for us because we knew that we couldn’t afford to send them, this way they got to go to college and do good and get a good job.”

Juan acknowledges that he does not have to watch every game, but he does like to sit down and watch it sometimes when he is not so busy doing other things. “Football was good to my family, but sometimes I have other things I have to do.”
Juan and CeCe still live in Miami and try to spend time with their grandchildren whenever they get a chance. Juan expressed the sadness of not having his children close to him anymore. “I feel kinda empty sometimes and want to move to be closer to them, maybe someday I will.”

Vinny – 2nd Generation

Vinny was born outside of Havana, Cuba. He does not remember much about his childhood in Cuba, but he does remember coming to the United States when he was about five years old with his brother, mother, father, and aunt. He remembers coming to Miami and how his family made good money in Cuba, but had to start all over again when the family came to this country. “My father was a jeweler in Cuba and had to leave it all to come here, there were some hard times when he first got here, but then he started his own store here and then things got better.” Vinny and the family moved into a primarily Cuban neighborhood that was full of families with several children running around and playing. “It was like one big family here. Everyone got together and did things all the time. It seemed like one big party, with music, dancing, food…goodness was there a ton of food everywhere.” He describes his family as being “the most important thing in my life.” He was taught traditional Cuban values and morals that revolved around the Catholic Church and was afraid to do anything as a child out of feel. “My mom was the queen of guilt, I always felt guilty if I was doing anything wrong.”

Vinny remembers going to a diverse elementary and high school and how he enjoyed that. “All the kids came from everywhere so we (Cubans) didn’t really stick out. I did have kinda hard time learning English and had to take some extra classes to try to learn, but after that I liked school.” It was not until high school that he really started to fit in when he started playing football. “I was big and strong and I was really good at football. After playing I knew lots of people and I began fitting in at school. I had so much fun.” He described his parents as being very “supportive” of him playing high school sports. “They thought it was a good way for me and my brother to stay out of trouble. There was a lot of stuff going on in our neighborhood and plus we were good so they were happy.” He also explained how much he learned from being an athlete. “I learned how to work to be good and how to have discipline and this has helped me to this
day.” He was so good that he received a scholarship to play at a local university. He played for a couple of years before getting hurt and having to give it up. “It was hard, but I knew that it was time to quit, I had to move on.”

After college he got married and started a family. “My wife and I moved quite a bit because of jobs and stuff, then we got divorced and I moved to Minnesota and that is where I am at now.” He explained that being so far from the family has been hard and that he has lost some of his cultural traditions because of it. “I try to pass it on to my kids, but they just don’t understand because we live so far away. They don’t see it every day so it’s hard to maintain and pass down those things.”

Throughout the interview the topic of sport came up quite frequently from a participant perspective. But as I began talking about being a fan Vinny explained “I am a huge sports fan overall, my first love is football because I played it, but I will watch baseball and basketball during their seasons.” He has even started having his children involved in sports. “My son plays little league football and baseball and my daughter plays on her school basketball team.” Like his parents, he feels that it is a good environment for children to be around. He feels that it was really good for him and has influenced his life and he would like the same for his children. He currently lives in Minneapolis, Minnesota and tries to get back to Miami as often as possible to see his parents and various other family members.

Alex – 3rd Generation

Alex was born in Miami, Florida. He grew up in a “decent” house in the lower middle class part of Miami close to Hialeah with his Cuban father and German mother. His neighborhood was the epitome of a melting pot. “We had this girl who was Yugoslavian, another girl who was Puerto Rican, my best friend was black and another one of my friends was Argentinean.” He recalls having two sets of friends, ones from his private school and his friends from his neighborhood. Alex said “the friends from private school were a little bit different than the friends that I met at the park, obviously because they were public school kids, so you would get into trouble with them.” He has vivid memories of a big park across from his house that was three blocks large where he and his friends would play basketball and football and roller-blade every weekend. The park
was the central part of his childhood and its where all of his friends would meet and hang out during non school hours. His world was then turned upside down when his parents split up and he and his mother moved to Tampa.

It was from middle school through high school that he was his mother’s side of the family more so “it was more of a white culture” He went on to say:

it’s hard to explain with that type of culture, but I really don’t feel culture from that. I felt like it is just vanilla, kind of, it’s just bland and it’s like the common stereotype of strict and hardworking and it’s not really food or music or a way of doing things with my family.

It is because of this that he says he has a stronger connection to his Cuban culture. He remembers his grandmother bringing him Spanish food everyday and taking care of him while his mother was at work. He explained that he felt like “I don’t know, just being around my Spanish side of the family, I guess, had a bigger influence on me, at least for the growing part of my life.”

It is because of his childhood experiences that he feels that no one can relate with him, but he feels that he can relate with a diverse set of people because he has experiences different cultures and living without his father for so many years. He was quick to point out that there were both positive and negative aspects of growing up like he did.

Positively, I think it was good because I was raised within a certain atmosphere and got that culture, but at the same time, it was bad because, just the area started to get worse, more troubled we moved away so I was never able to experience that.

Despite moving around and growing up without a father, Alex illustrated that sports have always been the constant in his life.

Sports were just a really big part…in Miami, I know my main get away was sports, just I remember even like playing with toys…like I set my guys up and they play football as opposed to like killing each other or whatever little kids did. It’d be like GI Joes…little toys and they’d be playing football as opposed to like having…or whatever…cops and robbers stuff….I don’t know, maybe it just filled a gap…filled an empty space. I remember I got the first real feeling…when I realized I knew a lot more
about sports than any other kid my age was when...first of all, it was back when Joe Montana and Jerry Rice and all...I knew everything about Jerry Rice...You could ask me any question about where he went to school, how many receptions he had, you know, in 1986, and just whenever, and I guess it was just something...something that is pure, that you can’t... it’s hard to tarnish.

He can even remember his first fascination with football was when he got a box of football cards from his nanny when his parents were still together.

I got a box of football cards...I’d go through all of them and separate them into teams and I’d always read the back...memorize the stats, and bug my mom...I’d always ask her “Hey, is this guy good? Is this guy good? Is this guy good?” And she would get so angry at me... “There are a thousand cards and you can’t ask me “Is everyone good?”

Although he said that he did not think that his interest in sport came from his parents many of his memories are with his father and his uncle by saying “I remember throwing the football...my dad and my dad’s friends, and playing with my dad, and playing basketball with my uncle at my mom’s restaurant my dad was not around.” His most vivid memory of when he became a fan of football was when he was five or six when he went to his first live football game. He described his experience as:

one of the last times that I spent time with my dad. We went on like a cross-country trip...stopped at a bunch of different cities...friends and all that, and the last stop was in San Francisco and we went to a football game. And I think before that I did like them, but I can’t really remember. No, I think that had to be why, because I was only 5 or 6...so I wasn’t that interested in sports...and yet from then on they are my team, and that’s where I learned...where I started learning about and knew every single player (on) both sides of the ball. It was about at this time that I got the football cards too.

When asked if he thought that the reason why he clung onto this memory was because he went to the actual game or because it was the last memory of his father Alex said:
Probably both. Maybe subconsciously more the latter—
being with my father for the last like real memory—but just
the experience…it’s a complete experience. Obviously, it
has a huge impact, being the situation that it was, but I’d
probably just say the raw experience, but I guess I never
really thought of that before.”

Most of Alex’s childhood memories revolve around sport, particularly playing
sports, with most of them occurring around the age of ten or eleven. He recalls that he
used to play tackle football with the older boys in his neighborhood in Miami because he
was big for his age. He credits the neighborhood kids for getting him into playing sports
because there was always some kind of game going on, whether it was football,
basketball, or baseball. He remembers that he always wanted to play organized football,
but it was never a big priority for his mother. It was at the time that his parents had just
split up so his father did not have a say in his sporting choices. They had just moved and
he missed the season and they were trying to learn a new city and so it just never
happened and he said that “that hurt quite a bit, because here I was in a new city and I
didn’t know anybody and I couldn’t even play the one thing that I had always wanted to
play.”

Even to this day sports play a huge part of his life. He still thinks that sports are
still a good way to escape from daily stresses and problems. Even though it is not as pure
as it once was, he says “at the same time it’s not as serious, it’s just a way to step back
from negativity, things that are bothering you because it is something to take you mind of
things, but at the same time, it’s a passion and I hope to work in this field.” He continues
to say that he thinks: “for some people it’s a way to get…out of their bad situation, be it
poverty, trouble at home, you know, just anything, relationship problems, even people go
and take a run that’s a release.”

Rodriguez Family

*Ricardo – 1st Generation*

Ricardo was born and raised in Havana, Cuba in a poor family. He was raised
with two siblings and remembers his childhood fondly. “It was a good life at that time,
before Castro, even though we didn’t have much money; we still got to have fun in the
neighborhood.” He remembers his childhood being filled with playing games with his brothers and working to make some extra money for the family. Baseball was the sport of choice and he and his brothers and friends were always playing it as children. “My older brother always wanted to play baseball, and when I got older he would let me play.” Ricardo also remembers getting together with relatives every chance they got. “Every week there was some sort of celebration, we loved to eat and dance and laugh all the time.” Family was central to his life and the way of life for him growing up. He has fond memories of his aunts, uncles, cousins, and distant relatives that were always around.

After finishing high school, Ricardo went right to work to try to earn some money to help out his family. It was while he was working at a shop that he met and married his wife. They had three children and raised them in a modest home in Havana, Cuba. He recalls how their life changed when Castro came into power:

We had nothing, could do nothing, we lost our religion, our whole way of life. It was awful, but there wasn’t anything I could do because I could not leave the rest of my family and we did not have no money to come here so we had to stay.

His daughter, Celia, was the first one to come to the United States when she migrated to New Jersey with her husband. “I was so happy for her, even though I was very sad that I would not get to see her, but she said that she we make money for us to come later.” It was not until several years later that they would be able to immigrate to this country. His daughter and son-in-law were able to save up enough money to send for them. “It took a lot of time and money to get us over here, it was hard to leave the rest of my family, but they were all grown up and I knew this is what we had to do.” When they came to America, they came to Miami, Florida to live with his daughter and her family. He admitted that adjusting to life in the United States was hard because he was old and he did not know the language. He was able to find odd jobs to make ends meet and finally got a good job at a local hospital and was able to finally move out of his daughter’s house and buy their own house. They still live within two miles of his daughter and sees her regularly.

When talking about the meaning of family, Ricardo simply responded “Family is everything to me, it’s who I am.” He later explained that religion was part of his life until
Castro took over. “Family and religion were the two things that we had growing up, for time I had neither with Castro, my daughter here, my religion taken away.” His answer to the importance of his Cuban background was equally as direct “I am Cuban, I was born there, I raised my kids there and it will always be a part of me.” He felt that even though Celia moved to the United States that she kept her heritage and he is proud of her for maintaining her loyalty and sense of community and family despite moving to the United States. He stressed that it was important to him the future generations understand what he went through and they know how hard it was to be in Cuba before they left.

When the subject turned to sports, Ricardo said that his first love is baseball. He explained that his brother was a huge baseball fan and his brother loved to play. Ricardo always looked up to his brother and so he started playing too.

Ever since I can remember, I was playing or watching baseball with my brother, and dad sometimes. We would go and watch the team in Cuba and those guys were so good. We would go home then and try to be them. I wanted my girls to play but they didn’t care. They just played dance. They didn’t like baseball so much, so now I don’t watch so much here.

Instead he indicated that he watches more basketball because his granddaughter works for the Miami Heat. “I watch them because she likes them and talks about them all the time. Sometimes we go to the games just so we can see her because she is so busy that we can’t see her much.” He explained that he likes the team there and he is proud of his granddaughter for working with the team. “If I watch, I can talk to her about it. Sometimes it’s hard to talk to kids but we have something in common with the Heat.” He describes himself as a “great” fan because he watches them whenever they are on television. Ricardo and his wife still live in Miami, Florida and sees his daughter daily.

Celia – 2nd Generation

Celia, a mother of 3 girls and daughter of Ricardo, was born in Havana, Cuba. She described her childhood as being good. Even though they did not have very much money, she had plenty of family and fun. The family always go together to celebrate every occasion, even occasions they made up. Celia participated in dance as a child because physical activity was always encouraged. Sport was mandatory in Cuba, even in
college. Even if you were not good in one sport, they would put you in to do calisthenics because sport was seen as a healthy activity. Despite describing herself as a “non athlete” she always loved dance and wanted to become a professional dancer when she grew up. Due to political and financial constraints she was not able to pursue her dream after elementary school. She also had a bad knee that prohibited her from many of the dances.

Celia met and married her childhood sweetheart when she was 20. Celia and her husband, Caesar, immigrated to New Jersey when she was 21 years old. She decided to immigrate to the United States because the political system in Cuba was horrible; it did not allow for any freedom, not culture, religion in other words “You had to be what the government wanted you to be. I wish Castro wasn’t there, I love my country, and I love everything there but everything is going bad there.” She no longer tries to tell people how bad things are because when “I try to tell people how bad Cuba is but they don’t know because many people came before Castro came into power, all the secrets that nobody knows and don’t want to know how bad it really is.” Despite all that is wrong with Cuba today she explains that even though it has been 27 years since she left Cuba, she still cooks the same way, has the same morals, values, and would love to go back to see where her family came from.

When recalling her immigration to the United States she acknowledged that she did not adjust well to New Jersey. “I didn’t like the weather; my first daughter was born in New Jersey with no family around. I didn’t know anybody, just me and my husband. I was all alone, I was very sad at the beginning. But after she moved to Miami, Florida, things seemed to get a lot better. “My other family members stayed in Cuba for about 5 years and over time I got better jobs which allowed me to get a bigger house. After awhile we began to know people and make friends, then my daughter was started school and in 1992, I went back to school.” This statement prompted a long discussion of morals and values because it was at this point where some morals and values conflicted with each other. Two very important values were instilled at a young age were a strong work ethic and the value of a good education. She expressed these in the following passage:

Yes, my parents taught me to be a hard worker in everything you do; the best way to improve in life was to get an education. It was hard when I first got here, but with
the strong belief I was taught, I kept going until I accomplished what I wanted.

These two values conflicted with the belief that came from Cuba in that you would never leave your children alone even though in the United States people work and leave their children alone all of the time. She was anxious to go back to school when they came to the United States but the reason she waited so long was because she did not want to leave her children with a non-family member. She admitted that even though it was hard financially, she and her husband believed that it was important to stay at home to be with the children. She could not imagine taking them to daycare and having a stranger take care of them; it was just something that she could not bear. It was not until her mother arrived that she was able to go back to school because he mother was able to take of the children. It was just one belief that they (she and her husband) could not compromise on. Similarly, she could not imagine putting older family members in nursing homes. “I cannot see myself putting my mother in a nursing him. I was always taught to keep your older family members in the house and take care of them, no questions asked.”

Maintaining her culture was and is very important to Celia. She has tried to pass down the Cuban way of doing things to her daughters. She was worried that once they got older, especially when they went to college that they would not appreciate or preserve their heritage. She explained that she only spoke Spanish to them at the house and allowed them to learn English once they started school. She also insisted that each of her girls celebrate their 15\textsuperscript{th} birthday, called a quincenera. Celia explained that these are typically elaborate celebrations that include professional photography sessions during the day, luxurious gowns and dresses, and big celebrations with family friends. The custom is a celebration of a young girl and recognition of her journey from childhood to maturity and highlights God, family, friends, music, food and dance. She then pointed to three huge pictures on the wall with each girl dressed in a gorgeous white gown and posing for a professional picture. She went onto to tell me how much each of her daughters hated this tradition, but she felt that it was important for them to experience this tradition as it was something that she had dreamed about ever since they were little girls.
Celia also explained that the Cuban culture preaches for the family to stay close all the time, and children should stay in the house until they are married and you leave to start a family. She was very adamant in this belief because that is how she was raised. Even though that is what she taught her children, two of her three daughters left the house after high school and now live in the area but on their own. “It is such a waste of money, they have to work so hard and have nothing to show for it at the end of the day.” Even though she disagrees with their decision she understands that I also raised very strong and independent girls that are able of making up their own minds. But at the same time I always tell them that they should move back home whenever they say that they don’t have any money.

When the conversation moved to sport, Celia explained that besides dancing she really enjoyed participating in gymnastics because he was “girly” and that she was good at it. Her mother encouraged her to participate in the sport when she was 10-11 years old. But after she hurt her knee, she had to give up both dancing and gymnastics.

As far as watching sports, she admitted that she was not into sports that much growing up. She would watch baseball occasionally because her brother and cousin loved and played baseball and because it “was the national sport”, but other than that she did not get into sports until she met her husband. She said “My husband was a big influence on sports. I liked sports a little bit, but my husband use to play baseball and always loved sports.” Celia watches tennis, swimming, and basketball with her husband, especially the Miami, Heat. She admits that she only watches them because her husband does and that she does not know any of the players by name, just by their faces. She has gone to several games because she feels that it is a healthy family time and that even though she does not really enjoy going “it’s seems like the only time the whole family can be together and have a fun time.” Even though she indicated that baseball was the National Sport of Cuba, she said that she does not particularly care for it. In fact, the last time she went to a game she literally “fell asleep because it was too boring to me.”

Despite her real lack of interest in sport, she felt that it was important for her children to participate in sport. Other than reaffirming the value of hard work, it also teaches the importance of discipline, two things that are very important to her. Celia explained that it was her husband that really encouraged her children to become involved
in sport, she supported it because of the lessons that it would teach them and also that it
gave them something to do to keep them out of trouble. “All three of my daughters were
involved in sports, one daughter even works in sports now and I am really proud of her,
even though she works so many hours and doesn’t have much time to see us.” Celia and
her husband, Caesar, still live in northwest Miami near to her parents and within 10
minutes of her two daughters while one daughter still lives with them.

*Julia – 3rd Generation*

Julia, Celia’s daughter, was born and raised in the northwest part of Miami,
Florida. She described the neighborhood as “mostly Cuban.” This community had good
schools and good people. “There always seemed to be a lot of loud music, parties and
Caribbean kind of feelings and gestures…just being open. There was always a lot of
fattening foods…rice, beans, and steak…basically everyone revolved around food.” She
also felt that she had a very different upbringing than her “American” friends in that she
had to mix two cultures. She explained that she had to learn new things and had to be
open-minded. She enjoyed learning about different countries and cultures because she
had to incorporate them into her everyday life in order to fit in.

Julia indicated that one of the major differences in her upbringing compared to
her friends was that her family is “always into other people’s business, very
open…what’s mine is yours and what’s yours is mine. It is not as separated as American
families.” It is because of this that even though her closest friends were born in the U.S.,
they still have a Spanish background. She feels that she choose them because they have
many of the same morals and traditions. They understand what it is like to grow up
living between two worlds and that they speak both Spanish and English. Even though
they share both cultures, they usually end up doing very “American” activities such as
going to the movies, shopping, and “lots of sports.” She also indicated that they do not
do any traditional activities albeit they all still stick to what they were taught and the
morals that were instilled in them as children. Some of these things were to “never steal,
keep your hands to yourself, and be nice to people…the basics. Always be nice to your
family and always stick by your family. The first and most important thing is to always
stick up for your family and to learn from each other.”
Family was a theme throughout the interview. Julie mentioned that one of her favorite activities with her family was to play dominos as it is a very big part of family time. It was also important to her mother and father that the family eats together every night and to watch the Spanish news together.

Even though the Spanish news isn’t very good, we all watch it to try and stay up to date with everything going on. If it’s not the news, my mom and I watch soaps together and this other sitcom about a Cuban family who comes here and we love that show.

As the conversation turned to sport, Julia was very quick to talk about her life as a swimmer. Most of her experiences revolved around her many swimming competitions. She indicated that she loves swimming because it is open to every ethnic group and everybody has an equal opportunity because it is fair because you are not competing against anything other than the clock. It is not biased against any race and one of the reasons why she enjoyed it so much was that it opened her up to new experiences and new people. She explained that even though most of the swimmers are white, there is a big Latin base in the Miami area. She indicated that it was one of her Latin friends that initially got her into swimming. “She was involved and she said it was fun, so I tried it and liked it.”

When it came to watching sport she said that she was a fan of all sports, but soccer was her favorite. Soccer became a part of her life after going to a FIFA World Cup match in Spain. She wanted to go to the game because she understood that it was big part of South American and European culture, especially in Cuba, so she wanted to learn more about it. After being in Spain during the World Cup she realized that “when the games are on, the people stop what they are doing and go and watch the game. It is a huge part of what they do.” Once she returned home she continued to watch soccer and learned even more from one of her female friends. They still watch it today, especially Madrid Soccer because the boys on the team are really united and because it is a really fun game to watch because “there is a lot of resistance and endurance and that they have to get along with each other and work together for one common goal.”

Tennis and football are two other sports in which Julia enjoys. She said that her father got her into the sports because he did not have any sons. “My dad used to play
baseball and always loved sports and taught us about baseball. He doesn’t have any boys, so he would play sports with us and take us to sporting events.” Even though she does not really like baseball, she still watches and talks about football and tennis with her dad. “He pretty much watches whatever I watch now, he likes the same sports that I like or any sport that I like. He will get into it if I like and watch it.”

Findings

Levels of Acculturation

Examining acculturation within a family context has been said to bring forth rich opportunities for understanding the dynamic and multidimensional nature of this construct (Chun & Akutsu, 2002). There have been assumptions about the influence of acculturation on family values and socialization of Hispanic families, in particular Cuban families (Chun & Akutsu, 2002; Marin, 1993; Vega, 1995). For example, some findings have suggested that socialization of Hispanic cultural norms may be reinforced between mothers and their children (Knight, Bernal, Garza, Cota, & Ocampo, 1993; Quanta & Vera, 1999). In contrast, sport socialization has been found to occur to a great extent through the influence of paternal agents (Greendorfer, 1977; James, 1997). The sport socialization literature and research has only looked at socialization in regards to the dominant culture. It is imperative to look at acculturation and its impact on socialization within the sport context to gain a better understanding of how this may differ depending on one’s level of acculturation. This section will provide the results of the survey of each participant’s level of acculturation which were measured through the oral administration of the Short Acculturation Scale (Marin, Sabogal et al., 1987) and the AHIMSA Acculturation Scale (Unger, Gallaher et al., 2002).

