

INTERGENERATIONAL FAMILY DYNAMICS AND LEISURE AMONG SECOND-
GENERATION MEXICAN-AMERICAN YOUTH

BY

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THESIS

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ABSTRACT

The Latino population in the U.S. is growing, and about one-third of Latinos are younger than 18. Research on Latino youth's leisure is underdeveloped, with the existing studies focusing primarily on the development of their identity and a sense of belonging. The goal of the study was to examine leisure activities among second-generation Mexican-American youth ages 11-15 that take place within and outside of the low-income communities in which they reside. Specifically, the study explored 1) how residence in low-income communities conditions leisure activities among Mexican-American youth and the effects of parental negotiation of neighborhood constraints on children's leisure participation, and (2) the involvement in leisure among Mexican-American youth outside of their neighborhoods of residence. The focus of the study was primarily on the passive leisure that takes place within the confines of the low-income neighborhoods and the active leisure participation in parks, schools, and sports complexes outside of the children's neighborhoods of residence. The study was guided by the tenets of family systems theory. Semi-structured individual interviews were conducted with four Mexican-American families (mother, father, and child) and two single-mother families (mother and child) in California. The findings revealed that the most important factors that influenced children's leisure participation in their communities were safety and space limitations. These features led to parents' imposing restrictions on their children's leisure and adopting coping and negotiation strategies which led to children engaging mostly in passive forms of leisure. Moreover, family circumstances such as lack of time, concerns about driving due to undocumented status, and culturally-based preference for children to remain in close proximity

to the house led to children spending most of their free time on mainstream American, passive activities (watching TV, playing videogames, hanging out) in the confines of their homes. Children were engaged in physical activity (e.g., soccer, American football, rugby) mainly in parks, as part of the Latino leagues, and through their school programs. Children's motivations for involvement in active leisure included wanting to have fun, socialization / spending time with friends, to relieve boredom, and to become professional or famous athletes. Parents' motivations for enrolling their children in active leisure included wanting to keep them healthy, away from harm, and expose them to opportunities for advancement (i.e., getting recruited to professional leagues, college scholarships). Parents faced a number of constraints that affected their ability to facilitate youth's active leisure. Some of the constraints included the legality of status and related traveling restrictions, affordability / financial issues, tiredness, and lack of information related to the language barrier. The findings of the study are discussed in the context of the literature on youth and leisure and family leisure. Moreover, the effects of cultural factors, immigration status, and economic vulnerability on leisure behavior among the interviewed second-generation Mexican-American youth are explicated.

Dedication

I dedicate this project, first and foremost, to God who is my refuge, my strength, my light, and my source of knowledge and understanding. He has been the source of my strength throughout this program and on His wings only have I soared.

I also dedicate this work to my family who has always encouraged me to follow my dreams. Mom, Dad, Claudia, Jessica, Anahi, and Roger: I love you all! Thank you for your unconditional love and support!

Mami: ¿Te acuerdas cuando estaba en el sexto grado y te dije que quería ir a la Universidad y tú me contestaste que si yo me lo proponía lo podía lograr? No sé si alguna vez te lo he dicho, pero ese momento significo mucho para mí porque en ese momento nadie más creía en mí más que tú. Gracias por nunca quitarme ese sueño y por nunca dudar en mis capacidades. Te agradezco todos los sacrificios que has hecho por mí y por toda la familia. También te agradezco por siempre estar allí para darme consejos y todo tu amor incondicional. ¡Te amo mami! ¡Eres lo más preciado que tengo en esta vida y por eso te dedico este logro!

Liza Berdychevsky, thank you so much for your contributions to this project! I truly do appreciate your time and support. Your contributions were invaluable to this project. Thanks!

Last, but certainly not least, I want to dedicate this work to my advisor Dr. Monika Stodolska, who dedicated so much time and effort to helping me finish this project. Monika, thank you so much for not only helping me finish this project, but also believing in me. I also want to thank you for being there for me whenever I needed it, for allowing me to speak my mind, and for helping me grow as a student. You are truly someone special to me Monika and I strongly believe that you were God sent. Thanks you for everything!

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The existing research on recreation participation among Mexican-Americans has focused primarily on first-generation adults with little research examining recreation behavior among second-generation youth (Acevedo, 2010; Chavez, 1991; Stodolska & Santos, 2006; Stodolska, Shinew, & Li, 2010). Studies in the field of youth leisure have shown that there are many factors that can influence their leisure behaviors, including families, peers, school systems, broader political and social discourses, and access to resources (Witt & Caldwell, 2018). Involvement in particular leisure activities also can vary among ethnic and racial minority youth (Felman & Matjasko, 2005). For example, “Latino students are more involved with activities that focus on peers and friendships whereas Asian American students participate more in extracurricular activities that involve teachers” (Peguerro, 2011, p. 19). However, research on racial/ethnic group differences in leisure participation among minority youth is scarce, its findings inconclusive, and minority groups themselves are highly heterogeneous, not only in terms of the socio-economic status, but also their place of residence, and generational status.

Existing research shows that Latino families, and youth in particular, face many challenges, including language-related difficulties (Hahm, Lahiff, Barreto, Shin, & Chen, 2008), poverty (Roosa, Morgan-Lopez, Cree, & Specter, 2002), and the decline of cultural values (Smokowski, Rose, & Bacallao, 2008). Research on immigrant, and especially Latino youth and leisure is underdeveloped, with the existing studies focusing primarily on their identity negotiations and development of a sense of belonging (Spaaij, 2015; Stodolska & Yi, 2003). We know even less about the leisure opportunities among *second-generation* youth who were born in

the U.S. and whose leisure lives have been shaped by the dual influences of their ethnic communities and “mainstream” American environment.

Purpose and Objectives of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine leisure activities among the second-generation Mexican-American youth ages 11-15 that take place within and outside of the low-income communities in which they reside. The focus was primarily on the passive leisure that takes place within the confines of the low-income neighborhoods and the active leisure participation in parks, schools, and sports complexes outside of their neighborhoods of residence. Throughout the analysis, special attention was paid to differences and similarities in the views of youth of different gender, mothers’ and fathers’, and children and parents. The study also explored how the intergenerational family dynamics and parent-children interactions shape leisure engagements among the second-generation youth.

Although there are many factors that can influence their leisure behaviors, for the purpose of this study, I decided to focus on the family unit. I examined the influence that first-generation Mexican-American parents have on the leisure activities of their second-generation middle-school-aged children. I chose to examine the parental influence on youth because parents play a central role in the life of Mexican-American children and adolescents. Literature shows that youth born in the U.S. are influenced by the cultural values and practices of their parents, which can evolve with their changing acculturation levels (Juang & Umaña-Taylor, 2012; Perez & Cruess, 2011; Portes & Rambaut, 1996; Telzer, 2011). The family is an essential part of a Mexican-American’s youth life, and familism or *familismo* is a cultural value that is considered to be central to Mexican culture (Villarreal, Blozis, & Widaman, 2005). Familismo manifests

itself in ways that are likely to affect and influence family functioning, how parents raise their children, and how they condition their leisure behaviors.

Additionally, immigrant parents are unique in that they tend to retain traditional parenting practices from their country of origin while being exposed to different, often more permissive, parenting styles of the American population (Muruthi, Bermúdez, Bush, McCoy, & Stinson, 2016). Thus, many immigrant parents have to adapt or change their parenting approach to conform to U.S. norms (Muruthi et al., 2016). The U.S. mainstream population values assertiveness, autonomy, and independence; therefore, one of the common fears among Mexican immigrant parents is that their children would lose the value of respecting their elderly and adapt more common American norms (Reese, 2002). For immigrant families in the United States, transmission of important values and beliefs can be a particularly challenging as their children often encounter contradictory norms in the larger American “mainstream” society (Tsai, Telzer, Gonzales, & Fuligni, 2015). Leisure may be one of the sites where the transmission of cultural values is endeavored and sometimes contested (Tirone & Goodbery, 2011).

This study focused on youth residing in low-income communities in Southern California. The existing research has shown that the socio-economic status can have an important influence on the leisure resources available to children as well as on the parental practices, socialization goals, and patterns (Harrington, 2015; Lareau, 2000, 2002, 2003; Plantin, 2007). Moreover, studies have shown that characteristics of the neighborhoods where children reside, such as accessibility of parks and playgrounds and crime rates, affect the types of leisure children can engage in, including their involvement in outdoor recreation and physical activity (Stodolska, Shinew, Acevedo, & Roman, 2013).

The two major objectives of this study were (1) to examine how residence in low-income communities conditions leisure activities among Mexican-American youth and the effects of parental negotiation of neighborhood constraints on children's leisure participation and (2) to examine the involvement in active leisure among Mexican-American youth outside of their neighborhoods of residence.

The Study Population and the Setting

This study was conducted in Southern California in the summer of 2016 and focused on second-generation Mexican-American middle school youth (ages 11-15 years old). In 2015, 17.9 million children in the U.S. under the age of 18 had at least one immigrant parent (Zong & Batalova, 2017). The majority (88%) of them were second-generation immigrants. According to the U.S. Census (2016), Latinos make up 17.6% of the U.S. population (56.6 million), and their share is expected to grow to 28.6% (119 million) by the year 2060. Furthermore, about one-third of the nation's Latinos are younger than 18 (Krogstad, 2017; Patten, 2016). The majority of the Latino population is comprised of people of Mexican origin who constitute 63.4% of all Latinos in the U.S. With 15 million Latinos living in California, this state accounts for more than a quarter (27%) of the nation's Latino population (Stepler & Lopez, 2016). California's Latino population is anticipated to increase from 39% in 2016 to 46% in 2060, while the non-Hispanic White population is predicted to decrease from 38% to 31% (State of California, 2017).

With the changing demographics of the United States, especially in the state of California, it is critical that recreation professionals understand culture, behaviors, and perceptions of second-generation Latino youth. Understanding the needs of Latino youth will help develop successful and effective strategies of recreation provision focusing on the Latino populations. The State of California Resource Agency (2005) reported that many immigrants had

limited experiences with outdoor recreation and public lands; therefore there is a need to develop programs, activities, and outdoor centers that would be readily available and user-friendly to the Latino community. The field of recreation, sport, and tourism must take into account that the Latino market has grown and will continue to grow considerably, which warrants special attention from our researchers and practitioners alike. The recreation field must be prepared to tackle the new changes and opportunities that will come in the near future.

For this study, data were collected from four dual-parent families (i.e., the mother, father, and child) and two single-mother families (i.e., mother and child). Four of the interviewed families lived in Vista, California, including three who lived in a mobile home community and one who lived in an apartment complex. The other two families lived in a housing complex; one of the families resided in Oceanside, California and the other one resided in San Marcos, California (see Figures 1, 2, 3, and 4).

Vista, California

Vista, California is considered to be a medium-size city (population 93,834) and is within the bounds of the San Diego County (U.S. Census, 2010a). According to 2010 Census, 48.36% of Vista residents were of Latino background (U.S. Census, 2010a). Almost 19% (18.76%) of Vista residents were youth between 5-17 years old (U.S. Census, 2010a). According to 2016 Census estimates, median household income in Vista was \$54,203, and 17% of people were below poverty level (U.S. Census, 2016b). Crime rates in Vista are quite high. For instance, the chances of becoming a victim of either violent or property crime in Vista are approximately 1 in 50 (Vista, CA Crime Rates, 2016). In addition, based on the FBI crime data, Vista has a crime rate that is higher than 45% of California's cities. In addition, Vista has one of the highest vehicle thefts in the nation (Vista, CA Crime Rates, 2016). Although the city of Vista reported

that during the first half of 2017 the property crimes declined, violent crimes increased during the same time period (City News: Vista's Crime Rates, 2017).

San Marcos, California

San Marcos is a medium-size city (population 83,781) located within the San Diego County (U.S. Census, 2010b). According to 2010 Census, 36.64% of San Marcos residents were of Latino background (U.S. Census, 2010b). Almost 20% (19.43%) of San Marcos residents were youth between 5-17 years old (U.S. Census, 2010b). According to 2016 Census estimates, median household income in San Marcos was \$63,960, and 14.8% of people were below poverty level (U.S. Census, 2016c). San Marcos housing cost is among the highest in the San Diego County. Since San Marcos is home to California State University San Marcos and Palomar College, “the overall education level of San Marcos citizens is substantially higher than the typical US community, as 32.29% of adults in San Marcos have at least a bachelor's degree” (San Marcos, CA: Demographic Data, 2010). In addition, San Marcos average crime rate is near the average crime rate of all cities in the United States with the overall crime rate of 15 per 1,000 residents (San Marcos, CA: Crime Analytics, 2016).

Oceanside, California

Oceanside, California is a moderately large coastal city (population 167,086) that is extremely ethnically diverse (U.S. Census, 2010c). Almost 20% (19.47%) of Oceanside population is foreign-born (Oceanside, CA: Demographic Data, 2010). Latinos constitute 35.88% of Oceanside population (U.S. Census, 2010c). Less than 17% (16.86%) of Oceanside residents are youth 5-17 years of age (U.S. Census, 2010d). According to 2016 Census estimates, median household income in Oceanside was \$58,949, and 13.7% of people were below poverty level (U.S. Census, 2016c). With regards to crime, Oceanside has considerably high crime rates

compared to the national average. The chances of being a victim of a violent or property crime in Oceanside are 1 in 35 residents. When compared to cities in California, Oceanside has a crime rate that is higher than 73% of the state's cities (Oceanside, CA Crime Rates, 2016).