As shown in the interview protocol, each participant was instructed to answer a series of questions with one of the following four answers a) the United States/English/American, b) Cuba(n)/Spanish, c) both or d) neither. The responses to the items were then calculated to create a composite score based on the answers: United States generated a score of four, Cuba generated a score of 1, both generated a score of 3, and neither generated a score of 2 Participants were grouped based on their score; scores of 65-80 represented “Highly Acculturated.” Scores from 50-64 were characterized as
“moderately acculturated.” Those with scores of 35-49 were characterized as marginalized, and those with a score of 20-34 were characterized as lowly acculturated. The results are illustrated below in Table 4.4.

Level of acculturation was examined throughout the project to determine similarities and/or differences between/within family and by generation. The levels of acculturation and how those levels relate to age of immigration and length of time in the United States are reported in the following paragraphs. Level of acculturation is considered for all participants in relation to the socialization agents and each person’s favorite sport. An effort was made to ascertain whether there was a differential influence from the various socialization agents based on level of acculturation.

Table 4.4 – Levels of Acculturation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High</th>
<th>Moderate</th>
<th>Marginalized</th>
<th>Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carlos (75)</td>
<td>Carmen (60)</td>
<td>Gemma (45)</td>
<td>Ricardo (26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louis (76)</td>
<td>Celia (54)</td>
<td>Juan (40)</td>
<td>Juana (30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinny (72)</td>
<td>Norma (62)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian (78)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mike</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results are similar to those found in other studies that showed strong correlations with generation, length of residence in the United States, self-evaluation, and age at arrival (Marin, 1992). The results illustrated in Figure 4.1 regarding length of time in the United States, generation and age at arrival are consistent with results reported by Marin (1992). The level of acculturation is represented by four different types of lines shown in the left hand corner of the diagram. The figure also shows each participant and the time they have been or were in each country as well as the level of acculturation. The left side of the figure shows the amount of time in Cuba and the age in which the person immigrated to the United States, the center line represents “0” and the left side represents time in the United States. The end line on the Cuba side represents the age in which the individual immigrated to the United States. If one’s line begins at the center, it means that the individual was born in the United States.
Ricardo, who is a first generation immigrant, came to the United States when he was in his mid-50’s and has only been in the country for 19 years is low on the acculturation scale; whereas, Maria, who came to this country when she was four and went to an American public school is high on the acculturation scale. All of the second and third generation participants were highly acculturated, while none of the 1st generation participants were above a moderate level. Even though Norma did not immigrate until she was 17 years old she said that she “always felt American. I couldn’t walk by a paper stand without looking at the American magazines.” She learned English in Cuba and was able to acculturate quite quickly once she came to this country. Juana, on the other hand, was not so eager to move to this country and has tried to preserve her Cuban roots by maintaining many of the same traditions she had while growing up. She still uses Spanish as her primary language and feels that her children and grandchildren should speak to her in Spanish and keep up the traditions that she tried to pass down.

This project included varying levels of acculturation with most of participants being highly acculturated. The 1st generation did not have any highly acculturated participants, while the 3rd generation did not have anyone lower than highly acculturated.

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**Figure 4.1 – Acculturation Level by arrival and length of time in the United States**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cuba</th>
<th>U.S.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>40</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Key**
  - Length of time in the US
  - Age at immigration
  - Low
  - Marginalized
  - Moderate
  - High

  - Ricardo
  - Carmen
  - Julia
  - Juana
  - Carmen
  - Norma
  - Maria
  - Luis
  - Venise
  - Mike
  - Alex
  - Sophia

  - Ricardo (1st generation, low acculturation)
  - Carmen (2nd generation, moderate acculturation)
  - Julia (3rd generation, high acculturation)
  - Juana (1st generation, low acculturation)
  - Carmen (2nd generation, moderate acculturation)
  - Norma (2nd generation, low acculturation)
  - Maria (2nd generation, high acculturation)
  - Luis (2nd generation, moderate acculturation)
  - Venise (2nd generation, moderate acculturation)
  - Mike (3rd generation, moderate acculturation)
  - Alex (3rd generation, moderate acculturation)
  - Sophia (3rd generation, moderate acculturation)
Research Question 1- Values

Hofstede (1991) suggested that the “core of culture…is formed by values” (p.8). Values have been thought to influence behavior and it has been suggested that behavior is an important consequence of values and there is a link between values and behavior (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003). Schwartz (1997) indicated that values transmit what is important to us in our lives. Values do not describe actual behavior, but rather reflect how people believe members of a culture should behave. So in order to look at culture at the subcultural level it was important to look at overall or lifestyle values that guide behavior.

Research Question 1, “How does ones’ Cuban upbringing influence his/her values, meanings, and beliefs relative to sport?” was framed with sport as the focus. Through the analysis of the data and the identification of themes, the researcher found that to really understand and appreciate the role of values relative to sport, it was necessary to consider the broader issues of life values. Since the respondents were asked to talk about global values early on in the interview before moving on to sport, the broader context of life values is considered first, followed by the discussion of values associated with sport.

The interview questions pertaining to values were worded in an effort to have the participants talk about the five values taken from the work of Bardi and Schwartz (2003) in relation to the Cuban culture. The five values were achievement, stimulation, benevolence, tradition, conformity and security. The first question was, “What values and/or beliefs have you been instilled with?” This opening question invoked some great discussion and allowed the participants to define what values were important to them and allowed them to talk about global values before being prompted to assess the values of interest to the researcher. It was through this general question that several of the five values were discussed without having to ask a leading question that would prompt the participants to examine their feelings about a particular value. After this initial question, each of the five values was assessed through a set of questions developed by Bardi and Schwartz (2003). The five values and examples of how those values were expressed are illustrated in Table 4.5 below. Each value will be discussed and the way in which the respective values were expressed by the participants.
Achievement

The achievement value has been defined as personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards and setting goals and then achieving them (Bardi and Schwartz, 2003). Achievement was explored through asking the participants a) if you demonstrate your knowledge of your Cuban background, b) if you take pride in demonstrating this knowledge, and c) examples of demonstrating your knowledge of your Cuban background.

Answers for the question “Do you demonstrate your knowledge about Cuba?” were quite diverse. Gemma said “Yes! I am very proud to be Cuban and I tell people about my country all the time.” Jualita and Celia also indicated they like to demonstrate their Cuban knowledge by saying “Yeah I will tell people I am from there” and “Yes, I like to express what I know of Cuba. I wish Castro wasn’t there, I live my country, and I love everything there,” respectively.

Some of the respondents indicated they will tell people if asked, but the are not speaking out to anyone who will listen. For example Louis responded “Mostly I just tell people if I am asked.” Similarly, Julie said “I am not really the one with the flag, but I will tell people what they want to know.” Alex said that “I’ve got a few posters on my way, but nothing other than that.”

Carlos and Mike indicated that they do not demonstrate their knowledge. Carlos said “No, you don’t see that from us Cubans, you don’t see bumper stickers. There are a lot of people like that; I am not one of those.” Mike also felt the “need to announce it. In a way I feel like the people who do that feel the need to be associated with something, part of something bigger. I don’t need that, I have my family and I know that.”

Table 4.5 Value Responses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Achievement</th>
<th>Benevolence</th>
<th>Tradition</th>
<th>Security</th>
<th>Conformity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Capable/Work ethic</td>
<td>Helping family</td>
<td>Religious tenants</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Honoring children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Security</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambitious</td>
<td>Being with family</td>
<td>Respect for traditional Culture</td>
<td>Harmony and stability of relationships</td>
<td>Honoring parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Successful</td>
<td>Honest</td>
<td>Commitment of customs/devout</td>
<td>Social Order</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The examples of how the participants demonstrated their knowledge include conversation (Celia, Gemma, and Louis), posters/flags (Alex, Christian, and Sophia), and actions (Celia, Julie, and Jualita). Even when probed for further information, the participants could not think of any other ways in which they demonstrate their knowledge about their culture.

There was only one participant that indicated that she took pride in demonstrating her knowledge and that was Celia. She believes that it is her duty to tell people how bad Cuba is.

> Everything is going bad there, I try to tell people how bad Cuba is, they might hear how bad it is, but I can really show how bad it was because I came from there. All the secrets that nobody knows and they show know.

All the other participants just said “no” and did not elaborate any further. Despite trying to invoke further conversation, each participant indicated demonstrating knowledge is not something that defines them or brings them joy or pride.

Even though the questions for this value did not invoke detailed responses or in-depth discussions, examples of this value were found through the introduction to values question, “What values and/or beliefs have you been instilled with?” When assessing the content from that question, the idea of achievement/success based on work ethic or hard work was discussed by several participants. After analyzing the data and exploring the way in which the participants described the value it became evident that the participants were referring to the achievement value.

Upon analyzing the data and categorizing the way in which the participants described the value, it was determined that these responses should be categorized as achievement. Bardi and Schwartz (2003) described achievement as personal success through demonstrated competence. Competence is evaluated in terms of what is valued by one’s culture or the community in which the individual is located. Competence in this community was evaluated in terms of reaching your potential through working as hard as one can to provide for his/her family. The participants were more than willing to elaborate on this value without much interference from the interviewer. The hard work ethic is one that is an expected social standard within this community and if you are
supporting your family and providing a good life, you are considered successful. Since the word achievement is often thought of in the sense of the “American Dream” it is confusing to think of achievement as measured by social standards instead of material standards. All of the participants at one time or another indicated that a hard work ethic was taught to them by example and/or verbal instruction. In other words, they saw family members working hard and conversations included statements about the importance of working hard. The data in this category was particularly rich in contextual references across levels of acculturation and generation as participants described how hard their parents worked and how important they felt it was for them to work hard in order to succeed in life. Several participants across generations had vivid memories watching their parents work one to three jobs just to make sure they had a better life than they would have had in Cuba. The sections following provide further detail pertaining to the value of achievement based on the participants’ experiences across generations and levels of acculturation.

1st Generation

Juana remembered the reason that her family immigrated to the United States was her father ran out of work. “He needed to support the family and he heard about some jobs over here so he wanted to move.” She continued on to say that “I don’t remember seeing a lot of my dad growing up because he was always working and we always grew up knowing that we need to work hard in order to live.” Juan also indicated that working hard was always stressed in his family, both verbally and nonverbally.

We were pretty successful in Cuba, but when Castro took over he took it all, so we had to move and start all over again. I watched my dad lose everything and work day and night over here to be successful again. He never really said out loud that we had to work hard, it was more what we saw, but my mom would tell us that dad had to stay late so we could live better.

Norma also talked about how hard her parents had to work just to make ends meet. Growing up poor, everyone had to pitch in she grew up knowing that you have to “work hard, because if you don’t work hard, you won’t make money.” She talked about
knowing that she had to work hard from the moment that she got to the United States if she wanted to survive. She said:

but we didn’t go to Church because I worked Monday through Saturday and I used Sunday to take my kids to the mall to get toys and so I didn’t have time. I didn’t get to stay home with my first two children because I was always working. One of my children would cry, but I told him not to cry because mommy had to go to work, but I when I had the third one I stated until he was 18 months because it was so hard for me to go back.

Gemma echoed those sentiments when she described what she had to do once she moved here. “And, the first time…I had to clean houses…I got to study…in the night. I go to school at night…and whatever…just to support my family until my husband was able to come over.” Juan was another one who talked about working hard:

My parents were always working when I was young, and then I worked from a very young age and continued the family jewelry business and we had to leave it all behind when we came here. I knew that someday I would get it all back and I always worked like my dad and we did open a store here.

No matter what the level of acculturation was, each participant indicated that she or he believed hard work was a key to success at some point in the interview. The participants indicated that it did not matter how rich or poor their parents were, they knew that they could provide a better life through working hard. Because this generation immigrated to the United States, they each had to leave jobs, money, and property and had to start all over once they came to this country. Ricardo said “Well, it’s a painful time for me, because I have to leave my homeland over there, you know everything was there, my house and the things that I had we have to leave when it was time.” This was a vastly different experience than that of the 2nd generation in regards to having to uproot their family. Despite these differences they have many of the same experiences of watching their parents work as explained below.

2nd Generation

The 2nd generation also indicated that hard work was a value that was taught both verbally and through demonstration and a few participants said that they have tried to
pass this value to their children. Carmen described the entire Cuban community as very hard working, while Carlos, Celia and Maria remembered watching their parents struggle when they first came to this country and how they wanted to succeed using many of the lessons that were taught to them. Louis illustrated how he valued hard work and how he passed it onto his children with his example. The following section will further illustrate what was said.

When asked how she would describe Cuban Americans, Carmen indicated that “Cubans are just hardworking people, happy people, and they like to have fun. I learned that even if you don’t have everything in life, you can always dream and get what you want if you work hard.”

Celia illustrated how her parents instilled the value of working hard and how much she sacrificed in order to get her degree:

My parents taught me to be a hard worker in everything you do; the best way to improve in life was to get an education. It was hard when I first got here, but with the strong belief I was taught, I kept going until I accomplished what I wanted. I raised my girls and then decided to go back to school to get my nursing degree and I did it. I worked the whole time, raised my children, and got my degree. I am now working in a doctor’s office making good money all because I decided to work to get what I wanted, for a better life for my family.

Maria also explained her parents’ plight and how hard it was when she was growing up.

My father couldn’t come with us right away and my mom did whatever she had to provide a better life for us until he got here. Thankfully my grandparents were here to take care of us kids so she could go to work. It has to be tough because she didn’t know English and to still go out and get a job and work, it was amazing.

Carlos remembers his parents teaching him “the drive to work hard and to make ends meet.” It was through this that he decided to forgo college in order to make a good living and to support his family. He further pointed out that he is successful today because of this value that his parents stressed in his life.
Louis, on the other hand, indicated that he expected his kids to work hard despite his parents never specifically telling him it was important. He did indicate that he tried to instill this value through example:

I guess when I was raising my kids, I did the best I could to tell them to go to school, do your homework… just basic, do the right thing. No one could sit down and say, you know, I never sat down with my son, and said, “As a boy you need to do this; as a man you do this.” Same with my daughter, we just kind of grew up together, expecting ‘you’ve gotta go to school, you’ve gotta go to work’ –

It seems evident from each interview that hard work or a strong work ethic was an important part of childhood and it is something they would like to pass onto their children. This value was one that transferred to the subsequent generation and did not differ depending on level of acculturation. This may not be surprising as the “American Dream” often includes the idea of hard work leading to success. An important point of clarification is that success may mean different things to different cultures, subcultures or generations. It is now important to see how strongly the 3rd generation felt about this value and how it may or may not have transcended through all three generations.

**3rd Generation**

The third generation also valued hard work and illustrated how it was taught to them, whether it was verbally or by watching their parents work. One participant in particular, Mike, remembered watching his mother work all hours in order to make a better life for him:

She originally worked at American Express when she was pregnant with me. She took leave for pregnancy and she went back right afterwards. My mom wanted to start a company, and my dad didn’t want her to start a company, you know, because all of a sudden it went from 9-to-5, nice structured hours, she can come home. My dad wasn’t in for that plan, but she went ahead, she made it work. It was hard. Here she was a twenty-one year old and was doing it. It was brutal: second mortgages, constant working, stretches where there was nothing, stretches, you know, feast or famine, and from what I can remember, like I was probably around 9 or 10…I would work in the office, doing minor things like filing and stuff like that, and then once I got old enough and obviously I grew in size, she put me to work in the factory and outside, you know. Basically, seeing her struggle, I know the value of hard work and of money; I know how hard she had to work to accomplish that.
Sophia also remembers seeing her father work in order to support the family. She said that

I learned my work ethic because my dad is always determined and has always provided the money and the food and working hard and I think that's where I got my work ethic. He works a lot even now just so we can do things.

Julie credits her mother’s work and determination for the value of hard work. “My mom went to school to become a nurse’s assistant, it was very hard for her because she didn’t know the language well and then she got a job and she works a lot there.” She also indicated that her dad has had to overcome some obstacles in working in America but has overcome those through working hard every day. “My dad does some really hard manual labor in doing yard work for people, but he owns his own business and sometimes doesn’t get home until after 10, I don’t know how he does it every day.”

Christian can also recall his father doing whatever it took to provide for his family. “My dad never took a day off of work; no matter how sick he was he would go to work. We never went on vacation because he wanted to work.” Christian also laughed as he recalls his dad having over 1000 hours of vacation and having perfect attendance at his job for 5 years in a row. Christian credits his dad’s example as to why he is so determined today and that one of the reasons he endures the long work hours now is because he knows that he could never complain to his father.

Alex, on the other hand, does not remember watching his parents working all of time, rather the overall theme of working hard in everything that one does. School was a source in which it was expected that he be at the top of his “game” and that it was expected that he complete all assignments and do what was asked. He said:

The big one was just “Get your work done!” That was always one that I can actually remember someone telling me that, to do all the time. And just to behave. Nothing corny like “Don’t lie, and don’t cheat, don’t steal!”

The third generation all had a sense of hard work and what it would take to succeed and remember watching their parents work long hours to provide for the family. They all indicated that it is because of these examples they feel motivated to work hard in order to reach their goals. Christian, Mike, and Sophia also indicated they either have or
had jobs that require them to work long hours and indicated they were not shocked that their jobs would require this type of commitment. Christian even joked there are times that he gets frustrated and tired and complains to his dad, his father pauses and tells him that he needs to “suck it up because that’s life.”

**Conclusion**

The term achievement or the need to develop and use skills to obtain from the physical and social environment those resources required to thrive, (Swartz & Bilsky, 1987) was a value that was hard to get at through structured questions. It was through the global value question that this value took life. The respondents did not feel like the community or subculture would see them as successful if they were able to demonstrate their knowledge. Instead, they felt by working hard they would be considered successful.

The value of hard work was one that was salient across generations. It is important to note that this value had the same terminology, but manifested itself differently based on level of acculturation due to cultural context. For example, hard work in the 1st generation meant manual labor for “80 hours a week,” whereas the 3rd generation perceived hard work as going to school, finishing their chores, and focusing on creating a better life for themselves. It was apparent that the 3rd generation also watched their parents work very hard for everything they received and had internalized this as a value. It seems like this is a value that is passed down orally, rather than completely through the observation. Work ethic prevailed throughout all levels of acculturation and it was a value that was passed down despite age, level of income, education, or time in the United States. This was a value that each participant of the 1st and 2nd generations said that they stressed to their children either verbally or through actions. The younger participants remember their parents passing this value on and think it is important to pass this onto their children. This value needs to be explored further in order to understand the manifestations and differences between idea and practice.

**Benevolence**

Benevolence is the preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003). This value was examined by asking the participants how important it was to help family and friends and in what ways they have helped family and friends in
the past. The value focused on family because the idea of familism is one that has been prevalent throughout Hispanic literature on socialization (Alvirez & Bean, 1976; Cortez, 1995; Mindel, 1980). Answers were consistent throughout the generations in that each participant said that she or he feels it is their duty to help family and friends if they need it. All of the participants indicated that family members are the only people that are there for you through thick and thin. Unlike achievement, the ideas and statements illustrating benevolence did not emerge in conversations. Specific questions about benevolence were asked to explore whether this value was important. There was only one participant who brought it up without the probing question as she was the one who has tried to bring her entire family over to the United States and has worked hard to do so.

1st Generation

Gemma indicated that “I always care for one another member and when somebody in the family had a problem, I help him or her a little, friends too. I have so many good friends and they do the same thing too.” Norma agreed and explained because I always worked so hard and I always had what I want and I always see so many people that don’t have anything. And my family depends on me. So I always until I could, when Castro took over, they didn’t let us send letters or anything, they took everything, but after that I help them because I always tell you that I make a lot of money and I help them, it was very important to me.

Juan further explained “family is all we have at the end and if you don’t help them, then who do you have? I help when I can, but sometimes I think helping means not doing anything and letting them figure it out.” Ricardo echoed that sentiment when he said “family is family and you have to help if you can, but sometimes you just can’t do everything for everybody even though I try.”

It is evident that this generation believes that helping family is of great value and you should help family by whatever means necessary when you are able. They also felt that there may be a time in which helping family means letting them figure out things by themselves. Helping does not always mean coming to the rescue. Each participant also indicated that they passed this value onto their children. In order to ascertain whether the
value of benevolence was passed down, the statements for the 2\textsuperscript{nd} generation were analyzed.

\textit{2\textsuperscript{nd} Generation}

The second generation agreed that helping family was important. Each participant believed she or he would help out a family member as needed, and some indicated they had helped out family before and would do it again. Based on comments from the interviews, the value seems to have been passed down through observations of the actions of those in the 1\textsuperscript{st} generation group. Carlos eloquently explained that:

helping family is the most important thing because your family is your family it’s not like a friend. If you go to the hospital you can count the number of friends on one hand as opposed to your family because your family is always going to be there for you. As long as its nothing illegal I would help. My mom has always helped me and my family out and I am always there for my brothers if they need me.

Louis also indicated that helping family was of great value but helping would also have its limits.

To a point, with my family. I understand it’s to a certain point, but if somebody was in need or need something I would ask them what and then go back to my personal values, I just don’t… if they knocked on my door, I’m not gonna throw ‘em out. If they needed money, I’d ask ‘em why… If they needed money for drugs or something stupid, I would say no. But overall I would help ‘em.