Figure 1
Southern California

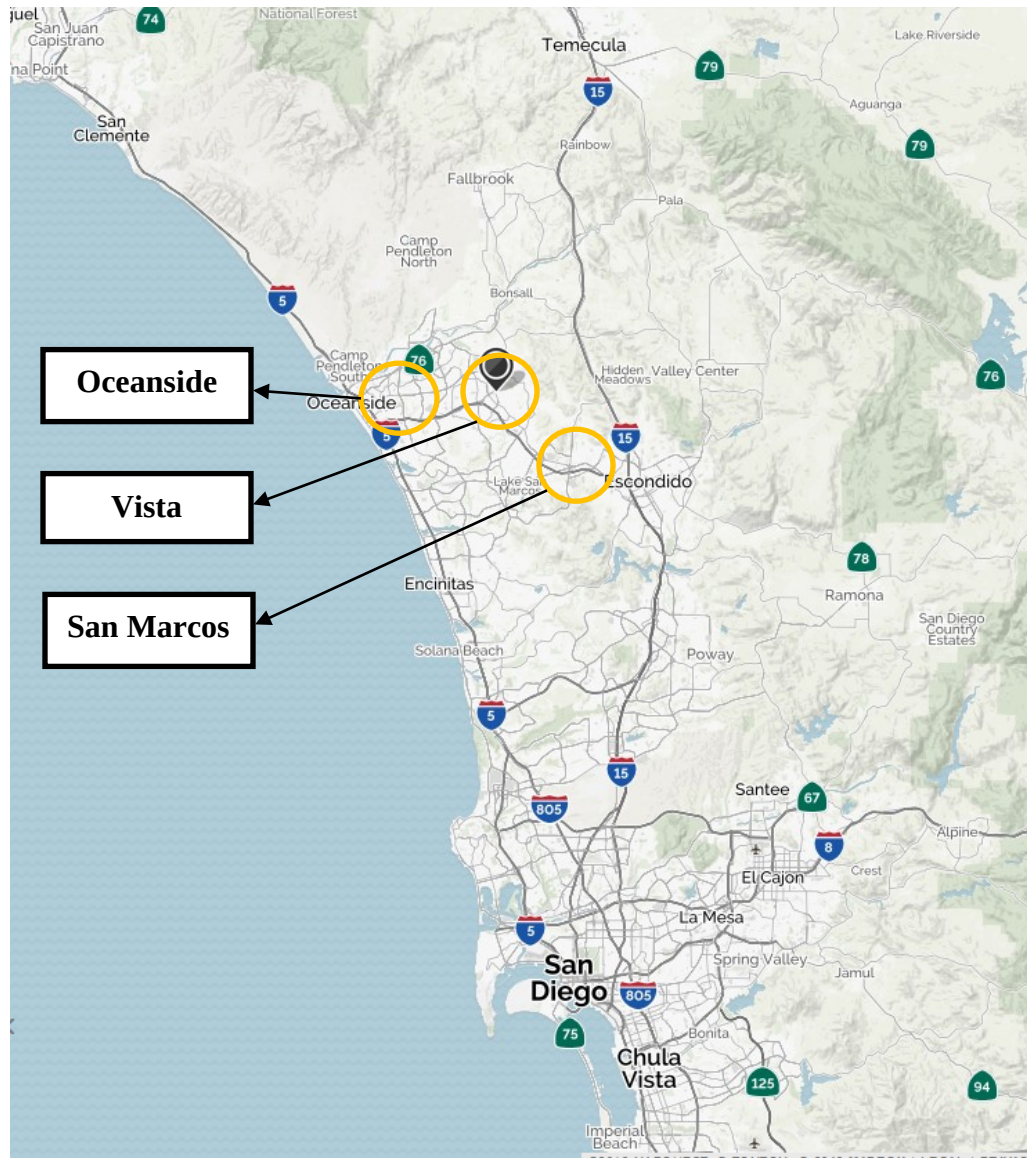


Figure 2
Vista, California

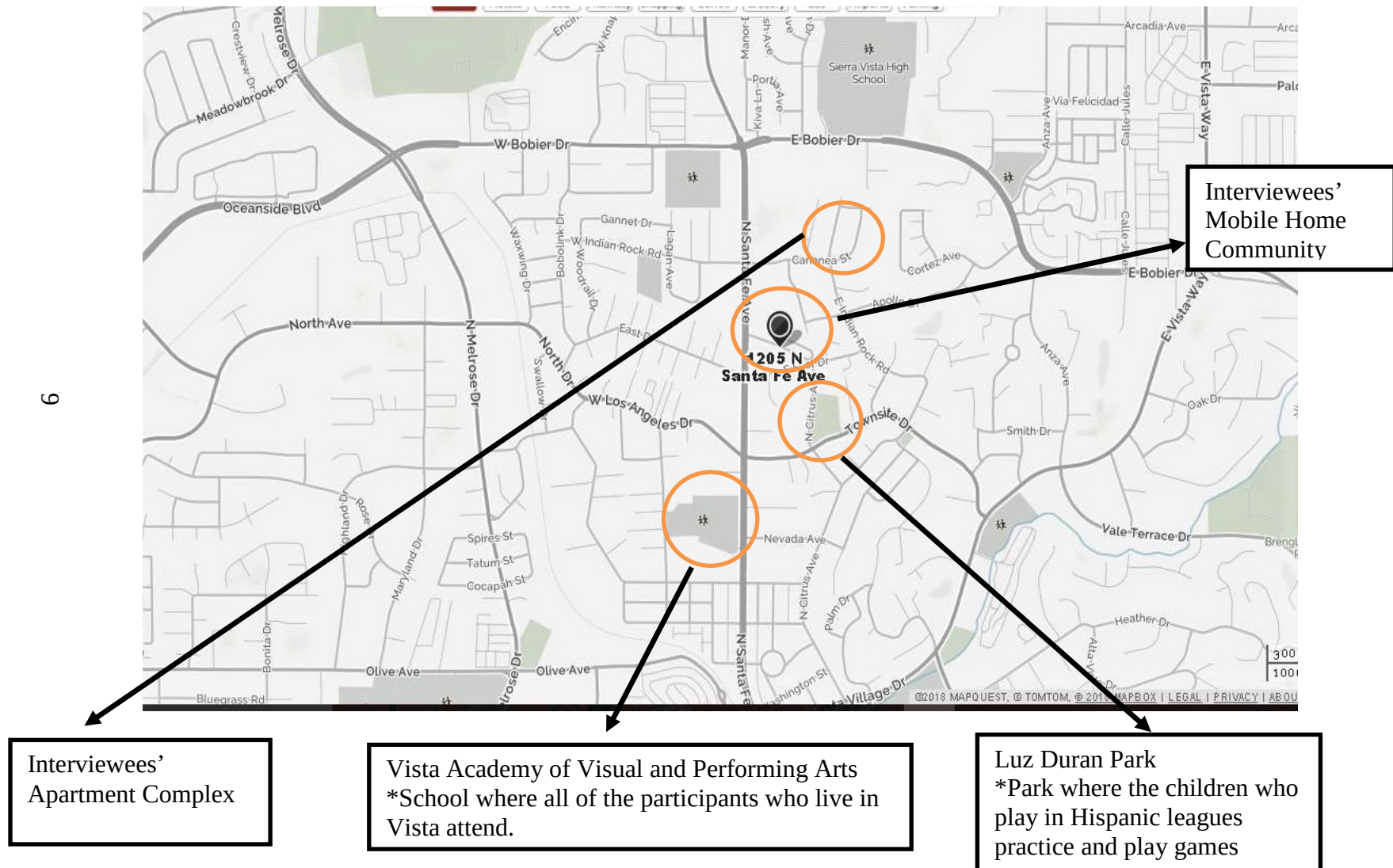
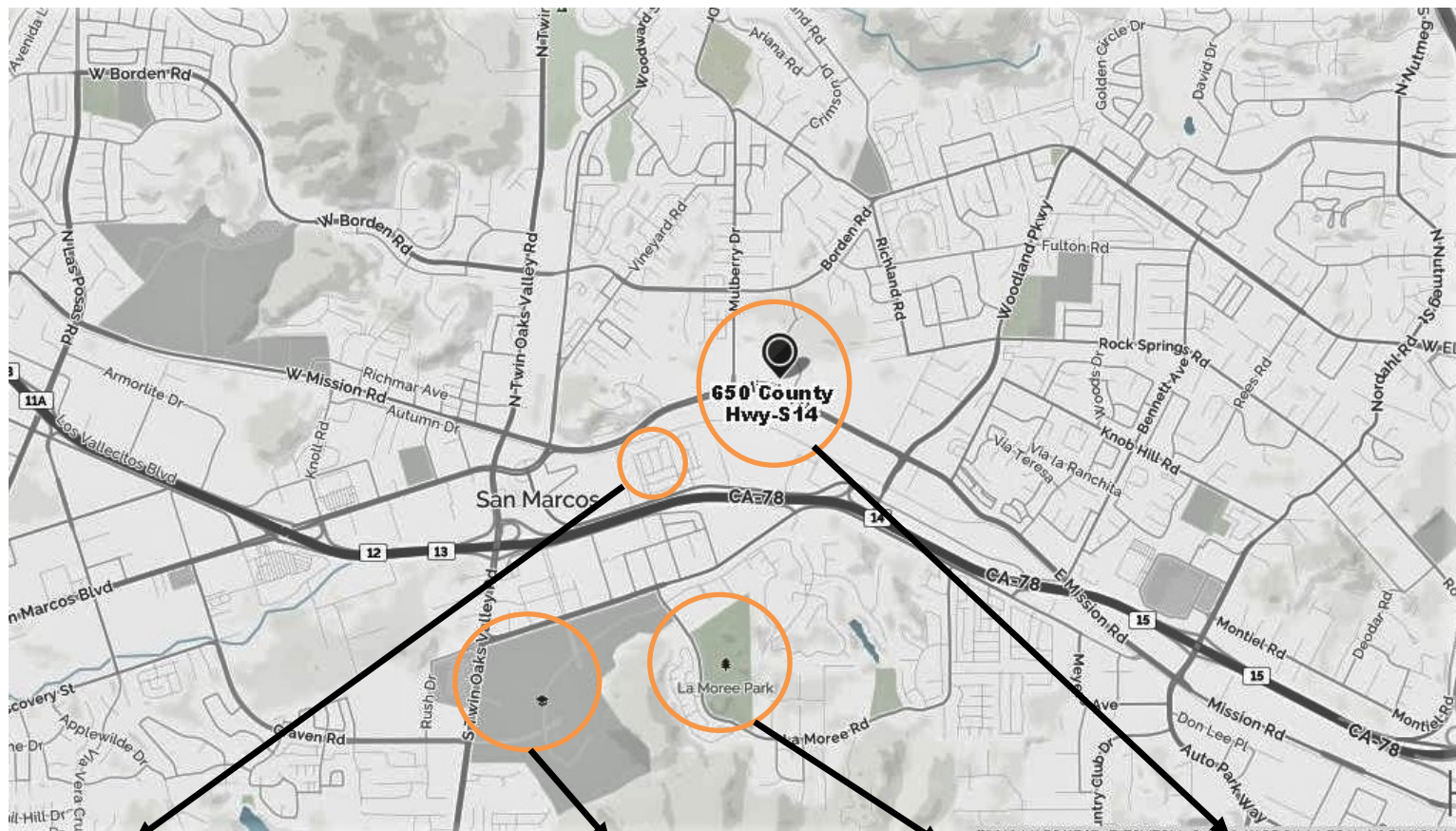


Figure 3
San Marcos, CA

10



Interviewees' Home Community
 *No exact location for confidentiality

California State University
 San Marcos

Park

San Marcos Middle School

11



Definitions

When conducting research on immigrant youth, it is important to take into consideration the differences and similarities between generations as they often have different immigration experiences (Harker, 2001), constraints, and upbringings (Buriel, 1993). According to Zhou (1999) “scholars agree that distinct cohorts have different experience in their psychological developmental stages, in their socialization processes in the family, as well as in their orientation toward their homeland” (Gonzales-Berry, Mendoza, & Plaza, 2006, p. 4).

Children of immigrants are not only constructing their identities as members of the family but as members of a broader social group. Examining Latino recreation beyond the normative Anglo-Latino comparisons can provide a more in-depth understanding of what drives decisions among members of this group (Madsen, 2011), and thus lead to providing programs of interest to the community (Madsen, 2011). Below, I will provide definitions of terms frequently used in this thesis.

First generation. According to Rumbaut (2004), “when referring to the first generation, immigration scholars in the United States commonly have in mind people born and socialized in another country who immigrate as adults” (p. 1165).

One-and-a-half generation children. One-and-a-half generation, are children who were born abroad but were raised in the United States. They include “People who migrate to a new country before or during their early teens. They bring with them characteristics from their home country but continue their assimilation and socialization in the new country. Their identity is thus a combination of new and old culture and tradition” (Rojas, 2011).

Second generation children. “In migration studies, the second generation is generally defined as the native-born children of at least one foreign-born parent” (Gonzalez-Berry et al., 2006, p. 4).

Children of immigrants. The term “children of immigrants is used by scholars to describe children (e.g., first generation, one-and-a-half generation, second-generation) of parents born outside of the United States” (Zang & Batalova, 2017).

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study will be framed by the tenets of the family systems theory (The Bowen Center for the Study of the Family, n.d.a). The family systems theory (also known as Bowen theory) was introduced by psychiatrist and researcher Dr. Murray Bowen. It is a theory of “human behavior that views the family as an emotional unit and uses systems thinking to describe the complex interactions in the unit” (The Bowen Center for the Study of the Family, n.d.b). This theory is widely popular among many family therapists and is commonly used to examine the relationships between patients and their family (Family Systems Theory, n.d.). It has also been used to assess how early interactions between family members influence how an individual interacts, either with family, friends, or romantically, as an adult (Family Systems Theory, n.d.).

Family systems theory holds the central idea that “the whole is greater than the sum of its parts” (Whitchurch & Constantine, 1993). In other words, some properties may not be understood by simply looking at the collective characteristics of each part. According to family system theory, in a family system, an individual should not be examined in isolation, but rather he/she and his/her family should be considered as an interchangeable dynamic. For example, a family member may have distinct qualities and parts of their character that may only be understood when the person is considered in relation to the family as a whole. The family systems theory allows one to comprehend the structural complexities of families, as well as the interactive patterns that influence family interactions. A key part of family systems is looking at the family and assessing circumstances and situations through that lens.

One of the tenets of the systems theory is *wholeness*, which states that human behavior cannot be understood without comprehending how it relates to the social system (Morgaine,

2001). Additionally, the theory posits that the parts of a system do not function independently, nor can the system be broken into parts. In other words, this theory suggests that when seeking to understand an individual, the whole family must be studied. When examining second-generation individuals, especially second-generation youth, it is nearly impossible to detach them from the influence of their first-generation counterparts, which in this case are their parents.

A second tenet of the family systems theory is *change and interaction*, which posits that change in one part of the system can cause a change in other parts of the system (Morgaine, 2001). Additionally, the family systems theory looks at the hierarchy of systems. The theory states that a system is composed of subsystems and they, in turn, may consist of subsystems (i.e., society → extended family → nuclear family → siblings) (Whitchurch & Constantine, 1993). Although understanding the influence of all subsystems on an individual is of importance, exploring all the subsystems is beyond the scope of my thesis. For the purpose of this research, we will focus on the nuclear family; more specifically, on the parent-child interactions.

The family systems theory has been recommended by scholars (Orthner & Mancini, 1990; Zabriskie & McCormick, 2001) “as one of the most useful windows, or frameworks, from which to examine family leisure behavior” (Aslan, 2009, p. 159) and has emerged as one of the most well-known and most commonly used paradigms for family studies in the social and behavioral sciences (Broderick, 1993). The family systems theory has also been applied by scholars in the leisure field. As Zabriskie and McCormick (2001) argued, “not only family dynamics influence each individual member of the family but also each member has an effect on the family as a system” (p. 166). Therefore, each family member’s perspectives and experiences are important to take into consideration when examining their leisure (Christenson, Zabriskie, Eggett, & Freeman, 2006). Although the family systems theory has been criticized for not being

a theory *per se*, but rather a model that does not stimulate a prediction (White & Klein, 2008), it has garnered a lot of attention not only among practitioners but also among scholars who examine family leisure. For example, Zabriskie and McCormick (2001) have used the family systems theory as a foundation to explore marital satisfaction in leisure. In another study, Zabriskie and McCormick (2003) explored family leisure and family satisfaction through the perspective of parents and early adolescents and concluded that family leisure was the single strongest predictor of satisfaction with family life. Similarly, Aslan (2009) used a family systems theoretical framework to assess the relationship between core and balance family leisure involvement and satisfaction with family life.

I chose to analyze the findings of this study through the lens of family systems theory because Mexican-American families are unique in that they hold family as a central value (Villarreal, Blozis, & Widaman, 2005) and within the Mexican culture, family members are the primary source of both instrumental and emotional support. Also, studies have shown that children of immigrants are not only constructing their identities as members of the family, but as members of a broader social group (Lopez, n.d.). Thus, to understand leisure behavior among second-generation Mexican-American youth in the context of their family dynamics, one must employ a theory that considers the hierarchy systems (e.g., society and nuclear family), which is something that the family systems theory does.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

Mexican-American Families

Latino Americans are a diverse population and come from 20 countries ranging from the Caribbean, Spain, Central, North, and South America. Latino subgroups can differ on many things, including their migration experiences, social and economic conditions, Spanish language expressions, and educational background (Cruz-Santiago & Ramirez Garcia, 2011). Although Latinos are a heterogeneous group, they share commonalities such as language (Bernal & Domenech Rodríguez, 2009), and similar values and beliefs (Garcia-Preto, 2005; Santiago-Rivera, Arredondo, & Gallardo-Cooper, 2002).

The traditional mainstream American nuclear family is typically defined as a two-parent (i.e., husband and wife) with roughly two children; additionally, the traditional mainstream household tends to promote individual expression and autonomous behavior (Falicov, 2001). On the other hand, the nuclear Latino household is rooted in a more complex system and is composed of more than immediate family members. The structure of Latino families is very complex, and the family unit is comprised of parents, grandparents, and often uncles, aunts, and cousins (Vespa, Lewis, & Kreider, 2013). Latino families tend to be based on a “collectivistic belief system” (p. 314) that also includes an extended network of families and friends. The Latino families’ extended kin can include distant relatives, close family friends (e.g., *compadres*), godparents, in-laws, and long-standing neighbors. Just the sheer size of the group can significantly change the dynamic of the family, the daily texture, and the use of family resources (Falicov, 2001).

In my thesis, I will focus on children and their parents, as they constitute the nucleus of the family unit. Henceforth, in this literature review, I will examine research that explored parent-child interactions in Mexican-American families. The extant studies in the field of Mexican-American families identified many factors that can influence parenting among Mexican families (Bermúdez, Zak-Hunter, Stinson, & Abrams, 2014; Buriel, 1993; Guilamo-Ramos, Dittus, Jaccard, Johansson, Bouris, & Acosta, 2007). The three most prevalent themes include cultural background, immigration experience, and economic vulnerability (Barnett, Mortensen, Gonzalez, & Gonzalez, 2016; White et al., 2009).

Cultural background

As Calzada (2010) wrote, “There is general consensus that culture largely determines the inferred basis of parenthood, so that parenting is defined according to cultural understanding and is grounded on the past experiences of that culture within its unique environment” (p. 167). In particular, the concepts of *familismo* (familism) and *respeto* (respect) have been shown to affect family functioning and how parents raise their children in Mexican-American families (Calzada, 2010; Halgunseth, Ispa, & Rudy, 2006).

Familism/Familismo. Familismo is a cultural value that is considered to be central to Mexican culture (Villarreal, Blozis, & Widaman, 2005). Halgunseth et al. (2006) defined *familismo* as the “desire to maintain strong family ties, the expectation that the family will be the primary source of instrumental and emotional support, the feeling of loyalty to the family, and the commitment to the family over individual needs and desires” (p. 1285). *Familismo* reflects feelings of solidarity, loyalty, and reciprocity (Calzada, 2010; Cruz-Santiago & Ramirez Garcia, 2011). According to Calzada (2010), familism is comprised of four components: “(a) belief that family comes before the individual; (b) familial interconnectedness; (c) belief in family

reciprocity; and (d) belief in familial honor” (p. 68). Calzada (2010) identified shared finances, shared living, shared daily activities, and immigration as the themes that represent *behavioral familism*, which suggests that *familismo* can be manifested in Mexican-Americans’ everyday life and across all domains.