Maria further indicated that helping is important and she helps her family all the time.

Even if they have done wrong in the past or made me mad, I usually get over it because if they need me I will be there for them. My dad was a deacon and always felt it was important to help people. It’s just the right thing to do and I always help my brother out even though he is crazy, he is just a nut, but you know even he takes care of my dad when he needs it so why can’t I help him?

Celia explained the reason why she thinks that helping family is important is because “they did that to me, it’s a part of life, if you don’t do that then you are selfish. We grew up that way.”
This generation felt that it was important to help family as well. Celia was the prime example of how the value was passed from the previous generation, although the other participants mentioned seeing their parents help others out including themselves. This generation believed that they did a good job of passing this value onto their children through example instead of teaching orally. To determine whether they were successful, we must examine the 3rd generation.

3rd Generation

The 3rd generation did not differ on the value of helping family and believed that their parents did a good job teaching the importance of benevolence. Mike can remember an example of his mother helping a member of the family that had a huge effect on him:

you know, perfect example, her cousin, you know, and they got into a terrible fight…and my mom was livid…she threw her out of the business because they were partners or whatever…in a business venture. She threw her out of the partnership…she disavowed her whatever… “This woman is terrible!”, my mom was cursing her up and down. And then, later on, my mom, five years later, let’s say…she goes “I got a call from Julie today and she needs some money, and I said yes”, and I was like “Why?…Why?… What she did to you was wrong”. She was like “But it wasn’t really that big of a deal. I was mad at the time, she was mad”…I think that’s the important part and I feel the same way. If someone is in need I will help them.

Alex also felt the sense of duty when it comes to helping his family, but admitted he has some guilt because he feels like he does not do enough.

Sometimes I get angry with myself because I don’t do as much as I wish I would. I feel like sometimes that comes from just like the alienation that’s on my mother’s side. So, sometimes, I wonder if that rubbed off on me….For a long time now, I felt like I had to be the one to keep the family together, get people together. Like this last Christmas, I had to call up everyone to say “Hey, let’s do something”. You know, because it’s just been more and more “Oh, I’m busy. Oh, I’m doing this”, blah blah blah. Everyone kind of expects one person to host it Nina is always that one person. And (that?) one person doesn’t want to do as much. So it’s like “Oh…we’ll do our own thing”. I’d say “No, I’m sorry, this isn’t important to you, but it is important to me, so let’s spend some time together”. But then I feel bad
because, you know, I don’t talk to my grandmother as much as I wish I would, either of my grandmothers, or I won’t talk to my uncle as much as I would wish either.

Christian explained that it was very important to help both family and friends.

I am blessed to have very loyal friends and immediate family. They have been there for me during the days I really need them and I strive to be there to return the favor when needed. My aunt was recently diagnosed with cancer and the whole family has rallied around her. My mom and dad sit with her through all of her chemo and I went down to see her the weekend after I found out. It’s just the way it is.

Janelle said that actually enjoyed helping family. By saying:

I enjoy helping others, but I especially like helping my family, if they are in a loop or in any trouble, regardless of anything. They are people I love, the people I care for so it’s without a doubt that I wouldn't even think twice. My family has been so good to me; I live here for free so I can save some money. That’s how my gramma wants it, to help everyone.

The 3rd generation had no reservations about helping family and all of them indicated that their family had helped them out at one point or another and they would like the be able to help them out when the time came. Mike indicated that he has already been able to return the favor by helping out his grandfather who recently had a stroke and is starting to get Alzheimer’s disease. He indicated that he has dropped everything to be by his side because he understands that it is what he is supposed to do and that his grandfather was always there for him.

Conclusion

All the generations had memories of family helping each other and have helped out their family in some way and feel that it is very important that they are able to help their family as needed, unless it would include doing something illegal. It was apparent that this value transferred across generations and did not differ based on level of acculturation. It was not only that each participant believed that it was important, but rather they could remember either watching their family help another, been helped by a
family member, believe they will help out family if they are ever in need, or have dropped everything to be by a family member’s side.

**Conformity**

Conformity is the restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others, and violate social expectations or norms (Bardi and Schwartz, 2003) It also refers to those who seek obedience to clear rules and structure. The conformity value was assessed by asking the participants about a) family resistance to moving or picking a particular college or place to raise their family and b) if they have questioned an action because of societal expectations along with examples of those actions.

The question of family resistance was only asked to those at the 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation, as they are the only ones that had the opportunity to go to college in the United States or to pick a place to raise their children. The first generation was asked an overall question about moving to this country and how they chose the neighborhood in which to settle.

**2\textsuperscript{nd} Generation**

Carlos and Celia chose not to go to college right out of high school, but decided to go attend college after marrying and having children. Vinny and Maria went to a small community college that was close to home. Maria said she chose that school because “My mom would have died if I would have moved far away for college.” Vinny chose a school close to home because he wanted to be near his family. “They didn’t tell me I had to stay around, but I wanted to, I was too scared to go away.” Louis indicated that he went into the military when he was 18 years old and was met with some resistance from his father.

I asked my father to sign the papers when I was 17 and he wouldn’t, so I waited until my 18\textsuperscript{th} to sign up and my dad wasn’t happy about it at all. He thought I should stay and help with the family but I knew I had to get away.

Carmen was the only one that did not attend college or go into the military after high school. She did indicate that she had a full ride scholarship to a local college, but then got pregnant with her first child. “I had housing for both Carlos and I, but they wouldn’t let me come with a baby so I chose the baby.” The sentiment of raising your
children and taking care of your elders was another value that came out through the conversation on values.

The idea of caring for elders and the social norm of taking care of one’s children or other family member is consistent with the value of conformity. Conformity is seen as being different than helping family members because it is the restraint of actions that are likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms. Helping family, on the other hand, is being helpful, and enhancing the welfare of family; not the community. Conforming to the societal norm is more important than the actual act of taking care of the elders and children because the participants do not see it as preserving and enhancing the welfare of their children and parents, but rather as obeying social expectations. By not going to work or restraining yourself from attaining more money or a better job, you are confirming to what the society or community deems important. This is because even though they may want to put their child in daycare, they do not because they may be looked down upon by their parents or neighbors. So instead of going to work to make a better living for the family, a couple would choose for the mother stay at home and the family live at a lower socioeconomic level than have another person raise their child. Another example would be if a son chooses to put his father in a nursing home, he will be made to feel like he is letting down not only his family, but society as a whole. So instead of letting the family or community down he would choose to bring his father to live with him.

Everyone in the 1st generation indicated their belief that the mother or grandmother takes care of their children. Another belief was that children should take care of their parents when they become unable to take care of themselves. These were beliefs that they either have conformed to or feel the need to conform to when the time comes. Each person in the 2nd generation indicated they could never imagine leaving their children at a daycare center because their mother and neighbors would have been appalled. Maria left Mike with Gemma and Carlos left Sophia home with Norma while they went off to work. On the other hand, Carmen and Celia stayed home with their children and Vinny’s wife stayed at home with his children until they started school. Celia indicated she wanted to go to work, but her husband and mother would not hear of it. Even though she felt she could help the family, it was seen as a violation of the
cultural norm to leave her children with a “stranger.” So instead of pursuing her career aspiration, she stayed home to make everyone happy.

Where the 1st and 2nd generations differed was the sentiment expressed by the 2nd generation members that even though taking care of the elderly was something that was taught, they do not intend on taking care of them in their homes. Celia was the only participant that indicated she would never allow anyone else to take care of her parents. This could be because she is the least acculturated person among the 2nd generation participants and still sees this as a strong value and believes that it is her moral duty to take care of the generation before her. There was no one at the 3rd generation that even brought this subject up throughout the whole conversation, while the other two generations offered the notion of taking care of your own as anecdotal values. Even when this subject was broached all the individuals interviewed commented they would decide when the time came. Christian, Michael, Julie and Sophia indicated their parents are all in good health and because none of them have children they have yet to put time into thinking about the possibility of caring for elderly parents.

Tradition

The value of tradition may be manifest through the demonstration of respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that one's culture or religion imposes on the individual (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003). For example, the traditionalist respects that which has gone before, doing things simply because they are customary. The presence of tradition as an influential value was broken into two parts. Participants were first asked, “What types of traditional activities do you and your family participate in?” The question was phrased so that those interviewed would first identify specific traditions, and then, ideally, talk about how traditions they practiced as children were passed along to subsequent generations. Of particular interest was ascertaining whether traditions from one generation were practiced in a similar manner with the following generation(s).

The next part was to try and assess the value of tradition through structured interview questions. The question of passing traditions on to one’s children was asked to identify what traditions the participants thought were important and should be transferred
to the next generation. Throughout the generations only one salient tradition prevailed; religious traditions. Other traditions such as birthdays, food, religious holidays, and speaking Spanish in the home were also mentioned, but were not consistent across all participants and generations. The significant manifestation of traditional value was through religion and is discussed below.

**Religion.** Similar to achievement, religion as a value associated with tradition was found after exploring and analyzing the answers expressed in the global value question. Many of the participants believed that religion was crucial as a mechanism for passing on traditional values. Examples of how religion contributed to traditional values were: do not steal, be nice to others, basic golden rules, normal church values, strict religious upbringing. The Catholic moral values that the participants discussed included the 10 Commandments, along with no premarital sexual intercourse or divorce. A strict religious upbringing included going to church at least once a week, going to a religious based school, surrounding themselves with other Catholic friends, and/or ways in which they would conduct themselves.

**1st Generation**

Both Gemma and Norma expressed the importance of Catholicism to their value system. Norma said her parents “taught me the Catholic morals and 10 Commandments.” Norma admitted that she did not do a very good job of passing this value down to her children because when her kids were little “I worked Monday through Saturday and I used Sunday to take my kids to the mall to get toys and so I didn’t have time.”

When Gemma was asked about her value system she simply said “religion.” She also indicated that her husband became a deacon of their church after moving to the United States and the values that are expressed through the Catholic church are ones that she has passed down to her children. She said that the Catholic religion teaches kids to respect authority and family values, did not talk about yourself (vanity), and certainly did not brag about your achievements (humility). This would include going to mass every Sunday and on Holy days, sending her children to Catholic Schools, and no divorce. Even though she is still married to her husband, her daughter got a divorce at a very young age. She said “it was hard at first, but she understood why she had to do it.”
Juana also talked about her strict Catholic upbringing that it was “preferable not to get a divorce and that women should be at home with their children.” She understands that with the current economy it may not be feasible, but if you have a choice that staying home with your children is best. She indicated that she did not do a good job of following her upbringing as she got divorced and did not do a good job of passing this onto her children, stating that “all of my girls have been divorced, only my son is still married to his 1st wife.” Juana also indicated she is religious even if she does not go to church or preach about her religion to anyone. “I just feel it in my heart and I don’t need to tell everyone about it.”

Each of the women above fell on various levels of acculturation but had similar childhood experiences with the church and the way in which they were raised. Since each of them was born and raised in Cuba, acculturation may not play a role in the values that were taught, but instead seems to have influenced how or whether the values were passed onto their children once they moved to the United States. It is important to consider the influence of the religious traditions for the 2nd generation.

2nd Generation

Like the first generation, Carlos, Celia, Carmen and Maria explained how religion was used to pass down traditional values. Maria, was the only one who really illustrated her “Strict Catholic upbringing” as the source of her value system.

Well my father is the Deacon of the local Catholic Church here, so you can only imagine how strict my parents were in regards to religious values. We went to mass every Sunday and usually on Wednesday’s; all holidays and everything else that goes along with it.

Carlos, on the other hand did not have the strict Catholic upbringing, but he talked about the idea of being raised under the “Catholic tenants of being honest, not stealing, not doing anything that is going to hurt anyone else. My mom was working all the time so we didn’t go to church a lot, but we knew was right and wrong because my mom was raised Catholic.”
Those in the third generation had a different view of how religion played a role in transmitting traditional values. Mike verbalized what are referred to as Catholic morals, while the others provided morals that are typically considered to be religious values. Julia, for example, indicated that she was taught to “never steal, keep your hands to yourself, be nice to people…the basics.” Christian simply answered “The Golden Rules of life” and Sophia felt that she had similar values as the females of the second generation in that she was taught

just in general, they taught us when we were young, the whole drug and sex and all of that stuff just the choices, pretty much that this sex and drugs were bad and if you chose to do that this is where it will lead you or you will see.

Alex was the only one who did not feel he was taught the values such as “Don’t lie, and don’t cheat, don’t steal! Nothing corny like that.” He further explained that even though he was not taught those values, he followed them because they were societal norms that he followed from going to a Catholic School.

As noted in the beginning of this section, the value of tradition was manifest as respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that one's culture or religion imposes on the individual. As seen from the data, religion was evident across all three generations, but manifested differently in each. For example, while each generation had values with religious undertones, it seems that the actual Catholic or religious importance became more and more subdued with each successive generation. The first generation participants pointed directly at their Catholic upbringing, whereas the third generation talked about the general religious moral values. Those in the third generation were following the same religious tenants as their elders, but did not refer to them as “Catholic moral values.” It seemed as though each generation accepted and had respect for the religion, but some third generation participants were not committed to it in the same way as the first and second generations. It would be important to then note that even though a value is prominent or is expressed, it has different contextual meanings.

Religion was not the only traditional value expressed; many participants talked about traditional activities that were important to them growing up. The first generation
did not have an overwhelming consensus of traditional activities when the direct tradition question was asked. Juana and Gemma both thought it was important to pass down traditions to their children, especially the tradition of speaking Spanish. Juana said “I never talked to my kids or grandkids in English; it was always Spanish because I want them to stay true to being Cuban.” Gemma concurred and explained “I always talked to my grandkids in Spanish because they weren’t getting it in school and it was the only way they would learn it.”

Gemma identified a set of traditional activities associated with her Cuban heritage. She commented, “Wherever there is an event for Cubans, I go there.” In that she talked about her tradition of going to Cuban Nostalgia every year with her husband and daughter. She said “Cuba Nostalgia! I love it. Every time I go its old Cuba, you know…I saw in Cuban Nostalgia a book for my school… a picture of me, and my friends, you see. Yeah! I saw it last year.” Ricardo also said he enjoyed going to the Cuba Nostalgia because they “always have good guitar players and Cuban music and Cuban food and lots and lots of art.” He further added “it’s a time when we can all come together to celebrate Cuba, I just look forward to going every year.”

Another traditional activity that the women talked about was the way in which they cook. Juana said “I still cool like I did when I was 20, I love all the Cuban foods, it reminds me of home.” Gemma and Norma also said they enjoy cooking traditional meals for their families as well. “It gives my family a sense of being home and enjoying each other” Gemma said.

Also similar to the first generation, the participants talked about celebrating traditional holidays together with family. Louis explained that:

My family, yeah, they like to do Thanksgiving, Christmas, any type of holiday. Mothers Day, Fathers Day… that’s just me. My wife’s family does everything. They celebrate everything except for Thanksgiving, my family will go to my sister’s house; we celebrate Thanksgiving there. Christmas, every year, we celebrate with my wife and kids.

Carlos also stated that holidays were an important time for his family to get together because “Just like at holidays is the only time we get together because everyone
around here is so concerned about their own family that you don’t have time for aunts and uncles.”

Each of the participants in the generation also felt that it was very important to pass these traditions down to their children, but some explained that they did not do a very good job. Vinny indicated that he was not able to pass the traditions done as well as he would have liked to because “My wife and I were too busy working. We lived far away from the family….that hurt for a long time not being able to celebrate with them because we didn’t have enough time off to travel all that way.” He further indicated that he would like to be an instrumental part of teaching his grandchildren the things he was not able to teach his children. Louis also felt that it was important to pass the traditions done to his children, but explained that he would like to teach them all about his traditions and culture. He stated that “It’s very important especially for my grandchildren, yes. If and when I have some grandchildren, I’ll instill them what I remember, but as much as I can I’m going to instill my side of the family. Expose them to Cuban culture, what they stand for; show ‘em history, that they have – in their blood, they’ve got this wild side. They’ve got this wild side they’ve got to control once in awhile.” Maria, Carmen, and Celia also believed that it was important to pass traditions down to their children. Celia explained that “I made all of my girls celebrate their 15th birthdays (Quinceañera) even though they didn’t want to.” As she pointed to their pictures on the wall, she smiled and said “Aren’t they beautiful? I think it was so important for them to experience that, it’s just a rite of passage for them.”

It is evident that this generation also has a strong sense of tradition with religious undertones. They also believe that it is important to pass these traditions down to their children and/or grandchildren even if they did not feel they did a very good job of transferring it themselves. It is important to see how their children and/or nephews felt the tradition was passed down and how important they feel it will be to transfer these traditions to their own children.

**3rd Generation**

Alex, Christian, Sophia, and Julia all said that they did not have a lot of cultural training as children so each of them took it upon themselves to learn about their heritage and Cuban culture. Each suggested they studied the traditions in high school and college
and would like to pass this knowledge on to not only their children, but their friends as well. Mike, on the other hand, felt that he was able to learn about Cuba and the traditions because he was partly raised by both his grandmother and grandfather. It was through their influence he felt connected to his “roots.”

When probed for traditional activities in which this generation participates in, they had few activities they could remember. Christian said “Mostly just holidays like we participate in Christmas and stuff like that.” Mike agreed and further illustrated:

I’m home every Christmas. I haven’t missed a Christmas eve or a Christmas day or an after Christmas day event in…forever…I guess, like I said, (it’s felt?) because we make an event out of anything…We make (inaudible) party at any point…So, just not being there, I miss out on it, you know, just not being around them and around that atmosphere. I miss out. But we such huge emphasis on birthdays, and funerals, and Christmas and Thanksgiving and Easter, definitely Easter! So, for all of those things I try to make it back home definitely. Because my grandmother likes to go to all of that, you know; Good Friday, Holy Thursday, services for Easter Sunday…that kind of stuff…I goes back to what I said earlier. The culture is really ingrained with the church. It’s just an intertwined thing, like half of the things that come out of it are from church events: church holidays, church recognized activities…

Sophia and Alex on the other hand did not talk about any specific activities. Sophia simply said “I don’t think I participate in any. With my family it would be just like having dinner and holidays but as far as anything else, not really.” Alex said that his family did not participate in any traditional holidays but

One of my best friends…he’s full Cuban, and his family does all the same traditions. They do the pig on the New Year’s; for parties, they go over the top, with all the Cuban food laid out. The grandmother lives with them. She cooks all the meals, sends them up with like frozen black beans and all that stuff.

Julie was the only one to not even mention holidays, rather saying “Domino’s, it is very big to play them. We watch the Spanish news together; try to eat together as a family.” She also talked a little bit about her Quinceañera. She whispered and rolled her
eyes while telling about having to wear a “big puffy dress, and there were so many people here just looking at me. I felt really weird, but it’s what my mom wanted.”

**Conclusion**

At the generational level it did not seem that any one tradition was followed by all of the participants, but rather several traditions that have been taken from their childhood and ones that have been able to be recreated in this country. But if you look at the traditions based on levels of acculturation, you find a few similarities. The tradition of going to Cuban festivals fell on Gemma who is marginalized and Ricardo who is low on the acculturation scale. Its seems like these two have maintained their culture throughout the years by continuing to attend these festivals and get together with those who have a similar value to stay true to their upbringing. Juana, who is also low on the acculturation scale, believed that maintaining the Spanish language was a tradition that she felt was important to continue and to pass down to her children, which is similar to Gemma’s belief in the Spanish language. The idea of maintaining the Spanish language and continually attending Cuban events may hinder their acculturation into the American culture. This may happen for a number of reasons, for example trying to remain comfortable in ones setting. By adopting the American culture, one would have to engage in activities that are in essence “foreign” to them and may be too uncomfortable for some people. Another reason could be that the individual chooses not to acculturate into the new society because they would like to maintain their original culture and ways. In Juana’s case it was the latter, and in Ricardo’s case in was the former.

**Security**

Security is the safety, harmony and stability of society, of relationships and of self (family security, national security, social order) (Bardi & Schwartz, 2002). The idea of security was investigated by asking the participants “how does your cultural affiliation provide a sense of security.” This value did not invoke a detailed response and did not seem to be understood within the interviews. The following generational breakdowns will provide detailed accounts of this value.
1st Generation

Each of the first generation participants paused and looked puzzled when asked this question. Ricardo, Juan, Gemma and Juana all had to have this question translated upon hearing it. After hearing the translation, there did not seem to be any further clarification. Ricardo and Juan both shook their heads and said that being Cuban did not make him feel safe. Gemma said that being Cuban did not make her feel safe, but she did feel more secure with their family’s decision to move to United States when they moved into a predominately Cuban neighborhood. “It was nice, everyone spoke Spanish and it was like one big family. Our kids grew up together and we knew who everyone was.”

Even though Norma understood the question, she did not feel that her Cuban background was a safety net because “I have always felt like I was an American. Even when I lived in Cuba I wanted to live in and be an American.”

2nd Generation

Carlos was the only one in this generation who felt that his cultural affiliation would help his kids stay off the streets and this was an important determinant of where he and his family would reside. “We chose a Cuban area to live in because I knew the Cuban community would help me look after my kids and we would raise the kids all together. This was very important to me and my wife.” Some of the other answers to this question included Louis indicating that the security came from understanding where his family came from and where he wanted to go. “Knowing that my family will always love me and that I can go home was always a sense of security for me.” Carmen indicated that it was her family more than her nationality that provided the security. “My family is everything and I know they will be there to protect me and that’s the only security I feel.” Maria had the same reaction in that she indicated that since she no longer lives in a Cuban community she knows she “can always go home and my mom, dad, and brothers will be there if I need them.”

3rd Generation

The 3rd generation had no reaction to this question. In each case they indicated cultural affiliation had no bearing on their sense of security. For example, Alex simply said “no, I can’t think of how it would, if anything it was harder for me when I went to a
primarily white school. I tried to erase some of my culture so I could fit in.” Christian also felt that he felt more at risk if he demonstrated some of his cultural traditions or beliefs in school.

I was so afraid that the other kids would laugh at me. There were some other Cubans in my school and they all did the same thing. Sometimes I felt that I was living a double life in that I would be just like the other kids during the day and come home to speak Spanish and eat Cuban foods at night.

Julia and Sophia were the only ones who were secure in who they were and their Cuban background. Each indicated that the schools they attended were primarily Cuban and celebrated Hispanic backgrounds. “Most of my friends were just like me and we shared a lot of the same things growing up. She had to have a big party for her 15th birthday and had family functions all the time” Julie said. Sophia described her school and experiences as “Very positive, there was a bunch of us from my neighborhood and so it was nice to have them around me in school and growing up.”

**Conclusion**

Throughout the interviews it was the family unit that provided the sense of security rather than the culture or subculture itself. Several participants indicated that being with family and close to family made them feel safe and that is why they decided to live close to home. Only Carlos indicated that he felt it was his duty to help out his neighborhood to watch out for others and their children. Each time the conversation reverted back to the family and how they watch out for each other. While one could argue that the family unit’s importance may be a product of cultural norms, the participants did not make that connection. It is now important to see how these values were or were not manifested in sport.

**Sport Values**

As noted in Chapter 3, the current project examined 5 of the 10 broad values from the Schwartz Value Survey (Schwartz, 1994) in relation to sport consumption. The five values that were examined are achievement, stimulation, benevolence, tradition, conformity, and security (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003).
It was crucial to this study to examine the values that the participants see in sport, whether it be from a fan or participant perspective in order to determine how this subculture feels about sport in general. The sport values were assessed through various ways. The transition from lifestyle values to sport was done by asking the participants about their experiences with and in sport. The questions were framed around values and beliefs about sport and are illustrated in Table 4.6 below.

Table 4.6  Sport Value Questions

- What beliefs do you hold about sport?
- Do you see any value in sport?
  - If so, what value?
  - If not, what are your experiences with sport?
- Do you think it is/was important to have your children involved in sport?
- What values do you think sport instilled in your child/ren?

Similar to life values, there were several answers across generations to the overall sport value question (e.g. its healthy for your body, teaches discipline) and are illustrated in Tables 4.7 and 4.8 below. From the overall answers, there were two categories that emerged: participant values and fan values. It was determined that there are different values associated with being an actual participant in sport (e.g. health, discipline) than being a fan of sport (e.g. sense of community, entertainment). One thing that is important to note at this point is that the various values and beliefs could apply to both participant values and fan values because it could be argued that participating and being a fan in and of sport can create similar values such as a wholesome or good environment.

After the categories were established they were further broken down into three separate subcategories. For example, Table 4.7 shows sport participation values that contained the following subcategories: discipline, health, and good environment. Coding for the category “sport fan values” contained the following subcategories: brings people together, wholesome environment, and entertaining as seen in Table 4.7 below.
Another idea explored were the values that each parent wanted sport to teach their children. The question asked to the parents in the study was “Why did you involve your children in sport when they were young?” There were several values that come from these questions and the following sections will address the values that came from the conversation according to generation.

Table 4.7  Sport Participation Values

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discipline</th>
<th>Health</th>
<th>Good Environment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teaches discipline</td>
<td>It’s healthy for your body</td>
<td>Provided a good place for them to go and play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of discipline</td>
<td>It’s healthy for your mind</td>
<td>Keep you off the streets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discipline to stay in shape and work hard</td>
<td>Good exercise</td>
<td>Safe and good environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You learn how to adjust and be disciplined</td>
<td>Stay in shape</td>
<td>Best thing for my kids to do while I was at work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.8  Sport Fan Values

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brings People Together</th>
<th>Wholesome Environment</th>
<th>Entertaining</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Be with family</td>
<td>Wholesome place to go as a family</td>
<td>Great thing to have fun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being together</td>
<td>Good place to get away</td>
<td>It’s about having fun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brings a community together</td>
<td>It’s a wholesome atmosphere</td>
<td>Exciting to see who wins and losses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1st Generation

The first generation expressed both participation and fan values. Two of the 1st generation participants stressed the importance of health. Norma understood that “Cuba wants you to be healthy; they want you to play baseball. I like sports still, they are very important to keep you healthy and it’s very good so I feel that they are very important for your life.” Gemma felt sport was a healthy choice “Because everybody who is in sport is staying away from drugs and things like that.”
Fan values were also portrayed within this generation. Ricardo explained that one value associated with being a fan of sport was connecting with one’s family. He commented that being a fan of sports allowed him to, “be with my family because during the football season we watch the games together.” Juana also felt being a fan allowed her to connect with her family. “I watch baseball to feel connected to my family that is scattered all over the country. If I watch then we can talk about it on the phone.”

The other fan value that emerged was the sense of a wholesome environment. Juan simply said, “It’s entertaining and wholesome.” Juana echoed that sentiment stating that “Watching the games is so wholesome, just something to take you away for a few hours without watching the news.”

Each of these parents encouraged their children to participate in sports to keep them healthy and felt that it was not a waste of time to encourage participation because of the benefits that sport would provide. Norma explained “Yes, I liked them to be in sport because of the health. As I am telling you it will keep away a lot of things. Drugs, alcohol, whatever so I pushed them to do something.” She ended the conversation about sport by saying “The best thing for my kids was sport, because if they like it I think it’s good for them as a whole person.” Gemma believed that sport was also good for her children in saying “I think it’s from being around other kids, and it’s the thing to do, you know, try outs and all that activity. It’s good for kids.” Juana also tried to involve her children in sports even if she was working. “My kids played mostly on the street, but I wanted them to play so they would keep their bodies moving to become strong.”

The two male participants did not have their children participate in organized sport in Cuba, but they knew their children were participating in sport at school. They explained how the government in Cuba forced the children to play games to keep their bodies healthy. Ricardo explained how he did play baseball with his kids because “we were able to get out of the house and burn off the extra energy while learning how to be good in sports.”

2nd Generation

Sport participation values came to the forefront when the participants were asked why they chose to involve their children in sport. The 2nd generation
provided great insight regarding this question; the responses indicated that those interviewed viewed sport as a mechanism to teach discipline, provide a good and safe environment and contribute to positive health. For example, when talking about her son’s sport involvement Maria remembered encouraging Mike to participate because of the:

- teaching a young kid discipline and stuff like that…That’s great and wonderful, but, it also shows kids how to work to get what they want. And as far as like the rules and stuff like that, it taught him that you can’t just do something…there is technique involved…and I think that applies to everything in life…There is a technique in winning, there is a technique in playing racket-ball, and golf, and baseball, and football, and everything…and to learn that technique it takes a lot of time and effort…

Celia also felt that sport further encouraged the value of hard work and encouraged her daughter to participate in swimming because:

- Its open to every race, it doesn’t matter that everyone has an equal opportunity and you have to have a lot of resistance, you have to be very dedicated, determined, it’s something that is very important and helps a person build themselves and gives you a lot of things, it helps you become a better person, goal wise, time wise, it really makes you a rounded person.

Carmen, too, believed that sports provided her children with a hard work ethic and explained why she encouraged her children to participate in sports:

- ‘Cause I wanted them to experience everything in life. And sports is always a part of every day and everywhere you go, everybody is playing sports or talking about sports or doing something, so I wanted them to have knowledge of everything and have to decide what they want to do. It would also give them something to do that would teach them things and show them that if they would give it their best try that they would do good. Discipline too, because you have to be disciplined and work hard in sports to try to stay in shape.

While the value of hard work prevailed throughout both cultural and sport values, there were various other reasons why the parents encouraged their children to participate in sports and why they saw sports as a valuable resource to both them and their children. One father, Carlos, felt that it was a good environment and gave his children a safe and healthy place to play. He stated:
When they were smaller they were in church leagues, even though we didn't participate much in church we knew this was the right place for them, it was low cost, good environment, any type of religion was better than no religion, it didn't matter what type of church it was. It wasn't a bad place for them. It kept them off the streets more than usual, kept then healthy and gave them something to do, some cultural beliefs where in there too.

Sport fan values were not as prevalent as the participation values; there were, however, some values that did come out through the interviews. Bring people together was one subcategory that emerged from the interviews. For example Carmen felt sports allowed her to “Be with people, be with friends and bring everyone together.” Juan, too, said sport “Brings the community together by supporting our team. You see flags up or people wearing the clothes or hanging signs.”

Another subcategory was that sport provides a wholesome environment. Carlos said that “Sport seems so natural, its not like watching all the killing on tv, it’s a great place to take my kids, just a great environment for them to be around.” Alex felt that sport was just a “good place to get away, it always has been for me; when my parents got divorced I would watch sports, I collected the cards and consumed my time with it. It (sport) just seemed like a better place.” Celia further agreed by saying: “It’s a wholesome place to go as a family. It seems like there aren’t many places like that anymore.”

The third subcategory was the idea that sports are entertaining. Janelle said “Its so fun and enjoyable and you get to meet a lot of people.” Mike agreed by saying “It’s the best!…I guess it’s why we go to the movies….it’s why we play a game…there’s a winner, there’s a loser…You know what I’m saying? It’s not complicated…There’s a team you like, a team you don’t like…just great entertainment.”

Conclusion

In conclusion, hard work is a value that prevails throughout the Cuban subculture and crosses sport contexts. In each generation and gender there was a reference to work and the value of working hard and that sport provides an area in which this value can be reinforced outside the home. Even though some of the parents admit that they did not sit their children down and tell them to work hard, they felt that their actions spoke louder
than words and that sport could fill in the gap for the actual instruction of hard work. Sport was further believed to emphasize the idea of working hard in order to succeed and that by participating in sport, their children could able to develop these values.

Even though the sport fan values were not stressed in as direct a manner, there were some similarities across both life and sport values. The idea of bringing people together was important across generations. It seems as though sport is a way in which families can spend time together. Even though the participants are not necessarily going to games together, they are watching them on television together and creating family events around the games. This leads to an interesting question regarding what role the family plays in socialization into sport, which will be discussed below.

**Sport Socialization Agents**

It was more difficult to transition to a discussion about socialization agents than talking about the development of values. In order to progress from talking about sport in general the questions tried to probe the participants to reflect on what their favorite sport is and why a sport or team may be their favorite. The sequence of questions were “Do you have a favorite sport?” followed by “What is your favorite sport and why?” It was at this point that all of the participants indicated at least one particular person that sparked their interest in sport, whether it is sport participation or a particular team. Fourteen of the participants had childhood memories of how sport was introduced. Carmen and Celia were the exceptions as they both indicated their interest in sport came after they were married. There were several primary sport socialization agents across generations including, father, brother, family friend, or neighborhood friends (peers). Other agents that were presented had socialized the participant(s) into sport in their adulthood including children and grandchildren. The following section will illustrate the various sport socialization agents for the various generations and levels of acculturation across each participant’s life.

The question as to which socializing agents were influential in each participant’s life was probed by asking the participants about their experiences with sport, why a sport is their favorite, who they watch and attend games with, and who they talk about sports with. It was through the answers to these questions that one or two agents appeared and
the participants were further probed as to how each agent influenced them and specific memories that they had with those agents. Each participant credited one or two people as the primary agents that got them interested in sports during their childhood. The following section will provide a look across generation and level of acculturation.

1st Generation

The primary agents identified as influencing an individual’s sport socialization in this generation were either family members or a friend. Gemma said that (she) likes baseball because, “since I was a little girl in Cuba, my father went with me and everyday and everything, and that’s (why) I like the baseball…My father liked baseball and I went with him and…never my mother though.” Juana echoed that sentiment but also indicated that her brothers played a role when she said “My brothers always played and watched baseball and they let me play with them when I was little.” Ricardo had a similar experience because his “brothers always wanted to play and I was the youngest and always played to. My papi liked baseball because everyone in Cuba like baseball.”

Norma, on the other hand credits a family friend for her interest in basketball. She stated:

I really liked basketball. I had a friend, the rich one, and she had a plot for basketball and we would play and we used to play basketball a lot. It was through that friend because she had a membership, but it was very expensive and not many people could afford it. But I got to go with her.

Juan also credits a family friend for getting him interested in baseball. “My godfather always played (baseball) and took me to see people around there (Havana). From when I was little that’s what I remember.”

The responses indicated that the initial sport socialization of the first generation participants was similar for all those interviewed; an older family member or friend was the primary agent. The respondents further indicated, however, that their sport socialization has continued later in life. The respondents’ current interest in sports teams seems to have emerged through a type of reverse socialization. As parents, the first generation respondents were socialized to follow particular teams through the influence of children or grandchildren.
For example, Gemma said she starting following the Marlins when her grandson starting following the team when the Marlins first came to Miami. She indicated that it was a way that they could connect and communicate despite the age difference. “I always talk about baseball with Michael, it doesn’t matter what he is doing, we will talk about baseball” she said. As illustrated in the family interviews, Gemma was the care provider for Mike growing up, so this was an activity they could both enjoy. Even today, the two remain connected through baseball. Gemma indicated that she is a much more frequent fan than Mike now because she really enjoys baseball and has more time.

Norma explained that she really enjoys the Miami Heat now because that's what my kids would watch. Which I don't understand is the football, but the basketball, and plus Sophia played so that is what I would watch. Sophia still really likes the Heat and so I will ask her who won and how the game went.

Ricardo also explained that he did not know much about basketball until his granddaughter (not interviewed) started getting into sports.

Jessie always loved basketball and now she works for the Heat team, so now I sometimes go and I watch on TV too. I am learning but its fun to watch. Sometimes we even talk about the game later, when she has time.”

Juan developed his interest in watching football when his sons starting playing and watching. He stated that:

My sons would play the football in school and I learned the rules and then started watching and following them. I then started watching football on TV. My favorite time is the Dolphins because my sons would always watch them and we would go to some games.

Considering level of acculturation among the first generation participants, analysis of the interview data indicated there was some difference in relation to which agents were more influential. Ricardo and Juana were low on the acculturation scale and they both indicated that their brother and father were big influences on their interest in sport. Gemma, who was marginalized on the acculturation scale, also explained that her father was an important influence on her interest in sport. Juan, who was also marginalized, indicated that it was a family friend (his godfather) as did Norma who was
moderately acculturated. From this generation, it appears at the lower levels of acculturation, a male family member is still the biggest influence; while the upper levels indicated it was a family friend. This may need further exploration as to what would prompt the family friend to be involved; whether it is because the child’s parents are working long hours and are unable to spend time with their children or they moved to this country when they were young and did where not under their parent’s care.

2nd Generation

The second generation participants were asked the same questions as the 1st generation including: what their experiences with sport were, why a sport is their favorite, who they watch and attend games with, and who they talk about sports with. This generation was similar to the 1st generation in that they also talked about specific people introducing them to a particular sport. These people included: fathers, brothers, family friends, and or a peer. It is interesting to note that there may be different agents for each person for each sport. For example: Carlos felt his dad was the primary socialization agent and described how his dad influenced his view of sport. He also remembered a family friend’s influence on his football fandom by saying:

My dad used to watch a lot baseball on TV; he also used to play a lot of baseball with us coming up. I also learned from a friend of my mom’s as a kid. He always had extra tickets to the (football) games so he always invited me to the game and one time my mom even bought season tickets for me so I could go with his family to go watch the team.

Maria also credited her father as one of the people that introduced her to all kinds of sports. “I think my dad played for the minors in Cuba so sports were always important in our family and with my dad.” The other person she credits is her older brother. “He and his friends were always playing something and they would usually ask me if I wanted to play. Even though I was a girl I always wanted to play with my brother.”

Vinny and Louis recalled how their friends were influential in getting them involved in sports when they were young. Louis remembers “all the kids in the neighborhood playing baseball in the street and they would ask me to play. Since my parents were always at work and I didn’t have anything else to do I would go and play with them.” Vinny could relate to Louis’s experience in that “(my) dad was always
working and football was really big at that time, all the kids were playing it and since I was big they all wanted me to play.”

Celia and Carmen had other experiences as children as they did not really participate in or care for sports. Celia remembers her mother taking her to gymnastics but not really encouraging her to participate. It was the government that mandated participation in some activity, but Celia never really got into sports. Similarly, Carmen cannot remember playing or wanting to play any sport growing up by saying “It just wasn’t something that I wanted to do. I had a cousin that was my age and we pretty much did girl things.”

Four of the participants developed an attraction for a team or sport later on in life when their husbands or children introduced them to either a particular sport or team. For Louis and Carmen it was their son introducing them to basketball. Louis indicated that his interest in basketball came after his son took him and his wife to a college basketball game. “God the game was great! It went into like 3 overtimes and it was so fun. From then on I always liked that team. My son always told me to watch, but after her took me I was hooked.” Carmen indicated the same incident that invoked her interest with basketball. Since Louis and Carmen are husband and wife, they now watch basketball games together, something that had never happened with them before. Carmen explained that it was because of this experience, her husband and son and herself all have something in common now. “It’s great because now when my son comes home from college and is watching a game, we all have something to talk about because before he would never really talk a lot to us.”

Celia and Maria both pointed to their husbands as the reason why they like a particular team. Celia said “My husband is the one who taught me about sports, like baseball and swimming and I always watch them with him now.” Maria also indicated that her ex-husband got her into watching football “because with my ex-husband, I was…yeah I love this game because he always made me watch and then I found out that I really liked them too.”

Across levels of acculturation there were some differences among the second generation participants. Both Carmen and Celia, who are moderately acculturated, indicated that they did not have an interest in sport as children even though they were
encouraged to participate. They did however start to watch sport later on because of their son and husband respectively. It is interesting to note though that the moderately acculturated women both waited until later on in life to become fans, even then it was a male figure in their life that influenced their fandom. It may also be useful to further investigate the prevalence of those who did not participate in sports or have an interest in sport as children and how they may have become fans of sport later on in life. For example: there may be many women who have not had much exposure to sport growing up but are now avid sport fans. It is just as important to see how they were introduced to sport and how they became fans because that is another segment to focus on. If you recall from the values section, it was the mother’s who advocated their children participate in sport because it further instilled a hard work ethic and also promoted sport as a wholesome family activity.

Among the highly acculturated group the answers varied as Carlos, and Maria designated their fathers as socialization agents, while Louis and Vinny pointed to peers as the main reason for becoming interested in sports. This is consistent with general literature (James, 2001) that both fathers and peers are primary agents that are found to socialize children into sport.

3rd Generation

Alex, a third generation participant, explained that his first interest in sports came from his father:

I remember throwing the football…my dad and my dad’s friends, and playing with my dad, and playing basketball with my uncle at my mom’s restaurant my dad was not around, but at the same time, the most memories are from just playing basketball and football and baseball with my friends at the park, across the street from my house. He further illustrated that even though his father left shortly when he was 10, the sporting experience is something he has always remembered about his dad:

The 49ers were actually the first football game that I saw…and I actually went to…and it was one of the last times that I spent time with my dad. We went on like a cross-country trip…stopped at a bunch of different cities…friends and all that, and the last stop was in San Francisco and we went to a football game. And I think before that I did like them, but I can’t really remember. No, I think that had to be why, because I was only 5 or
6…so I wasn’t that interested in sports…and yet from then on they are my team, and that’s where I learned…where I started learning about and knew every single player (on) both sides of the ball.

Sophia felt that it was both her father and brother who introduced her to sport. “My dad always played sports, I just followed his footsteps. I was daddy’s girl and still am. Ever since I was little I have always played sports, going back to my brother I followed him, he was always doing something, skateboarding, playing and I just followed his footsteps.”

Christian remembers that a peer introduced him to basketball. He remembers watching basketball with his best friend before he started playing. He described his experience as

My best friend from middle school was a basketball fan. We always watch the games and from then on I really got into basketball. After watching it on television I started teaching myself how to play and then I started playing it in high school.

Julie had a similar experience in that it was a friend that persuaded her to play soccer along with watching it on TV. “Katie was a really big soccer fan and I started watching it with her, she would tell me when it was on. So I started watching it on TV without her and I have loved it ever since.”

Mike remembers several people had an impact on his socialization into sport, but in the end concluded that it mostly the male figures in his life with the exception of his mother.

Well, my dad played football, and my uncle played football, and it was just a thing that, my mom’s younger brother Albert is a big gambler, and when I would be over there because he always was at my grandmother’s house, of course, because everybody congregates there…He’ll be telling me what had to happen, what he was hoping for, and what play had just gone down…And I guess I started learning from him there and my mom is really big into football too. She loves it, I mean, that is her sport as well. And then I guess I saw a couple of games and… Ralph’s grandfather, John, he taught me how to golf. It was a passing fancy at first, and then he sort of really get into my head about it, and when he died…I started really playing and stuff. My little league coach, I remember, Pete, a cool
guy, he taught me a bunch of stuff. My grandfather taught me all I know about baseball, because he was really big into baseball in Cuba and he continued here, and then it was my grandfather, the one I’m very close with, who also got me into basketball because when he first got here, he didn’t really know much about it. He started watching it and then when Miami got a team he started taking me to all the games and stuff like that, and...he was the one who got me involved in that. So, I guess it’s always been just having a connection with one of the male figures in my life, I mean, is one of the big draws.

Because this entire generation is highly acculturated, there were not any differences across levels of acculturation. This level of acculturation had the same core set of socialization agents as found in James (1997) and Greendorfer’s (1979) work. Those included: father, brother, peer, family friend. The media did not seem to play a significant role in the actual socialization into sport, but it did represent the medium in which they consumed sport. The favorite sport of the participants may offer some explanation of why these agents were so important and will be analyzed in the next section.