Research showed that familism can have an impact on the well-being of a family by encouraging positive family relationships and family cohesion. It can also prompt Mexican-origin youth to abide by their families’ prosocial beliefs and guide parents to encourage behaviors among children that are consistent with their cultural values (Cardoso & Thompson, 2010; German, Gonzalez, & Dumka, 2009; Roosa et al., 2002). Additionally, some researchers hypothesized that familism values may guide parental childrearing behaviors (German et al., 2009; Roosa et al., 2002). In other words, familism values may guide how parents raise and interact with their children. Four types of childrearing practices identified by researchers in the field of psychology include indulgent parents, authoritarian parents, authoritative parents, and uninvolved parents. Studies have found that there is a link between parents’ familistic values and children’s academic performance in middle school (Dumka, Gonzalez, Bonds, & Millsap, 2009) and high school (Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1994). Also, Coltrane et al. (2004) and Romero and Ruiz (2007) established a positive correlation between parents’ familistic values and the level of involvement and monitoring of their children. Gil et al. (2000) found that Latinos who rejected familism values were more likely to engage in alcohol use than those who had more familistic attitudes, which indicated that familism values protect Latinos from engaging in substance use behaviors (Perez & Cruess, 2014).

In the 1990s, scholarship often regarded familism as a factor that obstructs the socio-economic advancement of Mexican-American families (Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1994),

especially when society emphasizes the importance of individualism, competition, and geographic mobility (Landale, Oropesa, & Bradatan, 2006). More contemporary research commonly views familistic values as a protective factor against challenging consequences of poverty (Landale & Oropesa, 2001; Zambrana et al., 1997). For instance, family networks can provide financial and emotional support in times of need.

Although familism is a cultural value that is considered to be central in Latino families, a few studies suggested that over generations, some aspects of *familismo* tend to decline (Gil & Vega, 1996; Procidano & Rogler, 1989; Rogler & Santana Cooney, 1984). For example, Rumbaut (2001) found that immigrant children who spoke predominantly English were less familistic than their native speaker and bilingual counterparts. Landale et al. (2006) found that foreign-born Mexican-Americans were more likely to be married and less likely to be in cohabiting than their American-born counterparts.

Respect/Respeto. Another core value in Mexican-American families is *respeto* or respect, which is strongly intertwined with *familismo* (Perez & Cruess, 2014). This value emphasizes the importance of obedience and respect towards figures of authority (Gonzalez-Ramos et al., 1998; Halgunseth, Ispa, & Rudy, 2006) and is essential to sustaining harmonious relationships with the extended family (Marin & Marin, 1991). Hardwood, Miller, and Irizarry (1995) described *respeto* as “knowing the level of courtesy and decorum required in a given situation in relation to other people of a particular age, sex and social status” (p. 98).

According to Knight et al. (2010), familism and respect are two important principles observed by Mexican-origin families in the United States. Values common in the U.S. include assertiveness, autonomy, and independence. Therefore, a common fear among Mexican immigrant parents is that their children would lose the value of respecting their elderly and adopt

more common American values (Reese, 2002). To Mexican-American parents, *respeto* is highly important as it emphasizes that children should not argue or interrupt an adult; it delineates the boundaries in the context of parenting and determines appropriate and inappropriate child behaviors (Calzada, 2010).

The literature on Latino parenting suggests that cultural values play a key role in shaping parenting practices, which subsequently affects the parent-child interactions; however, the findings are inconclusive (Cruz-Santiago & Ramirez Garcia, 2011). For example, Guilamo-Ramos et al. (2007) found that *familismo* and *respeto* contributed to authoritarian parenting styles, while Cauce and Domenech Rodriguez (2002) revealed that Latino cultural values encouraged supportive relationships. Additionally, Smokowski et al. (2008) suggested that family values, such as *familismo* and *respeto*, can cause conflict in parent-youth relationships when the youth adopt opposing value orientations (e.g., egalitarian values) rather than their parents' cultural values.

Immigration experience

In addition to cultural values, immigration can shape parenting practices. The increase in the number of immigrants in the U.S. has contributed to the rising academic interest in the phenomenon of intergenerational transmission and maintenance of culture among immigrant families (Tsai et al., 2015). Commonly, immigrant parents retain traditional parenting practices from their country of origin; however, when they arrive to the United States, they are also “exposed to parenting styles that are more permissive, which can be different and disconcerting” (Muruthi et al., 2016, p. 416). Thus, immigrant parents “often find themselves in situations in which they have to adapt or change their parenting approach, which can create a need to

restructure their identities, power relations, and resources in order to conform to U.S. norms” (Muruthi et al., 2016, p. 414).

According to Grusec (2011) and Parke and Buriel (2008), parents play an important role in socializing children and teaching them important beliefs and skills. For immigrant families, “transmission of important values and beliefs can be a particularly challenging socialization process because the norms and customs that they endorse at home may differ from those that their children encounter in the larger American mainstream society” (Tsai et al., 2015, pp. 1241-1242). Mexican-American parents and children are faced with having to negotiate two cultural systems, which can result in inconsistent values and behaviors (Juang & Umaña-Taylor, 2012).

Immigrant families not only have to adapt to the changing cultural values and expectations but also often struggle with what has been termed an “acculturation gap.” Studies have consistently shown that children acculturate at faster rates than their Latino parents, which can lead to intergenerational family conflicts (Castillo et al., 2008). The term acculturation gap is used to describe the parent-child discrepancies (i.e., lack of compatibility or similarity) in the levels of acculturation (Kwak, 2003). Perceived acculturation discrepancies within Latino families can result, among others, in internalized symptoms and stress among both parents and children (Ansary, Scorpio, & Catanzariti, 2013), disrupted family relationships (Dinh & Nguyen, 2006), and substance use among youth (Unger, Rita-Olson, & Baezconde-Garbanati, 2009).

Parent-child acculturation discrepancies can happen for various reasons, one of the main ones being differences in the rate of language acquisition-- children tend to learn the new language at faster rates than their parents (Portes & Rambaut, 2001). Additionally, children tend to acquire and understand the new culture more rapidly than their parents (Portes & Rambaut, 2001; Unger et al., 2009). If the culture of origin is not maintained or supported by the family or

community members, it can lead to discrepancies in acculturation between the adolescents and their parents (Portes & Rambaut, 2001; Unger et al., 2009). The acculturation discrepancies, in turn, have often been linked to disrupted family relationships. “Parent–child discrepancy in acculturation patterns might affect parent–child relationships in several ways. When children learn the U.S. culture more rapidly than their parents do, parents might become dependent on their children to help navigate and interpret the new culture” (Unger et al., 2009, p. 150). This might lead to the child undermining the parents’ authority, which can cause family problems and increase the risk of the child getting involved in problem behaviors (Portes & Rambaut, 2001; Samaniego & Gonzalez, 1999; Szapocnik et al., 1986; Unger et al., 2009). Another set of factors that affect parenting practices among Mexican families are related to economic vulnerability.

Economic vulnerability

Research on the effects of socio-economic status on family dynamics among Mexican-Americans primarily concentrated on the economic vulnerability of the large segments of this population (Cruz-Santiago & Ramirez Garcia, 2011). Studies of family dynamics among Mexican-Americans of higher socioeconomic status are limited and most of the scholarship focuses on low-income families or families living in poverty (e.g., Crowley et al., 2006; Gonzalez et al., 2002; Roosa et al., 2002). The existing studies mainly examined how poverty (and related to that educational attainment, language acquisition, and family structure) and residence in low-income neighborhoods affect family dynamics among Mexican-Americans.

Poverty. According to Gonzalez-Barrera and Lopez (2013), “although median personal earnings in the U.S. increased by about \$2,000 during the last two decades, the median household income of Mexican immigrants suffered a drop of more than \$4,500.” Gonzales-Barrera and Lopez (2013) argued that the drop of income among Mexican immigrants is

reflective of the effects of the 2008 recession that increased unemployment rates in the nation, which had a particularly detrimental effect on Mexican immigrants. Research showed that immigrants are more susceptible to poverty because they tend to obtain disproportionately lower wages and receive less access to government safety nets (Crowley, Lichter, & Qian, 2006). According to Krogstad (2014), although the poverty rates among Latinos have declined, they continue to remain high. Out of 45.3 million people living in poverty in the U.S., Latinos account for 23.5% (DeNavas-Walt & Proctor, 2014). The United States Census (2013) reported that approximately 30% of Latino children below the age of 18 live in poverty, which is higher than the reported 20% of children nationwide. Latinos comprise 39% of California's population, but approximately 31% of California's Latinos below the age of 17 live in poverty (Demographic profile of Hispanics in California, 2014).

Poverty is highly correlated with the educational status and language acquisition among the Mexican-American population. According to Gonzalez-Barrera and Lopez (2013), compared to the Latino population, Mexicans have the lowest level of education; approximately 10% of Mexicans above the age of 25 have a Bachelor's degree compared to 13% of all U.S. Latinos. Additionally, about six-in-ten Mexican immigrants do not have a high school diploma (Gonzalez-Barrera & Lopez, 2013). With regards to language acquisition, according to Gonzalez-Barrera and Lopez (2013), approximately 66% of Latinos of Mexican origin (5 years of age or older), speak proficient English, while the remaining 34% reported not speaking fluent English.