**Father/Child Attachment**

An interesting idea is that sport can bring fathers and children together and give them something to talk about. Even though one’s mother may be a sport fan, a child may not see that as the only bond s/he has. There may be several other attachments they have so they do not need to “bond” over sport. The father/child relationships in this study lacked intimacy and emotion and it seemed that the one thing that the participants could talk about is sport and it was through sport that children found a way to connect and stay connected to their fathers even if they were no longer part of the immediate family. Mike stated:

But the one true thing is...we wouldn’t have a relationship, me and my dad, if it wasn’t for the Dolphins. We talked about...recently, it was “24” and the Dolphins, and “24” ended, you know, the show, so now it’s just the Dolphins. Trent Green got traded yesterday, so we had like a 45-minute conversation at night. On a normal night, he might call or I would have to call him after 9:00, because it’s not free before 9:00, because he’s big on that, and it would just
be like “Hey, how are you doing at school?… Oh, yeah?” And I would say something and I would wait for him to respond, but there is no response… He’s not listening, you know what I’m saying? But if we talk about sport he is involved in the conversation all the time.

Alex also indicated that he and his uncle and father still have a relationship that is built around sport. He described this relationship as

You know my dad went away for a long time and I always watched football to try to keep him with me, then we did come back into my life we could always fall back on football because, you know, he didn’t know what I was doing day to day since he didn’t live by me, so it would just be like ‘how are your grades, are you being good’ then if I switched it to sport we would talk for at least 20 minutes without any breaks. It was just our thing.

Christian continues to watch wrestling because it is what his father watches. That way he has something to talk to him about when he calls him.

My dad is not a real phone talker, but if we talk about wrestling he could talk for hours. It seems like he is comfortable talking to me about this and I continue to watch it because I know it’s important to him. I actually think it’s really stupid right now, but it’s really the only way we can talk on the phone and I like that.

The father/son relationship is one that is underdeveloped and needs further attention. By understanding what role sport plays in developing and maintaining a relationship, sport organizations may be able to provide a setting through which fathers and sons may develop or build stronger relationships. As you will see below, the father/son relationship was one that had an impact on the sport/team the participant considered to be their favorite. The next section will explore the participants’ favorite sport/team and how the participants in this study first became aware of a particular sport and/or team.

**Favorite Sport**

The favorite sport varied from one generation to the next. Some sports were developed at a very young age and due partly because of their participation in sport,
while others were deemed to be a favorite because they had grown up watching the sport from a young age. Another idea that emerged was those of the “hometown team.” Many participants indicated they liked a particular sport or team because they were the ones from Miami. Each of these will be further evaluated below.

1st Generation

The first generation members are still primarily baseball fans and all of their childhood memories are of baseball and playing baseball. Four of the five participants rated baseball as their favorite and a sport which they are a still a fan of and the fifth participant, Juan, elucidated his love of basketball. Juana explained that baseball is the only sport she watches because it was a big part of her childhood “Yeah, I remember my family used to watch every game together, but even now that we are all scattered, I still watch every game.” Gemma echoed Juana in saying “Baseball is the only sport I like. I like to see the baseball game because since I was a little girl in Cuba, we would go to the games.”

Even though most of them grew up watching Cuban baseball, several began to follow American baseball with the Florida Marlins being their favorite. Gemma and Ricardo stated that they enjoy the Marlins because when the team first came to Miami they had several Cuban players. Gemma told of the 1992 World Series

When they introduced Livan Hernandez, I mean, people had tears, it was ridiculous, it was crazy. All because he was a Cuban, and you know… you have to know the Cuban problem, you know. Every person come here is a Cuban, because in Cuba, right now, he can play here.

Ricardo also stated that he liked baseball in Cuba because it was the “National Sport” but “here the only thing I like is the Marlins, because it’s the baseball team here.” Juan indicated that baseball is still his favorite sport to watch because it is “what I grew up with, it was my first love, even though I watch football now too, I will always like baseball more.”

Norma was the only one who said that basketball was her favorite sport. This love went as far back as childhood and has extended into being a fan of the Miami Heat. She admitted she is able to watch them on television a lot more than she used to when she
was working and raising her family along with her family always working late. The reason she has never become a fan of football even though her sons and grandchildren are fans is because she “never could understand the game, the rules were always so hard to understand, so I just quit trying.”

It is important to note that this generation grew up watching Cuban baseball, but made the transition to watching American baseball. It may be fruitful to further look at how this generation makes this leap because in soccer, many Hispanics did not and have not embraced American soccer like they have baseball.

Another interesting idea is that of the “hometown” team. Each participant indicated their favorite team was from Miami and that they have followed this team because they felt the team was part of their community.

2nd Generation

The second generation included basketball and football fans. Some of the participant’s played the sport at a young age and have enjoyed the sport ever since, while other’s developed their fandom at adulthood through a particular agent. Maria’s love for football was very apparent throughout the interview. One time in particular she said “I don’t like to watch any sport other than football and I love watching’em on TV. I know the whole schedule.” She also explained that her life often revolves around football during the National Football League season:

It’s amazing! It’s like a whole ritual Sunday morning. I know exactly what I am doing and what I am wearing, I usually know where I am going and who I am watching the game with and everyone knows not to bother me during the games.”

Carlos has similar feelings as Maria because when he was asked what his favorite sport was to watch he explained, “Football because you can cheer for the hometown team and tailgating and everything else, it’s just fun.” He has been a fan of football ever since he was a young child when a family friend brought him to several games. He has had season tickets to the Dolphins for as long as he can remember. Carlos also has many memories of watching the Dolphins: “There are a lot of memories, I haven't jotted them down. I remember seeing Dan Marino warming up on the sidelines and seeing his arm
strength.” Like Maria, Carlos finds his life revolves around football. “I would sure that everything is done by 1:00 or if we were going to a family's house they had to have it on TV or watching it.” He even acknowledged that he dresses up for the games.

Sometimes I wear their uniforms, but if I go to the games I like to have the team’s colors, that are for sure. You would never want to have the opposing teams colors on that's for sure, I definitely think about what I am going to wear to the game before I go or even if I watch it on TV.

Like Carlos and Maria, Vinny has a strong love for football. Unlike Carlos and Maria, Vinny grew up playing football and has been a fan ever since. “I feel like my life has revolved around football one way or another for most of my life. Even as I kid it seemed like if I wasn’t playing football I was at least watching it somewhere.” He also explained that his fandom had changed during different periods of his life. “Sometimes I didn’t get to watch football very much because I was so busy with work, I work a lot now and it’s hard to watch all the games.” Despite working long hours he said that he tries to at least read the paper to find out the scores or watch ESPN to stay informed.

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Louis, Carmen, and Celia on the other hand, prefer watching basketball. They all said they rarely watch football because they have a hard time understanding “all of those rules.” These three also differ from Carlos and Maria in that they did not become fans of any sport until later in life. Louis and Carmen pointed out that it was not until a couple of years ago when their son “got us tickets and brought us to a game. It was so much fun and we got to see the players up close and I felt like I knew them somehow,” Louis said.

From then on I started watching both teams and their players and then I would call my son and we would talk about it, then I started really getting into it during the season because one of the teams made the playoffs and one of the players was drafted into the NBA. Now I watch both the college teams and some of the NBA games.

Celia indicated that she started liking basketball, particularly the Miami Heat, because it was her husband’s favorite sport. She said:

I would watch it with him. Sometimes I go to the games when I husband pushes me to go and I watch them on TV sometimes. It is a healthy family environment; I go because it is healthy family time. We have family and friends over sometimes to watch the games and I like
having everyone here. My daughter also works for the team so sometimes we go to the games just so we can see her.

This generation had a wide range of level of attachment to sport. Some participants began watching sport in their older years, while others played it as children and continued to follow the sport/team throughout adulthood. This was the middle generation in which some influenced their parents to follow sport, while others were influenced by their children. There were no instances in which a child had an influence on more than one generation. For example, the 3rd generation child did not influence their mother/father and their grandmother/father regarding the same sport. It seemed like the influence of the 3rd generation was on an individual basis where the child and adult (parent or grandparent) was a unique bond in which the child shared with that particular person. There were, however, examples of the 3rd generation children influencing the 1st and 2nd generations. The link seems to be this 3rd generation and it may be important to look at the 3rd generation’s favorite sport to see how their sport may have impacted the previous generations directly and indirectly.

The members of the second generation also indicated they consumed sport through various media outlets. The main outlet was through American television. Only one participant indicated he had season tickets to his favorite team. The other participants signified they followed their favorite team/sport mainly through American cable. This may be one reason for the dominance of the four professional leagues, as this generation is all English dominant speakers and there is not a consistent broadcast of Cuban sport on American cable television. It may then be important to look at how one consumes sport in order to better understand their sport choices and will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

3rd Generation

The third generation is made up primarily of football fans. Four out of the five participants were football fans with three stating that it was their favorite sport. Julia was the only 3rd generation participant that prefers soccer to any other sport. Alex, Mike, Christian, and Sophia all said they watch football on television and follow it on the internet and in the newspaper. Alex and Christian also played football and have been
following the same team since childhood. Mike and Sophia did not play as children but always wished they could have. For example Mike, said that because he was not able to play football because of his asthma he became a huge fan. He explained it by saying:

I guess my main thing in sport is just that I’ve always wanted to do what I couldn’t do, which was football, and that’s my main obsession. And a couple of years back, that’s when I started to really get into football. But especially now as I become a little older, I don’t want to say wiser, because I’m not, but more savvy about the other side I guess I’m just drawn to the power…It’s 16 games, but it’s important all year long, you know what I’m saying?

Alex had similar feelings toward football. “My favorite sport is football, but I am getting closer to saying baseball, but I don’t think it can ever completely take over my love of football both college and pro.” He has vivid memories of being enthralled with football and statistics, for example:

the most time I can remember in one portion is just giving, I got a box of football cards…I’d go through all of them and separate them into teams and I’d always read the back…memorize the stats, and bug my mom…I’d always ask her “Hey, is this guy good? Is this guy good? Is this guy good?”…And she would get so angry at me…”There is a thousand cards and you can’t ask me ‘Is everyone good?’”…

Another memory of football allowed him to escape a difficult time in his life.

I remember when I was collecting my cards when I was collecting all the cards; those were the first three pages of a 49er player. I had like even all the offensive linemen, it was ridiculous. And then I’d always try to get like a hat or something like that….I remember whenever we were playing, I’d always play Tom Raffman. I was like a fullback…How many eight-year olds know who Tom Raffman is? And I think it was just like, you know, I’d be at home, Jerry Rice would catch a pass. And then I remember when we moved, we actually moved in the middle of the semester, because we needed to move…things were really bad. And when I went up to visit my aunt…they told me that I wasn’t moving back and…(that) just destroyed me. All of my friends were calling me and I had to tell them, you know: I may never come see you again! So that really…that just hurt. And
then, I think, it was the same year that the 49ers went to the Super Bowl with Steve Young, I am pretty sure it was that year. And I just remember we’re going…I can remember jumping on my aunt’s couch watching Jerry Rice catch the first 50-yard touchdown [pass] right over the middle, setting the record for the fastest touchdown ever scored….I can remember pretty vividly, just watching that game.

Christian said that he plans his life around football games.

It’s like a ritual on game days; I do certain things and make sure I am in front of a TV. Even if I am going out with friends I make sure we go somewhere that has the game on, during the season, I try to plan activities around the sports schedule and I find myself wearing the clothes more during the season too. I read up on the teams and I look up the stats and the spreads. When I watch the games when I am out I will talk to anyone about football. If someone likes the same team it’s like a common bond and we are friends during the game and talk about how much we know about the team.

Sophia indicated that her first love is for basketball and that she likes to also watch football. She said that

Basketball, and that whole sport in general has been so memorable, playing it, being a part of it, watching it, working for it. It’s so fun and enjoyable and you get to meet a lot of people. Just going to the school and the whole college experience, everyone is so loyal to that school and everyone represents so then I felt like you were one with everyone, that why I grew to love it (basketball).

She also indicated that football was something she enjoyed as well.

If I am at a football game it’s just like I am enjoying the moment. I would go to every game in college and it was just an awesome time with my friends. I still keep up with the team everyday through the internet even though I can’t go to the games much because I live far away now.

Julie was the sole participant who said soccer was her favorite sport to watch. She explained that she liked it because “It’s really united and it’s a really fun game to watch because there is a lot of resistance and endurance and they have to get along with
each other and be like working together for one common goal.” She became so enthralled with soccer so much that when she was in High School she talked her parents into getting Goal TV, a sport package for all the European soccer games. Her life used to revolve around the season but now that she has TIVO she can watch the games when she has times. With the different time zones, “things are a lot better now that I don’t have to get up at all hours just to watch the games.” The internet is also a great way for her to keep up with the sport because that is “where they give you the matches and they give you the statistics and stuff like that.”

The majority of 3rd generation participants seem to have the same interest in football. It is interesting that this generation has an affinity for mainstream American sports; basketball and football. There were no participants in this generation that are avid baseball fans. In the families studied, the allegiance to baseball, Cuban and/or American, has been lost by the 3rd generation. It has, in turn, been replaced by the host country’s favorite sports. This generation depends heavily on the use of mainstream American television and the internet. There was one participant who explained that she watches European soccer and subscribes to a soccer sport package. It may be useful to investigate international sports in which 3rd generation members may have an interest; the other 3rd generation participants all watch American sports, but the one respondent was willing to pay to watch European soccer when American soccer would come with the cable television package. While there were no generational differences, some differences may lie in the level of acculturation and will be examined below.

Acculturation

Looking across the levels of acculturation, those ranked as marginalized and low on the Acculturation Scale were fans of baseball. The participants who were moderate on the acculturation scale were all basketball fans and those who were highly acculturated were primarily football fans with one exception. This may show that as one becomes more acculturated, s/he become more entrenched in all facets of American culture, including sport. It may also be possible that a parent sees that in order to succeed in this country s/he needs to involve his or her children in sports that will allow them to fit in and be successful in this country.
Across all levels of acculturation, there was a sense of following the hometown team. While this may be consistent with the dominant culture’s affinity for the home team, it may be productive to examine the loyalties of the hometown team and how to create a sense of pride through the community aspect, similar to that seen in the sense of familism. This may allow for a way in which to create an attachment to a particular team quicker than through success as these fans may be willing to stick with a particular team through thick in thin if they are attached to the feeling of community pride, rather than team pride.

Another point to consider is that several of the participants tended to follow sports they played growing up no matter what level of acculturation. Norma, for example, played basketball growing up and later followed basketball because she understood the rules more than football. Gemma, also played baseball as a child even though she was a female. “I was the only child so my dad had no choice but to show me how to play, he never cared though.” Similarly; Alex, Christian, Carlos, and Vinny all played football as a youngsters and grew up a football fan and still watches it to this day. Even though Mike was not allowed to play football because of a medical condition, he always wanted to play football and grew up watching football and being a fan of football.

In conclusion, the father/child attachment through sport seems to be underestimated within the mainstream literature. While it seems like the influence of the father has been addressed by several authors (Greendorfer, 1978; Lewko & Greendorfer, 1988; James, 1998) the emotional attachment that sport may elicit is one that needs further attention. This idea will be further developed in the discussion section.

Conclusion

My findings indicate that this particular Miami Cuban segment of the population believes in the value of hard work, being with and helping family, has a commitment to religious tenants and makes decisions that will honor both their parents and children. These values were prevalent throughout all three generations and across all four levels of acculturation.

Male family members and friends had a primary influence on the participants in terms of their introduction to sports and different teams. This held for both male and
females and at all levels of acculturation. Baseball was the favorite sport among the first generation and the low and marginalized level of acculturation, while football was the most prevalent sport among moderate and highly acculturated participants.

The following chapter will discuss key findings from this research; provide implications for the industry, and present directions for future research.
CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Overview of the Study

The purpose of this study was to advance our understanding of how subculture may influence awareness of sports and sports teams across generations. The focus of the study was Miami Cubans. The research questions that guided the study were: 1) How does one’s Cuban upbringing influence his/her values, meanings, and beliefs relative to a sport product or sports teams? 2) What agents influence sport socialization for different generation and acculturation levels? 3) What are the primary sport socialization agents for Cuban Americans? 4) Does level of acculturation impact level of attachment toward a particular sport and/or team? and 5) What are the similarities/differences in interest in sport by generation? The project included conducting in-depth interviews of five Cuban families living in a particular area of Miami. Each family had at least one representative from each of the three generations. Level of acculturation was examined to further understand the complexities of the Miami Cuban segment of the population. Through the use of in-depth interviews, the researcher was able to better understand how the participants’ upbringing influenced their interest in and connection to sports and specific sports teams. The content in this chapter includes a discussion of the results and suggested implications of the findings for sport marketers. The proceeding chapter includes the following sections: discussion of the findings relative to the research questions, other implications of the study, directions for future research, and conclusion.

Research Question 1: Values

The first research question focused on how a Cuban upbringing influenced an individual’s values and subsequently what values were associated with sport. The values of the society in which children are raised provide a framework that shapes parental behaviors and interactions with children and the resulting developmental outcomes (Phinney, 2000). Values are not descriptions of actual behavior, but rather reflect how
we believe members of a culture should behave. Within all cultures, parents engage in practices aimed at socializing children to become responsible adult members of the society (Phinney, 2000).

Research has suggested that individuals both within and across cultures have vastly different value priorities that reflect their different genetic heritage, personal experiences, geographic locations, and enculturation (Hofstede, 1982, 1991; Schwartz & Bardi, 2001; Schwartz, 1997; Triandis, 1995). Schwartz and Sagiv (1995) found that even though individuals and groups may differ in the importance they attribute to values, the same consistent organization of motivational oppositions and compatibilities organize their values. Much of the research has focused on differences in values and value priorities, but as of late it has been suggested that there is a level of consensus across individuals and societies (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001), that there are core values that exist in all cultures. Understanding values is important because people tend to behave according to their values. Schwartz and Bardi (2001) suggested that individual differences in the hierarchy of each value may reflect an individual’s unique needs, temperaments, and social experiences (p. 280). Further, socializing agents tend to discourage values that clash with the functioning of the larger society. Research in this area has also focused on international differences rather than searching for intranational differences and similarities (Conway Dato-On, 2000; Hofstede, 2001; McCort & Malhotra, 1993; McCracken, 1986; Rokeach, 1968). The current study examined a specific Hispanic subculture within the United States and sought to look at the five basic values - benevolence, conformity, security, tradition, and achievement - and how those values may or may not have transferred to successive generations.

The Miami Cubans in this study had strong feelings about benevolence, achievement, and tradition. Benevolence was shown through the ability to help family members, be with family members, and loyalty to family members. Every participant in this study believed it was their duty to take care of one’s family, with at least two participants in the third generation feeling guilty for moving far away from home because they cannot be there for their family at a moment’s notice.

Achievement also played out within this population. Throughout the interviews a value of achievement was manifest through the idea of hard work or a strong work ethic
in order to be successful. Every participant in the study mentioned hard work as a key to success at one time or another in the interview. In many instances the ideas emerged in a participant’s comments and did not need to be prompted. An interesting finding in relation to the idea of hard work is that the meaning seemed to change from one generation to the next. The first generation left everything they had in Cuba to come to the United States and worked sometimes night and day to make a life for themselves and their children. Even the two mothers, who did not work in order to stay home to raise their children, helped the family out by doing odd jobs when their husbands came home. The two women also indicated they made sure the house was in order and taken care of so all their husbands had to do and worry about was working towards a better life. One participant indicated that she worked while her first two children were young. She had gone to school in order to have a career and was willing to do whatever it took to make a good life for her family.

The second generation also felt they had to work hard to raise the bar and do better than their parents. Each had stories of working at several jobs to try to get ahead in order to provide their children with a good education. Each parent indicated they wanted their child(ren) to go to college, and a way to reach that goal was through hard work.

The third generation believed that working hard meant doing well in school and going to college in order to improve their lives. This value of hard work is very similar to that found in the American sample done by Schwartz and Bardi (2001), which would be the most similar to the third generation participants in the current study.

The third value that was important to the participants was tradition. The idea of tradition as a value was associated primarily with religious beliefs. The participants in this study all talked about some form of “traditional Catholic beliefs.” Each family indicated the majority of their “traditional” activities are guided by Catholic holidays or special occasions. While the current study followed questions written in the Swartz and Bardi (2000) survey, the answers did not seem to work within an open-ended question forum as the answers were not consistent with the framework developed by the authors (Swartz & Bardi, 2000). For example, in the survey form the question read “You still find yourself doing traditional activities” and participants are asked to respond on a 6 point scale anchored by "Not at all like me" to "Very similar to me.” When the question
was changed to “What type of traditional activities do you find yourself doing,” the participants struggle to pinpoint traditional activities. Most of the participants talked about religious holidays and the conversation then shifted to religious based values. Tradition was conceptualized by Swartz and Bardi (2000) as respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or relation provides the individual. The results from the interviews bear out that the participants struggled to understand the concept of tradition. What did emerge from the attempt to explore tradition as a value was a better understanding of the important role of religion in the Miami Cuban value system. While religion may not seem to “fit” neatly within one’s initial perception of tradition, it may provide valuable insight into this population. It is important to notice the differences by generation in regards to these religious based values. While the first generation saw them as religious based values, the third generation saw them as moral character values. As the generations progress there was a shift away from subcultural specific ideas of security, conformity, and family to a “American” view of moral character.