According to Lichter et al. (2005), the family structure can also play a significant role in economic vulnerability. Married couples and particularly dual-earner households, have lower probability of experiencing poverty compared to families with one income provider or single-

parent households (Avison, Ali, & Walters, 2007). Also, children tend to augment the needs of the family without generating income, which further intensifies the family's economic vulnerability (Crowley et al., 2006). Although the average Latino family is still larger than the national average (3.87 people per Latino family vs. the national average of 3.19), recent trends suggest that the fertility rates among Latina women are decreasing (from 2.86 children per woman in 2009 to 2.15 children per woman in 2013) (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2013; Population Research Institute, 2015). Thus, it is likely that economic strains related to family size among Latinos may decrease in the future. Over the last 20 years, however, we have also witnessed a significant increase in the number of single-headed Latino households (Zeiders, Roosa, & Tein, 2011). In 2012, more than one in five Latino households with children younger than 18 was headed by a single parent (18.3% of female-headed households and 2.6% of male-headed households) (Vespa et al., 2013). Avison et al. (2007) found that, compared to two-parent families, single-parent families often reported lower income and greater financial strain. Another factor that affects family dynamics in low income Mexican-American families is the residence in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

Residence in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Lack of adequate financial resources among many first-generation Mexican-Americans forces them to live in disadvantaged, unsafe inner-city neighborhoods that often lack services for children and where it is quite challenging to raise a family (Garcia, 2013; Gonzales et al., 2002; Roosa et al., 2002). Cruz-Santiago and Ramirez Garcia (2011) argued that these neighborhoods often do not have the physical and social resources needed to aid in the socialization of the youth towards their health and well-being and instead place the youth at risk of psychosocial problems (e.g., conduct disorders, substance

abuse, and academic failure). They claimed that living in environments like this makes parenting more difficult since the parents have little to no resources to assist them in raising their children.

To keep their children safe, parents often restrict their leisure activities and limit their friendships to keep away bad influences (Reese, 2001). Reese (2001) stated that the close monitoring of children in high-risk neighborhoods was not exclusive to Mexican immigrants, but was also a common practice among African American parents. Reese (2001) also argued that for immigrant parents, their home-country values influenced their protective practices. In other words, although African American and Latino parents use similar strategies to protect their children from dangerous and crime-filled neighborhoods, to Latinos, these protective strategies are similar to and in accordance with the values and strategies common in their home-country. For instance, reliance on family support typical to Latino culture translates to them taking an active role in monitoring each other's children to keep them safe.

Living in disadvantaged neighborhoods can bring about many risks, not only to parents but also to children. For example, studies have found that there is a positive correlation between disadvantaged neighborhoods and a child's negative external behavior (i.e., directing negative emotions and problem behaviors towards other people and things rather than channeling the negative emotions in healthy and productive ways) (Mason et al., 1994). Other studies have found that delinquency, conduct problems, and aggression vary systematically depending on the quality of the children's neighborhood. The studies also suggested that these problems tend to be more prevalent among neighborhoods characterized by high crime, poverty rates, and single-parent households (Greenberg et al., 1999; Roosa et al., 2005; Sampson, 1997). Roosa et al. (2005) established that a child's "stressful life events, association with deviant peers, and parent-child conflict mediated the relationship between neighborhood context and child externalizing

behavior” (p. 515). Similarly, Gonzalez et al. (1996) found that there was a correlation between disadvantaged neighborhoods and an increase of parental control among Latinos. Additionally, Shinew et al. (2003) revealed that Latino adolescents who perceived higher levels of crime participated in less outdoor leisure activities and were engaged in less physical activity than those who were less afraid of crime. In Stodolska et al.’s (2013) study, crime in the area prevented Mexican-American youth from visiting parks and places that required crossing gang boundaries and decreased their participation in outdoor recreational activities.

To conclude, there are many factors that can influence parenting styles among Mexican-American immigrant families, including cultural background (Calzada, 2010; Cardoso & Thompson, 2010; German et al., 2009; Halgunseth et al., 2006), immigrant experience (Ansary, 2013; Hahm et al., 2008; Hurtado & Vega, 2004; Juang & Umaña-Taylor, 2012), and economic vulnerability (Garcia, 2013; Gonzalez et al., 2002; Roosa et al., 2002). In my study, I will examine how the cultural background, immigration experience, and socio-economic status of the family affect the opportunities for participation in passive and active leisure afforded to the Mexican-American second-generation children.

Immigrant Youth and Leisure

The majority of the scholarship exploring immigrant youth has focused on educational (Kao, 2004; Ojeda & Flores, 2008; Schofield et al., 2012; Zsembik & Llanes, 1996) and linguistic outcomes (Allen, 2003; Reynolds & Orellana, 2009; Vedder, 2005). The existing studies on immigrant youth in the field of leisure examined primarily their constraints on leisure (Doherty & Taylor, 2007; Moore et al., 2008; Shinew, Stodolska, Roman, & Yahner, 2013), the effects of culture on leisure (Floyd & Gramann, 1993; Stodolska & Yi-Kook, 2005; Rojek, 2000), and the benefits of leisure (Doherty & Taylor, 2007; Seat, 2000; Tirone & Pedlar, 2000).

Most of this research focused on the leisure experiences among first-generation youth or did not make a distinction between their generational status (referring to them as “immigrant youth,” “Latino youth,” “South Asian youth,” or youth from specific countries such as China) (Harinen et al., 2012; Shinew et al., 2013; Yu & Berryman, 1996). Only few research studies specifically examined leisure experiences among second-generation young immigrants (Huang et al., 2015; Tirone & Goodberry, 2011).

Constraints among immigrant youth in leisure

There are many constraints that immigrant youth experience that prevent or limit them from accessing leisure activities or recreational facilities. Some of these constraints include, but are not limited to, socioeconomic status, language, discrimination, and legality of status.

Socio-economic status. Socio-economic constraints are particularly pronounced among children of immigrants. According to Kochhar and Krogstad (2017), Latino women and men, as well as foreign-born and U.S.-born Latinos have unemployment rates that are currently at or below that of the pre-2007 recession levels. Families with low income often find themselves compelled to live in cities that experience elevated levels of crime and with limited access to recreational amenities (e.g., parks, facilities) (Shinew et al., 2013). “There are important disparities in leisure-time physical activity by race/ethnicity and socioeconomic position. Non-Hispanic blacks, Hispanics, and people with lower education levels are often less physically active than whites and those with higher education” (Moore et al., 2008, p. 16). Moore et al. (2008) argued that a factor that might be causing disparities in leisure-time physical activity is the availability of recreational resources across residential environments. Their study found that Latino and Black neighborhoods were approximately seven to nine times less likely than White neighborhoods to not have facilities in the area. Additionally, Moore et al. (2008) argued that

most recreation facilities located outside of parks required a fee which was a constraint to minority users.

Due to the high rates of violence in impoverished communities and the lack of familiarity with the new environment, immigrant families often opt to monitor children carefully out of fear for their safety. For instance, Stodolska and Yi (2003) found that during the initial period after arrival, Mexican, Korean, and Polish immigrant parents limited their children's out-of-home activities and closely supervised their friendship circles. Similar findings were obtained by Stodolska et al. (2013) who examined restrictions imposed by parents of Latino youth on their outdoor recreation activities that took place in high-crime Chicago neighborhoods. Language fluency is another factor that may affect leisure opportunities among Mexican-American youth.

Language. Moving from one country to another can present new opportunities as well as new challenges for immigrants and their families. Young immigrants (i.e., first-generation and one-and-a-half generation youth) often find themselves undergoing a difficult transition period where they have to adjust to a new culture, education system, and a foreign language (Whitley, Coble, & Jewell, 2016). According to research, lack of English proficiency is a very common constraint on leisure among many immigrant newcomers (Doherty & Taylor, 2007; Whitley et al., 2016; Yu & Berryman, 1996). Lack of fluency in the English language can lead to immigrant youth feeling confused, isolated, marginalized, fearful, and insecure (Doherty & Taylor, 2007; Yu & Berryman, 1996). Immigrant children can also feel socially isolated, struggle to establish new friendships and have problems in school PE classes (Doherty & Taylor, 2007; Whitley et al., 2016).

Second-generation children are often bilingual (i.e., can understand their home country's language as well as their parents' country of origin language) (Keefe & Padilla, 1987), although

this does not mean that they are completely exempt from facing language constraints. According to Krogstad (2016), “English proficiency among U.S. Latinos has risen over the past 14 years, an increase almost entirely due to the growing share of younger Hispanics born in the U.S.”