Conformity as a value was evident in the 1st generation participants. Schwartz and Bardi (2003) defined conformity as the restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others, and violate social expectations or norms. Within this value is the idea of honoring one’s parents and children. Honoring one’s parents and children is considered a social expectation within this particular subculture. Both the female and male participants talked about honoring children and parents by taking care of them in the home. Two of the 1st generation female participants indicated that they stayed home to take care of their children instead of going to work and that they allowed their parents to move in with them when their parents got to an age and condition in which they could not take care of themselves. The two male participants did everything they could to allow their wives to stay home with their children. Even though one family could not afford this option, he would only agree to let his wife work if her mother would watch the children.

While this value was still prevalent in the second generation females, they did not always behavior in a manner consistent with this value. Only one female in this generation chose to stay home with her children; the other participants believed that a
mother should stay home with her children but did not, mainly for financial reasons. Two of the participants in this generation did have a parent or parents living with them currently and four of the other participants indicated that their parents lived within a short drive and that they made daily or weekly visits to their elderly parents.

The third generation, on the other hand, did not have a strong conviction for the female to stay home with the children. Because none of the participants had children yet, and the American cultural influence of women having the right to work outside the home, the 3rd generation participants may have not wanted to express this as a core value.

The value of security did not emerge as important throughout this study. In contrast, through the conversations with the participants the value of familism was very prominent. One example of familism discussed by respondents was choosing to live in neighborhoods that were made up of primarily Cuban families. Those interviewed explained that the Cuban neighborhoods made them feel safe, allowed them to maintain their Spanish language, surrounded them with others who shared common struggles, and provided a community atmosphere in which to raise a family.

The importance of family (familism) was an overarching theme throughout the security, conformity and benevolence values. The family’s needs and welfare took precedence over the individual member’s needs. The family, as a group, was usually the first and only priority. This was reflected in the passing of values within the family as well as the family’s expectations toward one another. The importance of the centrality of the family in terms of feelings of loyalty, reciprocity, and familism for Hispanics has been documented as a distinct and enduring characteristic among Mexicans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Central and South Americans (Cortes, 1995; Marin, 1993; Sabogal et al., 1987). In general, these studies have found a negative relationship between the level of familistic values among Hispanics and the process of acculturation. In other words, with more exposure to Anglo-American culture, including education and/or time in the United States, the less salient is the belief system about the family among Hispanics (Cortes, 1995; Marin, 1993; Sabogal et al., 1987). The current study found that familism was not a seen as a characteristic, but rather a value and these results contradicted those in that the family structure still plays a large part in the highly acculturated participants’ value system. Where these results agree is when familism is used as a conformity value.
The obligation to personally caring for the older generation shifts from each generation and level of acculturation. The first generation found that personally caring for elders and children was a huge part of conformity and one’s duty to family, the second generation still had those beliefs but were having trouble making the sacrifice, while the third generation felt some sense of obligation but all the participants felt they would need conform to this notion when the time game.

The results in this study pertaining to important values were consistent with those found by Schwartz and Sagiv (1995) in that 90% of the respondents from the 40 countries sampled indicated that achievement, tradition, and benevolence were guiding principles in their own life. Conformity and security were also found to be a guiding principle in 60% and 73% of the populations respectively. Similarly in the Schwartz and Bardi (2003) study which also rated values as guiding principles, benevolence and achievement existed, but the priorities of those values varied across the United States sample, all seven samples were quite similar to one another when compared to those from other countries studied.

While the current participants demonstrated similarities with respect to personal values, there may still be differences between the Miami Cuban subculture and that of the dominant culture in the United States. The specific examples of personal values given throughout the interviews were very similar to examples given in other studies (Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995; Schwartz & Bardi, 2003). The values exhibited throughout the interviews are also consistent with the premise that out of the Hispanic population, Cuban Americans are considered the most similar to Anglo-Americans. The Miami-Cuban population that was studied in this project held very similar views to that of the dominant culture as demonstrated in earlier values work (Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995; Schwartz & Bardi, 2003). It would then seem fruitful to extend this research to that of other subcultures within the Hispanic population to determine whether or not the Cuban population is an anomaly. The other important factor is that all of the participants have been in this country for at least 2 decades. The 1st generation participants have all been here for at least 15 years. It may then be more fruitful to look at immigrants across various points in time to gain a better understanding of how values may or may not change throughout the acculturation process. In doing this, one would be able to
appreciate factors that may have influenced one’s movement along the acculturation continuum.

The differences in values may be different in regards to how they are either prevalent or reinforced through sport participation or sport fandom. The results to the question of how one’s Cuban upbringing influences his/her values relative to sport will be explored in the proceeding sections.

**Research Question 1: Sport Values**

*Sport Participant Values*

In the current study sport participant values emerged within three categories. Discipline, health, and good environment were all deemed by parents to be important factors for encouraging and pushing sport participation. Health or the value of a healthy mind and body was the prevalent value that cut across generations and levels of acculturation as one of the most important values imparted through sport participation. Having a healthy mind and body were very important to all the parents in this study. The value of being healthy has not been explored in the sport value literature, but has been explored through sport participation literature as a motivation for participating. To date, the research on motivation has emphasized differences both by age and gender in the motives that energize athletic activity. The positive effects of exercise upon physical health are now well documented (American College of Sports Medicine, 1991). Although it is also widely believed that exercise has a positive effect on psychological health and well-being, the empirical literature (Dunn, Kinney, & Hofferth, 2003) on this issue is mixed. Despite the mixed literature, the participants in this study believe that sport reinforces the value of having a healthy mind and body. All of the first generation parents told of their Cuban upbringing and how the government forced children to be active in sport in order to keep their bodies healthy. If a child could not choose a sport on their own, one was chosen for them. This belief seems to have been internalized and then passed down to their children, who in turn enrolled their children in sports to stay healthy.

Discipline was another important value believed to be reinforced through sport participation. All of the parents in this study mentioned discipline as an important value
sport emphasizes. One parent in the second generation who was divorced indicated that sport provided her son with the much needed discipline that was lacking in the fatherless household. She believed it was very important for her son to be taught the fundamentals in order to learn how to be disciplined in life. Much of the current literature examines discipline as an outcome rather than a value instilled or a reason for participating. Dunn et al. (2003), on the other hand, looked at reasons why parents enroll their children in extracurricular activities. Their results were similar to those found in the current study in that nearly all the parents indicated that developing discipline was important for their children’s development. Following rules and accepting limits were some specific behaviors that parents in both studies agreed upon. Discipline was established within the family and parents believed that through sport it was further reinforced.

The third sport participation value that emerged from the data was that of a good environment. Once again, previous research has suggested that sport participation promotes a reduction in negative behaviors among adolescents (Eccles & Barber, 1999; Mahoney & Cairns, 1999), but does not indicate that it is a reason why parents involve their children into sport activities. Parents in this study indicated they enrolled their children in sporting activities because it provided a good place to go, kept their children off the streets, and was the best option for their kids while they were at work. In essence, the parents made the decisions based on previous research in regards to the outcome of such activities. Existing literature does, however, provide evidence of the positive benefits of sport participation that indicate it increases social and academic achievement and decreases negative behavior such as drug usage (Mahoney & Stattin, 2000; Walter, Vaughn, & Wydner).

Research has suggested that sports activities foster qualities children need in order to be successful, well-adjusted people, and respectable members of society (Dukes & Coakley, 2002; Lareau, 2003). Several studies support the role of extracurricular activity participation in the increased development of positive outcomes and the reduction of negative outcomes (Cooper, Valentine, Nye, & Lyndsay, 1999; Glanville, 1999; Mahoney & Stettin, 2000). Characteristics that parents want to instill in their children are linked to parent’s perceptions of sports activities. Dunn, Kinney, and Hofferth (2003) found parents believed children developed various traits from sports. Examples of those
traits were teamwork, fair play, sportsmanship, discipline, commitment, responsibility, self-esteem, and self-confidence. Previous research has also examined the reasons why parents encourage participation in sporting activities and has found that parents believe that sport activities help socialized their children to important values (Sadlik & Kim, 2007).

Another important piece is the idea of values instilled from the act of watching sport on television. There has been little research done in the area of passive sport activities; instead much of the literature focuses on sport participation. Larson and Verma (1999) dismissed television watching as an unproductive use of children’s time. In contrast, Sadlik and Kim (2007) found that parents and children often interact while watching televised sport and that moral lessons could be learned through the interactions. The current study sought to look at the values associated with sport participation and sport fandom. It also looked at the reasons why parents encouraged sport participation and how family, friends, and relatives encouraged sport participation as well as sport fandom. The values associated with sport fandom will now be discussed.

**Sport Fan Values**

The questions in this study were open-ended and allowed the participant to form their own definition of value and in-turn they responded based on their own interpretation of values. The answers given may not be values according to the various definitions, but rather the values the participants thought sport provided to fans. Sport fan values have not been looked at in current literature, but rather, there has been a wide array of sport fan motivation work done. Within the context of this study, the participants indicated that values associated with sport fandom were: brings people together (i.e. family, community, and friends), wholesome environment, and entertaining. The following discussion will be presented by generation in order to gain a better understanding of the similarities and differences across the generations.

The first generation participants felt that being a sports fan was a good way to stay connected with family. One female participant who rated low on the acculturation scale said that she is able to keep in touch with her brothers and sisters in all areas of the United States through watching baseball. Further, it was through baseball that each
family member called each other and was the starting point of almost every conversation. One male first generation participant who rated low on the acculturation scale also had similar experiences. He believes that watching sport allows his family to stay connected through casual conversation as well as getting together to watch sports when they can. Two of the first generation, moderately acculturated participants believed that sport provided an entertaining and wholesome environment. In that, the male participant also said that watching sports are a way in which he can get away from the news for a little while.

The second generation, on the other hand, believed that sports bring people and communities together through mutual support of the home team. The participants in this generation indicated that supporting the home team was considered to be a value. The values given by the first and second generation (family connection and community connection) are very similar values as those expressed in the personal value of security. The participants in this study explained that being with and near family along with living in Cuban neighborhoods made them feel safe, allowed them to maintain their Spanish language, surrounded them with others who shared common struggles, and provided a community atmosphere in which to raise a family. It seems as though this value has permeated to sport fandom as it “gives” these participants another reason to come together and rally around their home team. By supporting the home team, they feel they are supporting their own family or community; which are both very important among this particular group.

The value of staying connected to family seems to be lost among the third generation participants who discussed sport as a source of entertainment, and that entertainment was a value. There may be a reason for this as well. Since all of the 3rd generation participants were currently seeking a degree in Sport Management, they may have felt compelled to answer the question the “right” way, in other words, the way in which they have been taught to look at sport.

These values are consistent with previous research pertaining to the motivations of sport consumers (Funk, Mahony, & Ridinger, 2002; James & Ross, 2004; Milne & McDonald, 1999; Trail & James, 2001; Wann, 1995). A long list of motives contributing to sport consumptive behavior has been examined by various authors that include
aesthetics, catharsis, drama, wholesome environment, entertainment, bonding with family, entertainment, escape, social interaction, and vicarious achievement (Funk, Mahony, & Ridinger, 2002; Sloan, 1989; Wann, 1995; Zillmann, Bryant, & Sapolsky, 1989). According to Gau (2007), “the boundaries of research in the stream of studies in fan motivation for spectating sports are not clear (p. 62). Gau (2007) further suggested prior studies have developed their list of motives from previous writings and research and have regarded motives as any factor which causes a person to attend a sporting event.

Bardi and Schwartz (2003) suggested values are important for understanding various social phenomena and suggested that behavior is a particularly important consequence of values and there needs to be a link between values and behavior in order to establish and change behaviors. Values may influence behavior through mechanisms, such as habits, that do not require conscious decisions. In other words, values can give an action direction that stimulates motivation for behavior (Gau, 2007). Values serve as a guide for motivation and in turn a behavior. From this, it seems plausible that behavior is related to a person’s human values. In this case, the values that one may or may not see inherent in sport may guide their involvement in sport. For example even though the first generation did not talk about supporting the hometown team as a value, each participant indicated their favorite team was from Miami. It seems then, that the first generation participants who are not highly acculturated behave in a manner that is a manifestation of valuing one’s community.

There seems to be some disconnect in the terminology between existing literature and those used or familiar to the participants in the study. The example of “wholesome environment” was found in this study and has been used in motivational research (Funk, Mahony, & Ridinger, 2002). While the participants in this study may see wholesome environment as a value, Gau (2007) proposed that “wholesome environment” is not a value or motive, but rather simply an attribute of the sporting event. Future research should examine the how motivation has been used, studied, and defined in order to provide a more accurate reflection of the construct. In turn, this may allow for the importance of values exhibited by sport to come to the surface as well as provide a better understanding of motivations, attributes, and values. .
In conclusion and in regard to research question 1, there was one personal value that was consistent with the value the participants perceived sport fandom to have. The sense of security (familism, pride of community) was carried to sport by the strong support of the hometown teams. These participants also had a strong value system based on religious tenants, the ability to help and be with family members, the idea of hard work or a strong work ethic in order to be successful. Each of these values has been explored within the context of sport, but yet these participants did not make the connection between how personal values may or may not be reinforced through sport. It would then seem fruitful to further explore those values to further examine how those values may or may not be consistent with those seen in sport.

The values of sport relevant to spectators or fans, are similar to those found in studies whose focus was motivation. Values need to be further examined in order to provide a more accurate view of the values people see in both sport fandom and participation. The values provided by the current participants seemed to reveal motivations for attending and not values as defined by Schwartz and Bardi (2003).

Research Questions 2 and 3: Sport Socialization

The second and third research questions looked at the primary sport socialization agents and how they do or do not differ across generations and acculturation levels. This section will begin with a discussion of the agents by generation and level of acculturation and in doing so; the primary agents will be examined within the context of generation and level of acculturation. Many studies have investigated various aspects of fandom, including the meanings and identities associated with being a fan (Anderson, 1979; Wann & Branscombe, 1993), fan behavior (Kerstetter & Kovich, 1997), and team loyalty (Cialdini, Border, Thorne, Walker, Freeman & Sloan, 1976; Wann & Branscombe, 1990). However, few studies have investigated the role of socialization in becoming a fan. Socialization agents are an important element to consider when examining subcultural sport development because it has received little attention in a sport context, particularly primary socialization agents with dual-culture participants. Socialization agents are important because they influence people and in turn they are drawn to certain activities and away from others. In the current study, the socialization agents were examined in
order to better understand how people are influenced to become sport participants and spectators.

Results from the current interviews indicated family members, particularly the father, were important in terms of introducing children to sports. There were slight differences between levels of acculturation. Male family friends and relatives along with peers also played important roles for some of the participants. For example, those who measured low on the acculturation scale indicated their father and male siblings had the greatest influence on their sport participation. Similarly, the marginalized participants signified the father and male family friends played important roles. Two of the three determined to be at a moderate level of acculturation did not participate in sport as children; while the other participant indicated she was influenced by a male family friend. The data also indicated there may be more than one socialization agent that influenced their participation if there was more than one favorite sport. A majority (5) of the highly acculturated group was influenced by their fathers; on the other hand, three participants were influenced by peers and one was influenced by a male family friend.

A family friend, in particular male adults, has received little to no attention as an agent influencing socialization into sport participation. There may be two reasons why the family friend is unique to this study: 1) other studies have not examined this agent or 2) the participants in this study all had a strong belief in the community’s role in raising their children. It is important to note that the male adult was not a coach; it was a person that was close to the family and filled a type of uncle role. He may be an important agent for several reasons including absence of father, the father in the household working extended hours, or he had been in the community for a longer period of time and was helping the family settle in.

The absence of school and coaches as influencing agents was an interesting finding. The expectation was that these two agents would have a larger role than that of the family in regards to American sport introduction because previous literature has suggested that immigrant children are socialized into their new culture through these two agents (Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981). It seems then, that sport is pervasive across both Cuban and American cultures in that each values sport participation in general. It seems to be the parents who introduce children to the sport of their homeland and allow
their children to participate in various other activities. The socialization agents who seemed to have the most influence on individuals participating in sport were the participant’s fathers, followed by a male family friend. The importance of these agents is consistent with the findings from previous research with primarily Caucasian participants (Lewko & Greendorfer, 1988) across levels of acculturation.

Socialization into sport fandom was another topic studied within the scope of this project. There is limited and dated research in this area. McPherson (1976) examined four sources of sports spectator socialization (family, peers, school, and community) and found that male high school students were influenced by their peers, family, and school respectively. Females, on the other hand were influenced by family, peers, and then community. The study also suggested peers and family influenced subjects independently as well as through interaction of peer and school influence. Kolbe and James (2000) also focused their attention on socialization, but explored influences that shape the creation of a professional team fan. The findings presented by Kolbe and James were similar to the results reported by McPherson (1976) in that fathers were very influential in shaping team preferences. The study also found that this was especially poignant in those who became fans in their preteen years and to a lesser extent, among adolescents. Kolbe and James (2000) examined constructs new to this literature; the role of team players and coaches as well as the emotional hometown connection fans made between the city and team. Their results indicated players and coaches were important influencers for adolescents and adults as well as hometown connection.

The current study’s results indicated that fathers were an important influence on a majority of the participants. If the father was not the most important, he was at least mentioned at one time or another when describing a sport experience. What is interesting about the results pertaining to the influence of fathers is the notion that in two families the father was not present or had very little presence in the child’s life. In fact, it was sport fandom that brought the broken father/son relationship back together in a sense of staying connected through sport. It was through sport that the father/son relationship was able to be maintained through the years. In one family, it was the only thing the participant felt he could talk to his father about. In the other family, the father became a fan of sport simply to have something in common with his son. This is something that
may need to be looked at further, the role that sport plays in the emotional attachment that develops between fathers and their children.

The results from previous research have indicated that the primary influence on children in the context of sport socialization comes from fathers, particularly early in a child’s life (McPherson, 1968; Lewko & Greendorfer, 1988), but the extent and depth of the influence has not been examined. This may be a phenomenon that extends across national and international borders. It is the one thing fathers and sons can do together that can seem “relaxing” to both parties as well as provide an emotional attachment between a father and son or daughter. Being able to sit down and watch and converse about sport may maintain or repair strained or disconnected relationships. For example, even if the father has been away or out of contact for several years, sport is a topic that can not only break the ice during a reunion but can create rich dialogue between father and son/daughter. In particular, two of the third generation male participants from this study talked in depth about how the relationship with their fathers has stood many trials and tribulations because they are always able to start from common ground, talking about sports, something they both have knowledge of and is always easily accessible to both. Because of this dialogue, there does not seem to be an awkward beginning and allows both to become comfortable in the conversation before moving onto other or more serious topics.

Socialization into sport fandom among adults has not been studied to a great extent. The Kolbe and James (2000) article is the sole study that examined adults in their attempt to determine what and who influences sport fans. Most of the participants in previous research have consisted of adults, university students, and, in a few cases, high school students’; all having had them reflect on their childhood experiences (Kolbe & James, 2000). Research does, however, support the notion that the socializing agents (family, peers) may have an influence on sport fandom at various points in time (Loy, Kenyon, & McPherson, 1978). The current study supported this notion of adult socialization and found that socialization into sport can occur in adulthood. The agents in adulthood were found to be husbands, children and/or grandchildren.

The two first generation moderately acculturated women in the study were not influenced as children, but rather as adults by their husbands. They both indicated that
they first became interested in a sport and/or team through their husband’s influence. While this particular agent has not been identified in previous research, it is a finding that may occur within many females and could be considered an extension of one’s father and his influence on sport participation. This finding is consistent with the suggestion by Loy, Kenyon, and McPherson (1978) that the influence of significant others is sport-specific and differential over time.

The current study also found that socialization may occur in reverse, which is also known as retroactive socialization. While the term “retroactive socialization” was first created by Riesman and Roseborough (1955), there has been insufficient research done to advance our understanding of the concept. Riesman and Roseborough contended a child can learn consumer-related skills from peers and media and then influence his/her parents with those skills. Since children and parents experiences differ, there may be a transfer of consumption patterns. Further, Mortimer and Simmons (1978) explained that adult socialization involves more overt and specific norms and behaviors (such as those related to parenthood) that may change throughout one’s life. The previous articles then lead to the Howard and Madrigal (1990) article which emphasized that the role of a child in the sport socialization process cannot be ignored.

Within the scope of this study it was shown that a child may socialize a parent or grandparent into a particular sport or sport team. Most often the grand/parent becomes aware of a particular team through the child/grandchild and then becomes attached in order to maintain a relationship with the child/grandchild. Even if the child/grandchild does not want to talk, the parent/grandparent feels if he/she is able to talk about a favorite team and/or sport he/she will be able to stay connected. Talking about sports was a way in which separate generations can have something in common. This phenomenon may be the key to connecting to the Spanish speaking Hispanic market through traditional English mediums. For example, in order to communicate or advertise to parents or first generation Cubans, marketers should consider directing their communication and advertising towards the second generation or English speaking generation. The second generation in turn could socialize their parents/grandparents into sport fandom. Korzenny and Korzenny (2005) suggested that children and grandchildren are becoming increasingly important cultural and market interpreters and in this study the idea seemed
to ring true. Whether or not this differs between cultures is yet to be seen as this type of research is limited within both consumer behavior and sport literature.

Results from research with Hispanic participants also suggest that a child’s attachment to adult relatives may be an important source of socialization, even though they were referring to the adult influence on the child (Garcia-Coll, 1990). This idea may be extended to the child’s influence on the adult relative. This scenario played out across generations and levels of acculturation in this study in a different manner than most literature has even suggested. The role of children in the adult socialization process had the ability to reach across several generations. For example, there was one family who suggested that that 3rd generation child had introduced his grandmother and mother to a particular baseball team. Once the child introduced his mother and grandmother to the particular baseball team, each of the women went on to become avid fans.