According to a survey done in 2016, 88% of Latino children between the ages of 5 and 17 indicated that they spoke English at home or spoke English “very well,” which is up from 73% who said the same in 2000 (Krogstad, 2016). Additionally, Krogstad and Lopez (2017) found that although the growth of the Latino population has prompted an increase in the number of Latinos who speak Spanish, the share of Latinos who speak Spanish had declined from 78% in 2006 to 73% in 2015.

At the same time, data show that 41% of immigrant children in the United States live with at least one parent who is not proficient in English and 22% live in a “linguistically-isolated household” (i.e., when both parents lack the ability to communicate in English) (Woods et al., 2016). This poses a problem because although second-generation children tend to acquire English at faster rates (Krogstad, 2016), they are often affected by their parents’ lack of language proficiency. According to Woods et al. (2016), immigrant parents’ lack of English proficiency often hinders their children’s leisure opportunities. Parents who struggle with English have difficulties gaining access to information regarding recreation resources as well as acquiring information that can further their children’s participation (e.g., financial aid). Additionally, parents often have problems communicating with their children’s coaches and recreation professionals. Differences in language acquisition can make communication among immigrant youth and their parents more challenging, which can further parent-child discrepancies (Kwak, 2003).

Discrimination and stereotyping. Although discrimination is not necessarily unique to immigrant youth and is something that is prevalent among minority groups across the board, it still has a significant impact on the immigrant youth and their recreation participation. Research has shown that perceived discrimination often constrains recreation among Latinos (Sharaievska, Stodolska, Shinew, & Kim, 2010). Sharaievska et al. (2010) found that Latino youth residing in two segregated neighborhoods in Chicago experienced discrimination from police officers, Caucasians, and African Americans while visiting parks. The study revealed that the most common types of discriminations were verbal harassment, being stopped by police officers, being denied services, or receiving inferior services. As a response to discriminatory attacks, one of the tactics most often employed by Latinos was to withdraw from recreation participation (Sharaievska et al., 2010). Potochnick and Perreira's (2010) study revealed that even first-generation youth who have been in the U.S. for a period of time (i.e., with a sample average of 4.5 years) could be affected by discriminatory experiences.

Immigrant teenagers from other ethnic groups, such as Kenya, Russia, and Estonia, residing in Finland also reported that one of the main factors that prevented them from engaging in adult-guided leisure activities was the perceived discrimination from adults (Harinen et al., 2012). Doherty and Taylor (2007) and Tirone (1999) also found that discrimination from peers, teachers, school employees, and recreation facility leaders impacted Chinese, Afghani, and Croatian immigrant youth's ability to partake in and enjoy leisure activities. For example, in the interviews conducted by Tirone (1999), South Asian teenagers in Canada recalled experiencing name-calling and taunting, which they believed was due to their distinctive clothing and head covering.

According to Fleming (1994), one of the reasons that individuals develop detrimental attitudes and engage in discrimination is because of stereotypes. Fleming (1994) theorized that the process of stereotyping is composed of three stages: “(a) the identification of a category, (b) the attribution of traits to the category; and (c) the application of the traits to anyone belonging to the category” (p. 172). Stereotyping can have a negative impact on Latino immigrant youth’s academics (Fuligni, 1997; Guyll et al., 2010; Perreira et al., 2006; Perreira et al., 2010), mental health (Araujo & Borrell, 2006; Ayon, et al., 2010; Edwards & Romero, 2008; Finch & Vega, 2003), and leisure participation (Doherty & Taylor, 2007; Harinen et al., 2012; Tirone, 1999). According to Harrison and Bimper (2014) and Lee and Stodolska (2017), stereotyping can direct minorities into certain sports (e.g., Latinos into soccer, African Americans into football) and away from other activities (e.g., the perception that Asians excel more in non-contact sports than their Caucasian and African American counterparts). As Fleming (1994) found, stereotypes can affect the amount of time a coach, PE teacher, or recreation professional allows a child to participate in a leisure activity of their choice. This can discourage them from participating in certain sports and leisure activities. Another factor that affects leisure opportunities among Mexican-American youth is their and/or their parents’ legal status.

Legality of status. According to Capps et al. (2016), between 2009 and 2013, there were an estimated 5.1 million U.S. children living with at least one undocumented immigrant parent; of the 5.1 million children, the majority (79% or 4.1 million) were U.S. citizens. Although immigrant children born in the U.S. are U.S. citizens by default, the literature shows that they are not exempt from experiencing constraints typical to undocumented individuals. Leisure experiences among many Latino youth are not only framed by their own legal status but also by their family’s legality or residence (Capps et al., 2016; Castañeda & Melo, 2014).

In Burset's (2011) study, not having an identification card was one of the main constraints identified by the participants. As one of his interviewees commented,

You cannot travel, you cannot drive, you cannot open a bank account, you cannot even send money to another country, because you have to be legally authorized to do so... so, everything is totally blocked, definitively... your I.D. is like your cover letter... but one cannot even get an I.D. [identification card]. (p. 18)

Similarly, in a study by Stodolska, Shinew, and Camarillo (2017), some Latino adults were more hesitant to enroll in recreational programs and facilities because of their undocumented status. One of the participants stated, *"If they demand electronic payment they are assuming that people have social security or something that can identify them ... 'cash' makes you more invisible"* (p. 37). Additionally, Stodolska et al. (2017) found that Latinos expressed a heightened concern for deportation, which they stated was a result of the 2016 U.S. presidential election. The fear of deportation among undocumented individuals made them reluctant to engage with agencies or entities that they perceived to be associated with the government and to sign up their children for recreation programs.

Undocumented status can be a particular constraint to families who will participate in my study. According to the U.S. General Services Administration, the San Ysidro, a district of the City of San Diego, Land Port of Entry (LPOE) is the busiest border crossing point in the western hemisphere. The San Ysidro LPOE receives approximately 50,000 northbound vehicles and approximately 25,000 northbound pedestrians per day (San Ysidro LPOE Project Facts, n.d.). While data show that a large number of people cross the border on a daily basis for work and recreation, this mobility is only applicable to a certain section of the population (Castañeda & Melo, 2014). Not only are undocumented individuals unable to re-enter the country if they cross

back into Mexico, but they also cannot travel to other parts of the state without going through required inspections at one of the Customs and Border Patrol road checkpoints (Castañeda & Melo, 2014). This not only affects the parents but also other family members such as children who depend on their parents for transportation.

The constraints that affect parents can “create a ripple effect on all household members, and can result in unintended consequences for U.S. citizen children” (Castañeda & Melo, 2014, p. 1891). There is ample evidence that lack of legal status among some family members can influence the opportunities for all, including those who are considered and recognized as citizens (Castañeda & Melo, 2014; Mangual Figueroa, 2012; Menjivar & Abrego, 2009; O’Leary & Sanchez, 2011). Ultimately, fear of deportation and avoidance of institutions and entities perceived to have links to the government, lead to limitations or delay of services for children (Abrego & Menjivar, 2011; Castañeda & Melo, 2014; Yoshiwaka, 2012) or withdrawal from all programs (Castañeda & Melo, 2014; Hagan et al., 2003; Xu & Brabeck, 2012), including recreation (Stodolska et al., 2017). In addition to legal status, culture also shapes youth’s leisure participation.

Culture and leisure participation

Culture and ethnicity play a major role in the way leisure is embodied (Floyd & Gramann, 1993; Henderson, 1998; Stodolska & Yi-Kook, 2005; Walker et al., 2005). According to Floyd and Gramann (1993), “cultural variables, rather than socioeconomic factors, are more important in explaining ethnic differences in recreation participation patterns” (p. 6). Therefore, in the following sub-sections, I will explore the effects of culture on leisure preferences and participation as well as the role of leisure in culture learning and cultural preservation among young immigrants.

The effects of culture on leisure. According to research, some leisure activities (e.g., watching television, playing video games, using social media) that immigrant youth engage in do not differ much from that of their mainstream counterparts (Harinen et al., 2012; Yu & Berryman, 1996). However, that does not mean that there are no differences in leisure preferences among people from different cultures. For example, Lee et al. (2017) discovered that Korean students spent almost twice as much time playing computer games and surfing the Internet than their Chinese and Japanese counterparts. Among Latinos, soccer is considered to be the most popular sport (Alamillo, n.d.; Cronan et al., 2008; Lee, Shin, & Shinchi, 2010; Pescador, 2004).

When looking at cultural values, multiple research studies have found that familism or *familismo* is a value that is central to Mexican and other Latino cultures (Calzada, 2010; Cruz-Santiago & Ramirez Garcia, 2011; Villarreal, Blozis, & Widaman, 2005), which is manifested in Latino's leisure preferences. For example, Cronan et al. (2008) found that Latinos in the United States showed a stronger preference toward sedentary activities, such as family picnics and events, and spent more time in large, multigenerational, family-oriented groups.