This phenomenon may occur within this culture for several reasons: 1) there may have been a role change for the grandparents in that the men and women of this generation are reaching an older age and have focused their central activities around their family connections (Mortimer & Simmons, 1978); 2) the older generations have a harder time adjusting to their new environment and look to the children for guidance; 3) the close family relationships are highly valued and maintained throughout this group; or 4) the older generations are looking for a way to connect with the younger generations and feel that sport in a positive and accessible way to create and maintain a positive relationship.

The family dynamic in the socialization process was present in all generations, across levels of acculturation, and between genders. The sense of familism and its influence on individuals was also prevalent within the discussion of sport. Where other sport socialization research has suggested that as children get older peers along with teachers and coaches have a greater impact (Greendorfer, 1987), this subculture maintained family as their primary agents throughout their lifecycle. Since there are no cross-cultural studies done in this area, this is an important finding in that members of this subculture still view sport fandom as a family activity. Each family in the study had made a concerted effort to watch the same games and teams in order to spend time together and remain connected.
The missing content from this area is the way in which the agents actually influence the participants. While each participant could recall who first introduced and/or encouraged their participation or fandom, they did not talk about specific instances in which they were introduced to a sport and/or team. Rather, their view was a combination of several memories of talking about, going to, and playing a particular sport and/or team with each respective socialization agent. Further research needs to be done in order to comprehend the introduction and influence processes in order to gain a better understanding of how and when these processes take place.

The role of television and the internet as an initial socialization agent was not mentioned by any of the participants. While the researcher believed media would be an important socializing agent, the participants viewed media as a reinforcement mechanism. While one’s father, brother, or friend may make the initial introduction to sport, television and the internet allowed this population to learn more about a sport and stay connected with the sport after the initial introduction. While the participants seemed to regard television as a type of reinforcement tool, this medium may be an important factor that allows a person to gain knowledge, provide further connection with a sport after the initial introduction, and/or move someone from the awareness phase to attraction and/or ultimately to attachment. Television allowed the participants to have easy access to a particular team and/or sport and was viewed as something that could be done both independently and with family. The role of television is something that needs to be further developed as this may be an important factor in the transition from homeland (Cuban) sport to American sport in that the native country’s favorite team is not available on mainstream American television. Rather, consumers have to pay for expanded features to their cable to be able to watch their native team.

The role of the internet came into play with those participants that were attached to a particular team in that they did not go to team websites to look for more information about the sport, but rather to find game times, look up particular statistics, and player information. In order to do this, a person must have more than a mere awareness of a team.

In conclusion, the current study did not identify new socialization agents or determine that other agents such as media may be of greater importance than has been
found in previous research. Instead, the current study found that there was an emphasis on the importance of family, in particular fathers or male family friends. The sense of familism was further pronounced throughout the process and is believed to allow for “retro socialization.” This idea is one that needs to be studied further to gain a better understanding of how this process works and the factors that allow the process to progress from awareness to attachment. It is a better understanding of the process, then, that could allow marketers to communicate to more than one generation and folks at different levels of acculturation at the same time. The role of media and the internet is another agent that needs to be examined more closely. It may be that children do not associate television as an agent because they may not have an emotional memory of these mediums introducing them, but rather an experience with a person is retained.

Research Questions 4 and 5: Sport Team Interest and Attachment by Acculturation Level

The fourth and fifth research questions pertaining to interest in and attachment to sports/teams by generation found that that there were similarities and differences across generations and levels of acculturation. One key finding was that baseball is a sport that transcends borders. Unlike soccer, baseball remained the first generation’s favorite sport despite moving to the United States. This held true among all of those who were low, moderate, and marginal on the acculturation scale. Instead of continuing to watch Cuban baseball, they started watching American baseball. Interest in baseball sport was passed down through all three generations and across all levels of acculturation. Even if baseball was not their favorite sport today, each participant remembered baseball being an important part of their childhood. This may be due to the high level of baseball demonstrated in the United States, the idea that Cuban players have been playing for the United States Major League Baseball for a long time, or that the way the game of baseball is played across national boundaries does not change as dramatically as soccer.

Another key finding was that football seems to be the favorite sport amongst the second and third generation participants; which were all highly acculturated. While this may be surprising to some, television ratings have been showing this for quite some time. Among Hispanics, NFL games have accounted for the four most-watched English-language TV programs since September of 2007 (Torno, 2008). In 2002, professional
football was the most popular sport among Hispanics in the U.S., according to an ESPN/Chilton poll, ahead of basketball, followed by baseball and soccer (www.espn.com, 2002). According to a report by TNS Sport, the National Football League is the favorite sport among Hispanics who primarily speak English (2006).

There could be several reasons why the second and third generation participants identified football as their favorite sport. One reason may be that the second generation participants were in the same age range and they were young adults during the explosion of the National Football League that took place in the 1970s. The second generation would be those who experienced the phenomenal growth of the NFL and subsequently pass along an interest to the third generation that would were young children in the 1980s. It was during this time that the NFL solidified its dominance as America’s top spectator sport and its important role in American culture. Another reason specific to the Miami Cubans could be that the Miami Dolphins were very successful in the 1970s and 1980s, becoming the first team to advance to the Super Bowl for three consecutive seasons. In 1972 the Dolphins completed the NFL’s only perfect season, winning every regular season game, two playoff games and Super Bowl VII. It was during the 1980s that quarterback Dan Marino came into the league and attracted a new fan base in the Miami area (http://www.nfl-history.com/dolphins). Another factor may have been that this generation was the first to go to school in the United States and may have been introduced to the Dolphins through their peers and felt that it was an important way to acculturate into this new culture. More research needs to be done with participants at all ages, generations, and levels of acculturation to see if their experiences are different.

The current population of second generation participants was all about the same age, thus having been teenagers during the growth stage of the National Football League. It would then seem plausible to look at those who were teenagers in the 1980’s, 1990’s, and during this decade to determine whether or not this popularity has maintained its hold or whether the emergence of the National Basketball League’s superstars (e.g. Michael Jordan, Larry Bird, Magic Johnson) had an effect on sport of choice.

The Miami Dolphins success is relevant to another finding, supporting hometown teams (e.g. Miami Dolphins, Florida Marlins, and Miami Heat). Each of the participants indicated they followed a local professional team. What is interesting about this is the
idea that the Florida Marlins did not come into the Miami market until 1993 and several of the participants indicated they have been following the team since its inception. The 1997 World Series also proved to solidify the participants as fans when the Marlins won the championship. It was clear that the all but one of the participants who were not highly acculturated were at the least attached to the Florida Marlins. There were two individuals that would be classified as allegiant fans, in that they followed the team since its inception by watching almost all of the games on television or going to the games personally and talked about the games to family and friends on a consistent basis. The other interesting point relative to the Florida Marlins is the team had several Cuban players during the early years of the franchise. It was not clear from the interview dialogue whether being a hometown team, being a winning ball club, having Cuban players, or all of the above had the biggest impact on people becoming fans.

Supporting the hometown team may further sustain the idea of community identification that was first examined when Anderson and Stone (1981). “The explicit role of the event is recreational but social interaction takes place which may generate enthusiasm for and identification with the community” (Anderson & Stone, 1981, p. 168). These formal and impersonal relationships form the basis for the idea of community that several authors have attempted to convey throughout the last 25 years (Kenyon & McPherson, 1973; McPherson, 1976). The idea of community seems to be a prevalent and logical variable, there has yet to be any empirical evidence other than Kolbe and James (2000), however, to suggest that this may be a prime player in the socialization process. Heere and James (2007), however, suggested that sport teams provide a symbolic representation of various aspects of social or community life (e.g. external group identities). It may then be of interest to explore various geographic locations to determine the strength of the hometown team to determine the if and/or how one’s geographic identity (city identity, regional/state identity, and/or national identity) determines hometown team sport fandom. It would also prove fruitful to understand how sport marketers can use geographic identity to socialize this segment of the population into sport fandom.

Another extension would be to explore the impact that success may or may not have on favorite sport and/or team. For example, the Chicago Bulls success and the
addition of Michael Jordan may impact people of that area to be fans of basketball rather than football (e.g. Chicago Bears). In addition, looking at those who grew up in New York with all of the success of the Yankees may have also had a similar experience.

**Other Implications of the Study**

A key finding was that all of the participants in this study consumed sport through English language media outlets. This differs from several mainstream sources that indicate Hispanic consumers favor Spanish-language television. According to the Hoy Media Consumption Study (2005) Spanish language television has the strongest usage of all media and 70% of Hispanics read Spanish language newspapers frequently or occasionally. Another study conducted by Bendixen and Associates found that eighty-seven percent of all Hispanic adults access Spanish-language television, radio or newspapers on a regular basis. Further the study indicated that Cubans watch Spanish-language television and listen to Spanish-language radio more often than the other Hispanic groups studied.

While it may sound like this population is choosing not to consume sport media in Spanish, the answer may lay in the availability of the four professional leagues’ games on Spanish language television. Soccer telecasts still make up the bulk of programming on most sports channels targeted to the Hispanic viewer, but soccer saturation and viewer demand are driving broadcasters and cable networks to expand their horizons and their selection of programming. "The Hispanic market is not focused on just one sport," said Lino Garcia, general manager of ESPN Deportes. “While soccer has a great audience, it is a stereotype to say Latinos are only interested in soccer. It is clearly not the case. People tend to follow the sports that are popular in their home countries”, Garcia said.

For viewers of Mexican heritage, soccer is the preferred viewing choice. But for the growing audience that hails from the Caribbean-including Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic and Venezuela-baseball reigns supreme. Fox Sports en Espanol carries winter league baseball telecasts from the Dominican Republic and the Caribbean version of the World Series. Since 2001 the channel has enjoyed exclusive rights to Major League Baseball games under a sublicensing agreement with sibling Fox Sports. Fans are drawn to familiar players and many of the greatest players in baseball today hail
from Latin America, Mexico, Venezuela and Puerto Rico. The three highest-paid Major Leaguers either were born overseas or claim Hispanic roots.

Another reason may be revealed in a quote by Jeff Valdez, co-founder of SITV. He was quoted as saying “Part of the problem is we focus on language. I always tell people, it isn’t about language; it’s about how you consume. We speak Spanish in our home, but we consume in English (Hernandez, 2006).” This is a prolific quote, especially for American sport, because the live sporting events are consumed in English, the apparel is in English, and the players all speak English. So the key may be to target Hispanics who speak English and learn the subtle nuances of the particular Hispanic consumers in the select markets.

**Implications for Grass Roots Marketing**

Most adult Hispanics in this study used both English and Spanish media. The frequency in which they choose one or the other varied drastically between each generation. It would stand to reason then that Spanish should be the language selected to advertise to adults, but within this study, it was shown that everyone consumed sport in English despite having a Spanish alternative available. It is important then, for sport marketers to understand how to deliver messages in English to this segment of the population. Marketers should use in-culture advertisings that are culturally attuned, even if the message itself is delivered in English. It is important to create messages with which Hispanic consumers can identify with. Understanding the subcultural images, symbols, and experiences are the keys to creating these messages and delivering successful campaigns. For example; they type of music that can be used effectively in commercials may need to vary because Hispanic consumers have a variety of tastes in music that vary by region and country of origin. In sum, marketers need to have the Hispanic consumer’s perspective and insight in order to get successful results from their marketing and advertising campaigns instead of drawing directly from personal experience or look at general marketing strategies to make Hispanic marketing decisions. For example with the current study, one would create a campaign that revolves around an extended family (e.g. Grandmother, father, and grandchildren and/or cousins) and the nuances of spending time with family through watching Miami sports. Sport marketers...
can create messages of how sport can create a celebration of family through spending time with the each other by either going to a game all together or watching the game on television surrounded by family, plenty of food and beverages. It would be important for them to show several generations and gender roles as well.

It is crucial for sport marketers to uncover the preferences of their Hispanic customers. Marketers who understand how to identify their customers are better equipped to market to them successfully because they show a sincere desire to serve their fans’ needs. That means marketers need to begin with spending time within the targeted community to gain a well rounded understanding of the segment in order to make decisions surrounding language, staffing, and marketing. Marketers need to also remember to define the level of acculturation (e.g. length of time in the U.S., language they prefer to speak at home, language they prefer to speak outside the home). For example: eat dinner in a Mexican, Cuban, Salvadoran, or other Latin restaurant to understand how their food may be different, how the customers pay, how the customers interact with the employees, what language is used within the restaurant (menus, newspapers, employees). The most value gained by this research is to understand the more emotional, human aspect of your potential fans.

Key Findings

Table 5.1  Key Findings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Familism prevails throughout all contexts of life</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absence of school and coaches as influencing agents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father/child attachment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retroactive Socialization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hometown Team</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Directions for Future Research

The current case study conducted interviews with five Cuban families from the Miami area. Additional future research is required to extend this current sample into
more Hispanic subcultures. Since Cuban Americans only accounts for 9% of the entire Hispanic population in this country, it is essential to explore the various other Hispanics from various other Latin countries and regions of the United States (e.g. Mexicans from the southwest, New York Dominicans, Chicago Chicanos, etc) in order to determine similarities and differences between them.

In the same respect, the time and length of stay in the United States may also be an important factor to consider when looking at how the Hispanic population responds to American sports. This in addition to acculturation may be the key to determining the level of awareness and attraction of a particular team. For the current study all of the participants have been in the United States for an extended period of time, thus resulting in a greater familiarity of American sport through various familial and community sources.

The one value that was prevalent throughout this study was that of familism. Further research may be required to create a better understanding of how this value may either mediate or moderate ones role as both a sport participant and fan. The current study found family is an important agent in the introduction of sport as both a participant and fan. It did not, however, show how sport was introduced or the experiences that influenced the participants’ awareness and attraction to sport. How children and adults are socialized (means by which sport is/was introduced) is another area that needs further attention. The way in which people are socialized may allow marketers and organizations develop relationships and assist in the process of socialization to create a more meaningful relationship between the two.

One’s family and the role of younger generations is another area that has to be fully explored. In this particular study, the participants of the older generations were influenced by their children and/or grandchildren. This may be another way in which socialization research can be extended into adulthood socialization as there is little to no research in this area.

Future research should also examine the time in which a person becomes a fan of a particular team (not sport), the primary socializing agent along one’s life cycle, along with the length and strength of the attachment in order to get a better understanding of the
socializing process and the endurance of the process. These findings could determine what role each socializing factor plays in a sport consumer’s life.

Link of the city/hometown and sport fandom in the Hispanics population is another area that has yet to be examined. Throughout the current study, each participant mentioned a hometown team as their favorite in at least one sport. Each participant has vivid memories of the hometown team and how they watched the teams with family and friends. Most of the participants could also tell the research the various players that were their favorites and in some cases where they were when the team and/or player had a successful moment. It could be that once the immigrants relocate to a particular region, they substitute the region and/or city for the new country in some sorts. So instead of cheering on the national team, they cheer on their hometown team. The participants who were born and grew up in Cuba remembered supporting both their hometown team and their national team. Another area in this line of research would be that of how nationalism may or may not change upon immigration to another country, particularly the United States. The United States may be unique in the fact that even though baseball, for example, may be the national pastime, its fans are split up among the various teams in the league rather than the US national baseball team that competes on the international stage.

Final Statement

With the increasing number of immigrants coming into the United States along with the competition for the Hispanic consumer’s dollar, it will be important for sport organizations to better understand how this segment of the population is socialized into sports. There is still a lot of work to be done in this area before we have a deep understanding of the Hispanic population as a whole and their impact on sport fandom. In order to develop effective marketing plans targeting this demographic, we must first understand and appreciate the various subcultural groups within the United States, how the level acculturation and generation affects their behavior, and the role Spanish and English media has on this segments sport consumption.
APPENDIX A

HUMAN SUBJECTS APPROVAL LETTER
Date: 5/24/2007

To: Haylee Mercado

Address: 2052 Darnell Circle Apt B
Dept.: SPORT MANAGEMENT

From: Thomas L. Jacobson, Chair

Re: Use of Human Subjects in Research
Market Segmentation Based on Subculture Socialization: A Case Study

The application that you submitted to this office in regard to the use of human subjects in the proposal referenced above have been reviewed by the Secretary, the Chair, and two members of the Human Subjects Committee. Your project is determined to be Expedited per 45 CFR § 46.110(7) and has been approved by an expedited review process.

The Human Subjects Committee has not evaluated your proposal for scientific merit, except to weigh the risk to the human participants and the aspects of the proposal related to potential risk and benefit. This approval does not replace any departmental or other approvals, which may be required.

If you submitted a proposed consent form with your application, the approved stamped consent form is attached to this approval notice. Only the stamped version of the consent form may be used in recruiting research subjects.

If the project has not been completed by 5/21/2008 you must request a renewal of approval for continuation of the project. As a courtesy, a renewal notice will be sent to you prior to your expiration date; however, it is your responsibility as the Principal Investigator to timely request renewal of your approval from the Committee.

You are advised that any change in protocol for this project must be reviewed and approved by the Committee prior to implementation of the proposed change in the protocol. A protocol change/amendment form is required to be submitted for approval by the Committee. In addition, federal regulations require that the Principal Investigator promptly report, in writing any unanticipated problems or adverse events involving risks to research subjects or others.

By copy of this memorandum, the Chair of your department and/or your major professor is reminded that he/she is responsible for being informed concerning research projects involving human subjects in the department, and should review protocols as often as needed to insure that the project is being conducted in compliance with our institution and with DHHS regulations.

This institution has an Assurance on file with the Office for Human Research Protection. The Assurance Number is IRB00000446.

Cc: Jeffrey James, Advisor
HSC No. 2007.447
APPENDIX B

CONSENT FORMS
Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study which will take place on. The interview process will take approximately 90 minutes and will be done during one sitting. This form outlines the purposes of the study and provides a description of your involvement and rights as a participant.

The purposes of this project are:

1) to gain insight and experience in the topic of the Sport Socialization among Cuban Americans.
2) to advance our understanding of the influence of subculture on building awareness of a product and ultimately a stronger connection to a product, in particular sports teams.

The methods to be used to collect information for this study are explained below. From this information, I will be writing a dissertation about you, your family, and your subculture.

- Interviews will be used in order to collect information.
  - Structured interview. This offers a series of fixed responses, using closed questions (used primarily during the final stage to identify age, generation, primary language, length of time in the country, acculturation level etc.).
  - Semi-structured interview. This allows for free responses from participants to specific questions.
  - Unstructured interview. This allows participants to express themselves without any restriction.
- Observations will also be used in order to gain a better understanding of your surroundings and how they may influence or show others your awareness/attraction to sport.

You are encouraged to ask any questions at any time about the nature of the study and the methods that I am using. Your suggestions and concerns are important to me; please contact me at any time at the address/phone number listed above.

I will use the information from this study to write my dissertation. This document will be read by you, the dissertation committee, and optionally, by one other person if you give permission, in order to check on the accuracy of the report before submission. You’re your approval, the document will then be sent to the university for approval for publication.
While there are minimal risks (ex. anxiety of remembering or talking about family matters), there are several benefits associated with the outcome of this study. The anticipated benefits of the study would include a better understanding of this particular population and their consumer behavior. Through this understanding, practitioners will be able to create and market products to this demographic more effectively, and an enhanced understanding of the Cuban American subculture.

I guarantee that the following conditions will be met:

1) Your real name will not be used at any point of information collection, or in the written dissertation document; instead, you and any other person and place names involved in your case will be given case numbers that will be used in all verbal and written records and reports.

2) If you grant permission for audio taping, no audio tapes will be used for any purpose other than to do this study. Information obtained during the course of the study will remain confidential, to the extent allowed by law. At your discretion, these tapes will either be destroyed or returned to you.

3) The interview tapes and transcripts will be kept under lock and key in a file cabinet in the researcher’s office. The tapes will be kept for 2 years and then destroyed.

4) Your participation in this research is voluntary; you have the right to withdraw at any point of the study, for any reason, and without any prejudice, and the information collected and records and reports written will be turned over to you.

5) You will receive a copy of the final report before it is handed in, so that you have the opportunity to suggest changes to the researcher, if necessary.

6) You will receive a copy of the report that is handed in to the committee.

Do you grant permission to be quoted directly?

Yes _____    No ______

Do you grant permission to be audiotaped?

Yes _____    No ______

I agree to the terms
Respondent ___________________________ Date _____________

For more information on regulations for protection of Human Research Subjects please contact:

Vice President for Research
109 Westcott Building
Florida State University,
Tallahassee, FL 32306-1330

Telephone: (850) 644-9694
Fax: (850) 645-0108
Gracias por acordar participar en este estudio que ocurra encendido. El proceso de la entrevista tomará aproximadamente 90 minutos y será hecho durante uno que se sienta. Esta forma contornea los propósitos del estudio y proporciona una descripción de su implicación y las derechas como participante.

Los propósitos de este proyecto son:
1) para ganar la penetración y la experiencia en el asunto de la socialización del deporte entre americanos cubanos.
2) para avanzar nuestra comprensión de la influencia del subcultivo en conocimiento del edificio de un producto y en última instancia una conexión más fuerte a un producto, en detalle se divierte a equipos.

Los métodos que se utilizarán recoger la información para este estudio se explican abajo. De esta información, escribiré una disertación sobre usted, su familia, y su subcultivo.

- Las entrevistas serán utilizadas para recoger la información.
  - Entrevista estructurada. Esto ofrece una serie de respuestas fijas, usando las preguntas cerradas (usadas sobre todo durante la etapa final para identificar edad, la generación, la lengua primaria, la longitud del tiempo en el país, el nivel etc. de la aculturación).
  - Entrevista Semi-estructurada. Esto permite respuestas libres de participantes a las preguntas específicas.
  - Entrevista no estructurada. Esto permite que los participantes se expresen sin ninguna restricción.

- Las observaciones también serán utilizadas para ganar una comprensión mejor de sus alrededores y cómo pueden influenciar o demostrar a otras su awareness/attraction al deporte.

A le animan que haga cualquier pregunta en cualquier momento acerca de la naturaleza del estudio y de los métodos que estoy utilizando. Sus sugerencias y preocupaciones son importantes para mí; éntreme en contacto con por favor en cualquier momento en el número de address/phone enumerado arriba.

Utilizaré la información de este estudio para escribir mi disertación. Este documento será leído por usted, el comité de la disertación, y opcionalmente, por una otra persona si usted da el permiso, para comprobar en la exactitud del informe antes de la sumisión. Usted es su aprobación, el documento entonces será enviado a la universidad para la aprobación para la publicación.
Mientras que hay los riesgos mínimos (ansiedad ex de las materias de la familia que recuerdan o que hablan), hay varias ventajas asociadas al resultado de este estudio. Las ventajas anticipadas del estudio incluirían una comprensión mejor de esta población particular y de su comportamiento de consumidor. Con esta comprensión, los médicos podrán crear y productos del mercado a este demográfico más con eficacia, y una comprensión realizada del subcultivo americano cubano.

Garantizo que las condiciones siguientes serán resueltas:
1) su nombre verdadero no será utilizado en cualquier punto de la colección de la información, o en el documento escrito de la disertación; en lugar, le y cualquier otra persona y topónimo implicados en su caso darán los números del caso que serán utilizados en todos los expedientes e informes verbales y escritos.
2) si usted concede el permiso para grabar audio, no se utilizará ninguna cintas audio para ningún propósito con excepción de de hacer este estudio. La información obtenida durante el curso del estudio seguirá siendo confidencial, hasta lo permitida por la ley. En su discreción, estas cintas le serán destruidas o vueltas.
3) las cintas y las transcripciones de la entrevista serán guardadas bajo llave y candado adentro un gabinete del archivo en la oficina del investigador. Las cintas serán guardadas por 2 años y después destruidas.
4) su participación en esta investigación es voluntaria; usted tiene la derecha de retirarse en cualquier punto del estudio, por cualquier razón, y sin ningún prejudicar, y la información recogida y los expedientes y los informes escritos turned.over a usted.
5) usted recibirá una copia del informe final antes de que se dé adentro, de modo que usted tenga la oportunidad de sugerir cambios al investigador, en caso de necesidad.
6) usted recibirá una copia del informe que se da adentro al comité.

¿Usted concede el permiso de ser cotizado directamente?
Sí _____ Ningún _____

¿Usted concede el permiso de ser audiotaped?
Sí _____ Ningún _____

Convengo los términos
De la Fecha Del ___________ Del Respondedor _______________

Para más información sobre las regulaciones para la protección de la investigación humana los temas satisfacen el contacto:
Vice presidente para la investigación
109 Westcott Building
Florida State University,
Tallahassee, FL 32306-1330
Telephone: (850) 644-9694
Fax: (850) 645-0108
APPENDIX C

PROTOCOL FOR INTERVIEW

Actual Interview Protocol:

- Explain to the participant that this interview will take approximately an hour and questions will focus on their culture, brand awareness, and socialization into sport.

- Turn the audio tape on and state the date and person being interviewed.

- Remind the participant that you are using an audio tape to record the conversation and that at any time they want to stop or turn the tape recorder off they can.

- The following questions will be used as a guide to help answer research questions. Some questions will be skipped depending on data already collected in response to other questions. Some questions may also be added if during the interview the researcher has a burning question that relates to a topic in order narrow down exactly may have caused or promoted a behavior.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Generation</th>
<th>2nd Generation</th>
<th>3rd Generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SUBCULTURE</strong></td>
<td><strong>SUBCULTURE</strong></td>
<td><strong>SUBCULTURE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Please tell me a little bit about yourself and your history?</td>
<td>Please tell me a little bit about yourself and your history?</td>
<td>Please tell me a little bit about yourself and your history?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What do you remember about your childhood?</td>
<td>What do you remember about your childhood?</td>
<td>What do you remember about your childhood?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tell me what you remember about moving to the United States.</td>
<td>What do you remember about your neighborhood growing up?</td>
<td>What do you remember about your neighborhood growing up?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why did your family come to the U.S.?</td>
<td>Why do you think your family chose to live there?</td>
<td>Why do you think your family chose to live there?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where did you first live when you came to the United States?</td>
<td>What was the ethnic make-up of the community?</td>
<td>What was the ethnic make-up of the community?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Why did you/your family choose that location?</td>
<td>Since childhood, have you moved from the community?</td>
<td>Did you go to college?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ If they say similar people or had family/friends (Hofstede, 1996)</td>
<td>Why or why not?</td>
<td>➢ If Yes:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Do you still associate with that family/those friends today?</td>
<td>Did you go to college?</td>
<td>✓ Why did you choose that college?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Why do you think the association has lasted this long?</td>
<td>➢ If Yes:</td>
<td>✓ Was there any family resistance or pressure to go there?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Similar Values?</td>
<td>✓ Was there any family resistance or pressure to go there?</td>
<td>✓ Where do you currently live?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ What are some of those values?</td>
<td>➢ If No:</td>
<td>✓ Do you have any roommates?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Similar Values?</td>
<td>✓ What were the reasons why you chose that college?</td>
<td>+ Why did you choose your roommates?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| + Similar Values? | + Similar Values?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What did you do when you got together?</td>
<td>chose not to go to college?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If they say because of jobs, non personal reasons:</td>
<td>Was there any family pressure to stay close to home?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How important is family and being with the family to you?</td>
<td>What neighborhood do you currently live in?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why do you feel that way?</td>
<td>Why did you/your family choose to live there?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What do you consider your culture to be?</td>
<td>If they say similar people or had family/friends (Hofstede, 1996)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How important is your cultural background to you?</td>
<td>Do you still associate with that family today?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How has your culture influenced your life?</td>
<td>Why do you think the association has lasted this long?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How important was/is it that your culture was passed to your children?</td>
<td>Similar Values?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If No:</td>
<td>What are some of those values?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What did you do when you get together or go out?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If No:</td>
<td>How important is family and being with the family to you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Why or why not?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why do you think the association has lasted this long?</td>
<td>What do you consider your culture to be?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How has your culture or upbringing influenced your life?</td>
<td>How important is your cultural background to you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How important was/is is that your culture is/was passed to your children?</td>
<td>How has your culture or upbringing influenced your life?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If No:</td>
<td>What were the reasons why you chose not to go to college?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Was there any family pressure to stay close to home?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Question</td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How important is your cultural background to you?</td>
<td>How important is family and being with the family to you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How has your culture or upbringing influenced your life?</td>
<td>Why do you feel that way?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How important was/is it that your culture was/is passed to your children?</td>
<td>What do you consider your culture to be?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>How important is your cultural background to you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>How has your culture or upbringing influenced your life?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>How has your culture or upbringing influenced your life?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Interview Questions - Values

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Generation</th>
<th>2nd Generation</th>
<th>3rd Generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>VALUES</strong></td>
<td><strong>VALUES</strong></td>
<td><strong>VALUES</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- What are some of the values and/or beliefs that you have been instilled with?</td>
<td>- What are some of the values and/or beliefs that you have been instilled with?</td>
<td>- What are some of the values and/or beliefs that you have been instilled with?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Have you tried to instill those values in your children?</td>
<td>- Have you tried to instill those values in your children?</td>
<td>- How important is it that you pass on those values and/or beliefs?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- How important is it that you pass on those values and/or beliefs?</td>
<td>- How important is it that you pass on those values and/or beliefs?</td>
<td>- How do you feel about your knowledge of your culture?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- How do you feel about your knowledge of your culture?</td>
<td>- How do you feel about your knowledge of your culture?</td>
<td>- Do you pride yourself in demonstrating your knowledge?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| - Do you pride yourself in demonstrating your knowledge? | - Do you pride yourself in demonstrating your knowledge? | - Is helping of your family and friends important to you?  
 +If so why? |
| - Is helping of your family and friends important to you?  
 +If so why? | - Is helping of your family and friends important to you?  
 +If so why? | - Do you still find yourself doing traditional activities?  
 +What kind? |
| - Do you still find yourself doing traditional activities?  
 +What kind? | - Do you still find yourself doing traditional activities?  
 +What kind? | - Is it important that these traditions are carried on by future generations? |
<p>| - Is it important that these traditions are carried on by future generations? | - Is it important that these traditions are carried on by future generations? | - Does it provide a sense of security? |
| | | - Have you ever questioned an action |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Does it provide a sense of security?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you ever questioned an action because you thought that they would</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be likely to upset or violate social expectations or norms?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+Can you explain the instance/situation?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do your family members have similar values?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why do you feel they have these values?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If No:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are the different values?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why do you think they differ?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If it has not be discussed, the interview will introduce friends:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do your friends have similar values or beliefs?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are those similar values or beliefs?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If No:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are the different values?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why do you think they differ?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If it has not be discussed, the interview will introduce friends:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Do your friends have similar values or beliefs?</td>
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<tr>
<td>If Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are those similar values or beliefs?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>If No:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are the different values?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why do you think they differ?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| because you thought that they would be likely to upset or violate social expectations or norms? | +Can you explain the instance/situation? 
|   - Do your family members have similar values?                        |                                                                         |
|     If Yes                                                               |                                                                         |
|       Why do you feel they have these values?                           |                                                                         |
|     If No:                                                              |                                                                         |
|       What are the different values?                                    |                                                                         |
|       Why do you think they differ?                                     |                                                                         |
| If it has not be discussed, the interview will introduce friends:      |                                                                         |
|   Do your friends have similar values or beliefs?                      |                                                                         |
|     If Yes                                                               |                                                                         |
|       What are those similar values or beliefs?                         |                                                                         |
|     If No:                                                              |                                                                         |
|       What are the different values?                                    |                                                                         |
|       Why do you think they differ?                                     |                                                                         |
| How important is it that you |                                                                         |
|   - How important is it that you |                                                                         |
- How important is it that you maintain those values or beliefs?
- Do you feel it is important to hang out with people with similar values or beliefs?
- Do your friends come from similar cultural background?
- Do you feel it is important to associate with friends with a similar background?

If behavior has not been introduced:
- How does your upbringing influence your behavior?
- Do you make decisions based on your culture?

➢ If yes:
  - Can you give an example?
  - Why do you think your culture is so influential?

➢ If No:
  - What are your decisions based on?

If behavior has not been introduced:
- How does your upbringing influence your behavior?
- Do you make decisions based on your culture?

➢ If yes:
  - Can you give an example?
  - Why do you think your culture is so influential?

➢ If No:
  - What are your decisions based on?

- Do you feel it is important to hang out with people with similar values or beliefs?
- Do your friends come from similar cultural background?
- Do you feel it is important to associate with friends with a similar background?

If behavior has not been introduced:
- How does your upbringing influence your behavior?
- Do you make decisions based on your culture?

➢ If yes:
  - Can you give an example?
  - Why do you think your culture is so influential?

➢ If No:
  - What are your decisions based on?
## Interview Questions – Sport Connection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; Generation</th>
<th>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; Generation</th>
<th>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; Generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SPORT CONNECTION (James, 1997)</strong></td>
<td><strong>SPORT CONNECTION (James, 1997)</strong></td>
<td><strong>SPORT CONNECTION (James, 1997)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- When I say sport, what is the first thing you think of?</td>
<td>- When I say sport, what is the first thing you think of?</td>
<td>- When I say sport, what is the first thing you think of?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- What beliefs do you hold about sport?</td>
<td>- What beliefs do you hold about sport?</td>
<td>- What beliefs do you hold about sport?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Do you see any value in sport?</td>
<td>- Do you see any value in sport?</td>
<td>- Do you see any value in sport?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- If so, what value?</td>
<td>- If so, what value?</td>
<td>- If so, what value?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- If not, what are your experiences with sport?</td>
<td>- If not, what are your experiences with sport?</td>
<td>- If not, what are your experiences with sport?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*If a particular sport is not identified, ask the global question:*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; Generation</th>
<th>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; Generation</th>
<th>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; Generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Do you have a favorite sport?</td>
<td>- Do you have a favorite sport?</td>
<td>- Do you have a favorite sport?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- What is your favorite sport and why?</td>
<td>- What is your favorite sport and why?</td>
<td>- What is your favorite sport and why?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Are there other sports that you like?</td>
<td>- Are there other sports that you like?</td>
<td>- Are there other sports that you like?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Do you have a favorite team and why?</td>
<td>- Do you have a favorite team and why?</td>
<td>- Do you have a favorite team and why?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Do you have a favorite player and why?</td>
<td>- Do you have a favorite player and why?</td>
<td>- Do you have a favorite player and why?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*If yes:*

- Do you watch (sport, team, player) on TV?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV?</th>
<th>TV?</th>
<th>TV?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How often</td>
<td>How often</td>
<td>How often</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do others watch with you?</td>
<td>Do others watch with you?</td>
<td>Do others watch with you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What t.v. station do you watch the games on?</td>
<td>What t.v. station do you watch the games on?</td>
<td>What t.v. station do you watch the games on?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you go and see your favorite (sport, team, player)</td>
<td>Do you go and see your favorite (sport, team, player)</td>
<td>Do you go and see your favorite (sport, team, player)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How often?</td>
<td>How often?</td>
<td>How often?</td>
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<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does anyone go with you</td>
<td>Does anyone go with you</td>
<td>Does anyone go with you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How do you find out about the games?</td>
<td>How do you find out about the games?</td>
<td>How do you find out about the games?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you talk to others about (sport, team, player)</td>
<td>Do you talk to others about (sport, team, player)</td>
<td>Do you talk to others about (sport, team, player)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Who?</td>
<td>Who?</td>
<td>Who?</td>
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<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>How often?</td>
<td>How often?</td>
<td>How often?</td>
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<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you read about (sport, team, player)</td>
<td>Do you read about (sport, team, player)</td>
<td>Do you read about (sport, team, player)</td>
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<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Where?</td>
<td>Where?</td>
<td>Where?</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How often?</td>
<td>How often?</td>
<td>How often?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you ever visited the team</td>
<td>Have you ever visited the team</td>
<td>Have you ever visited the team</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Do you talk to others about (sport, team, player) | + Who? | + How often? |
- Do you read about (sport, team, player) | + Where? | + How often? |
- Have you ever visited the team website? |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>website? (+How often?)</th>
<th>website? (+How often?)</th>
<th>website? (+How often?)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Do you find that your life is organized around a particular sport season or sport team? (Watching games, making plans around game times, wearing special clothes on game days etc.)</td>
<td>- Do you find that your life is organized around a particular sport season or sport team? (Watching games, making plans around game times, wearing special clothes on game days etc.)</td>
<td>- Do you find that your life is organized around a particular sport season or sport team? (Watching games, making plans around game times, wearing special clothes on game days etc.)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>- If yes</td>
<td>- If yes</td>
<td>- If yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Do you think that your team says a lot of what type of person you?</td>
<td>- Do you think that your team says a lot of what type of person you?</td>
<td>- Do you think that your team says a lot of what type of person you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Do you feel like you are able to show your true self by supporting the sport or team?</td>
<td>- Do you feel like you are able to show your true self by supporting the sport or team?</td>
<td>- Do you feel like you are able to show your true self by supporting the sport or team?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Does your support affect how others think and feel about you?</td>
<td>- Does your support affect how others think and feel about you?</td>
<td>- Does your support affect how others think and feel about you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- If no to favorite sport:</td>
<td>- If no to favorite sport:</td>
<td>- If no to favorite sport:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Do you know of any sport teams and/or players?</td>
<td>- Do you know of any sport teams and/or players?</td>
<td>- Do you know of any sport teams and/or players?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ If yes, which ones</td>
<td>+ If yes, which ones</td>
<td>+ If yes, which ones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ How did you first learn about this team and or player?</td>
<td>+ How did you first learn about this team and or player?</td>
<td>+ How did you first learn about this team and or player?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ What type of advertisements</td>
<td>+ What type of advertisements</td>
<td>+ What type of advertisements</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>to see for sport teams?</td>
<td>advertisements to see for sport teams?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Do you pay attention to advertisements?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Do you pay attention to advertisements?</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Interview Questions – Sport Socialization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; Generation</th>
<th>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; Generation</th>
<th>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; Generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SPORT SOCIALIZATION</strong> (James, 2001)</td>
<td><strong>SPORT SOCIALIZATION</strong> (James, 2001)</td>
<td><strong>SPORT SOCIALIZATION</strong> (James, 2001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– Do family members like the same (sport, team, player)</td>
<td>– Do family members like the same (sport, team, player)</td>
<td>– Do family members like the same (sport, team, player)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– Do your friends like the same (sport, team, player)</td>
<td>– Do your friends like the same (sport, team, player)</td>
<td>– Do your friends like the same (sport, team, player)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– Do you like (sport, team, player) because your family likes (sport, team, player)?</td>
<td>– Do you like (sport, team, player) because your family likes (sport, team, player)?</td>
<td>– Do you like (sport, team, player) because your family likes (sport, team, player)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– Would you like (sport, team, player) even if your family didn’t like (sport, team, player)?</td>
<td>– Would you like (sport, team, player) even if your family didn’t like (sport, team, player)?</td>
<td>– Would you like (sport, team, player) even if your family didn’t like (sport, team, player)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– Do you like (sport, team, player) because your friends like (sport, team, player)?</td>
<td>– Do you like (sport, team, player) because your friends like (sport, team, player)?</td>
<td>– Do you like (sport, team, player) because your friends like (sport, team, player)?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| – Does your culture influence which (sport, team, player) you follow?  
  + How? | – Does your culture influence which (sport, team, player) you follow?  
  + How? | – Does your culture influence which (sport, team, player) you follow?  
  + How? |
|  | + How? | + How? | + How? |

**How?**
## Interview Questions - Acculturation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; Generation</th>
<th>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; Generation</th>
<th>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; Generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACCULTURATION (Unger, Gallaher, Shakib, Olson, Palmer and Johnson, 2002)</td>
<td>ACCULTURATION (Unger, Gallaher, Shakib, Olson, Palmer and Johnson, 2002)</td>
<td>ACCULTURATION (Unger, Gallaher, Shakib, Olson, Palmer and Johnson, 2002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>− I am most comfortable being with people from</td>
<td>− I am most comfortable being with people from</td>
<td>− I am most comfortable being with people from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>− My best friends are from . . .</td>
<td>− My best friends are from . . .</td>
<td>− My best friends are from . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>− The people I fit in with best are from . . .</td>
<td>− The people I fit in with best are from . . .</td>
<td>− The people I fit in with best are from . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>− You prefer going to social gathering sat which the people are?</td>
<td>− You prefer going to social gathering sat which the people are?</td>
<td>− You prefer going to social gathering sat which the people are?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>− The persons you visit or who visit you are?</td>
<td>− The persons you visit or who visit you are?</td>
<td>− The persons you visit or who visit you are?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>− If you could choose your children’s friends, you would want them to be</td>
<td>− If you could choose your children’s friends, you would want them to be</td>
<td>− If you could choose your children’s friends, you would want them to be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>− Your husband or wife is from . . .</td>
<td>− Your husband or wife is from . . .</td>
<td>− Your husband or wife is from . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>− My favorite music is from . . .</td>
<td>− My favorite music is from . . .</td>
<td>− My favorite music is from . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>− My favorite TV shows are from . . .</td>
<td>− My favorite TV shows are from . . .</td>
<td>− My favorite TV shows are from . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>− The holidays I celebrate are from . . .</td>
<td>− The holidays I celebrate are from . . .</td>
<td>− The holidays I celebrate are from . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Answer</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The food I eat at home is from . . .</td>
<td>Marin, Sabogal et al., 1987</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The way I do things and the way I think about things are from</td>
<td>(Marin, Sabogal et al., 1987)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In general, what language do you read and speak?</td>
<td>In general, what language do you read and speak?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What was the language you used as a child?</td>
<td>What was the language you used as a child?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What language(s) do you usually speak at home?</td>
<td>What language(s) do you usually speak at home?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In which language(s) do you usually think?</td>
<td>In which language(s) do you usually think?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What language do you usually speak with your friends?</td>
<td>What language do you usually speak with your friends?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In what language(s) are the T.V. programs you usually watch?</td>
<td>In what language(s) are the T.V. programs you usually watch?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In what language(s) are the radio program you usually listen to?</td>
<td>In what language(s) are the radio program you usually listen to?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In what language(s) are the movies, T.V. and radio programs you prefer</td>
<td>In what language(s) are the movies, T.V. and radio programs you prefer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
REFERENCES


BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Name: Haylee Uecker Mercado

Place of Birth: Langdon, North Dakota

Date of Birth: January 24, 1977

Education: Langdon High School, 1995
Langdon, North Dakota

Bachelor of Science – Elementary Education/Coaching, 2000
Minnesota State University Moorhead
Moorhead, Minnesota

Master of Science – Sport Management, 2003
Old Dominion University
Norfolk, Virginia

PhD – Sport Management, 2008
The Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Personal: Haylee is married to James Mercado II of Dumfries, Virginia.
They were married on March 17, 2007 in Las Vegas, Nevada.
They are currently expecting their first child in January of 2009.

Employment: Haylee is currently employed as an Assistant Professor of Sport
and Entertainment Management at the University of South
Carolina.

Research Focus: Haylee has focused her research efforts in the area of marketing
but more specifically in the areas of cultural and sub cultural
marketing to the United States Hispanic population.

Teaching Focus: Haylee’s teaching focuses on Public Assembly Facilities and Sport
and Entertainment Event Management. While at Florida State,
Haylee taught Facility and Event Management, Diversity in Sport,
Coaching Basketball, and Sport Sponsorship.