Preferences for particular leisure activities are frequently passed through generations and largely shape minority youth's leisure patterns. Immigrant parents often encourage behaviors among their children that are consistent with their cultural values (Cardoso & Thompson, 2010; German, Gonzalez, & Dumka, 2009; Roosa et al., 2002). They also socialize their children at an early age to customary and acceptable leisure activities within their ethnic group. For instance, Harrison and Bimper (2014) found that children were often expected by their parents to engage in certain culturally-appropriate sports. Research also showed that Muslim female teens' religious background limited their engagement in certain activities (e.g., swimming, skating,

dancing, socializing in mixed-gender groups) that were deemed inappropriate in Islam (Carrington et al., 1987; Stodolska & Livengood, 2006; Tirone & Pedlar, 2000).

The role of leisure in cultural learning and cultural preservation. According to Tirone and Pedlar (2000), adolescents can retain their ethnic culture by maintaining fluency in their native language, listening to traditional music, eating ethnic foods, and maintaining social connections with adolescents from the same ethnic group. Immigrant youth who are involved in ethnic clubs are often exposed to sports, dances, festivals, and other activities that are popular in their parents' country of origin, which plays a significant role in the preservation of their ethnic traditions (Amara & Henry, 2010; Tirone, 1999; Tirone & Pedlar, 2000; Walseth, 2016).

The extent to which leisure may be related to cultural preservation is affected by the youth's age and gender. For instance, Tirone (1999) found that young South Asian teens in Canada were more likely than their older counterparts to give in to assimilation pressures. Tirone also revealed that young teens put more weight on the importance of fitting in with their North American peers, thus showing more self-consciousness about certain aspects of their heritage (e.g., wearing distinctive clothing and head covering). In Carrington's (1999) study, South Asian girls were more likely than boys to view the need to preserve family honor and reputation as important. Thus, they tended to limit their participation in out-of-home activities and social networks to the members of their extended family.

Benefits of leisure for immigrant youth

Recreation programs can provide fun, safe, and supportive environments for immigrant youth (Doherty & Taylor, 2007). In addition, leisure activities can promote inclusion and aid newcomers in building friendships with individuals from different ethnic backgrounds. Tirone and Pedlar (2000) conducted a study to explore the role of leisure in the daily lives of second-

generation teenagers, which later was replicated by Taylor (2001) with first-generation women in Australia (Doherty & Taylor, 2007). A key issue that Tirone and Pedlar (2000) and Taylor (2001) revealed was that both the first and second-generation groups found it challenging to strike a balance between their families' cultural expectations and the expectations of the mainstream society. Nonetheless, "achieving this balance enabled them to have what Tirone and Pedlar referred to as 'the best of both worlds' through leisure activities" (Doherty & Taylor, 2007, p. 12). In other words, children choose the most positive aspects of their culture and that of their host society to include in their leisure.

Tirone and Pedlar (2000) and Seat (2000) also found that leisure assisted in the process of integration to the mainstream society. Similarly, Doherty and Taylor (2007) and Whitley et al. (2016) revealed that sport and recreation taught immigrant youth transferable life skills, increased their feeling of competence, promoted social inclusion, and provided guidance to the mainstream culture. Leisure has also been shown to help develop social relationships (e.g., friendship networks) that are significant in the adolescents' development and settlement process (Seat, 2000; Stodolska & Yi, 2003; Tirone & Pedlar, 2000).

According to Scott (2014) and Campbell et al. (2016), leisure and sport participation can not only aid immigrant youth with the settlement into a new country, but they can also help them acquire the English language. One of Campbell et al.'s (2016) participants described his experience with learning the new language in these words:

First year I had problems with the language, but now I know basically every word. The coach yells out "Tuck your shirt in!" or "Shoot the ball!" Okay – you have to know all the words. (pp. 222-223)

Scott's (2014) and Campbell et al.'s (2016) findings are at par with Doherty and Taylor's (2007) study, which also found that recreation activities could help foster the learning of English.

Other benefits of immigrant youth's engagement in sports and physical recreation include, but are not limited to, improved health, heightened self-esteem and confidence, promoting academic achievement, development of communication and leadership skills, and increased participation in a community (Donnelly & Coakley, 2002). In general, leisure experiences can provide opportunities for immigrant youth to "learn new skills, to experiment with adult roles, and to learn what is acceptable in terms of behaviors, styles, and attitudes within a social group" (Tirone & Pedlar, 2000, p. 147).

Although the literature on immigrant youth and leisure is growing, most of it focuses on first-generation immigrants and only a few studies explored second-generation immigrant youth within the context of leisure (Huang et al., 2015; Tirone & Goodberry, 2011). Moreover, with some notable exceptions (e.g., Tirone, 1999; Tirone & Goodberry, 2011), most of the existing studies explored leisure of immigrant youth in separation from the broader contexts of their families and did not account for intergenerational dynamics that may shape their leisure behaviors. I hope that my study will fill the gaps in the existing literature by exploring the opportunities for leisure participation among second-generation immigrant youth. Examining how intergenerational family dynamics shape leisure participation among second-generation youth will allow us to obtain insights into unique factors that shape their leisure, which is essential for being able to better serve the recreational needs of this population.

Family Leisure

According to Shaw (1997), the term family leisure, which is widely used in the North American context, is defined as the "time that parents and children spend together in free time or

recreational activities” (p. 98). According to DeFrain Asay (2007), the family is a very important unit of society and is, arguably, one of the “oldest and most resilient institutions” (p. 2).

Although many consider the family to be the primary context for leisure, it was not until the end of the twentieth century that scholars began to examine family leisure within North American leisure studies (Kelly, 1997; Shaw, 1997, cited in Trussell, Jeanes, & Such, 2017, p. 386).

Most research in the family leisure studies has concentrated on individual experiences and patterns of behavior (Shaw, 1997). Although Trussell et al. (2017) stated that “families, for many people, provide the primary context for their leisure” (p. 386), research on family leisure continues to place a major emphasis on couples and marital leisure (Berg, Trost, Schneider, & Allison, 2001; Crawford, Houts, Huston, & George, 2002; Johnson, Zabriskie, & Hill, 2006) without attention to different family forms or the broader family system (Zabriskie & McCormick, 2003).

Additionally, early scholarship has focused on the benefits and positive outcomes of family leisure (Shaw, 2008), such as satisfaction and bonding (Hawks, 1991; Holman & Epperson 1989; Orthner & Mancini, 1991). As Trussell et al. (2017) stated, however, although the existing literature provided “an important beginning, it did not reflect the reality of lived experiences that included both positive and negative attributes” (p. 387). As a whole, the North American leisure scholarship has also failed to examine family in a broader and more diverse context. In particular, family leisure scholars have focused mainly on heteronormative structures (i.e., two heterosexual parents and school-aged children) (Trussell et al., 2017) and rarely accounted for families’ diverse social class, religion, geographical location or ethnic backgrounds (Harrington, 2015). Recent scholarship suggested that future research should focus on extended family members (e.g., grandparents, uncles, cousins) (Havitz, 2007; Hebblethwaite

& Norris, 2010; Hilbrecht, Shaw, Delamere, & Havitz, 2008; Trussell, Xing, & Oswald, 2015) and recognize diversity among families (Shaw, 1997).

In this review, I will focus on the major strands of research within the family leisure scholarship that are related to the objectives of this study. In particular, I will examine the existing scholarship on the positive and negative aspects of family leisure, the ways family members support and facilitate leisure participation of their children, parent and child perspectives on children's leisure participation, and social class and cultural differences in family leisure.

Positive and Negative Aspects of Family Leisure

The existing scholarship on family leisure can be divided into two main groups (Shaw & Dawson, 2003). The scholars in the *first group* mainly employed a social-psychological or a systems theory approach, focused on the positive aspects of family participation and showed that family leisure could bring about many benefits. For example, Zabriskie and McCormick (2003) found that there was a “positive relationship between family leisure involvement and satisfaction with family life” (p. 185). Additionally, the existing scholarship has consistently shown that there is a positive relationship between family leisure participation and family functioning among families in general (Hawks, 1991; Holman & Epperson, 1989; Orthner & Mancini, 1991; Zabriskie & McCormick, 2001 cited in Dodd et al., 2009) and among Latino families, specifically (Zabriskie & Freeman, 2004; Zabriskie & McCormick 2001, 2003). Much of the scholarship on the benefits of family leisure examined the concept of purposive leisure. Shaw and Dawson (2001) coined the term “purposive leisure” to explain the meaning that parents attach to shared family leisure activities. As defined by Shaw and Dawson (2001), purposive leisure is “planned, facilitated, and executed by parents in order to achieve particular short- and

long-term goals” (p. 228). Shaw and Dawson (2001) found that family leisure was greatly valued by parents and that the parents’ effort to organize family leisure was mainly for the good of their children. Additionally, Shaw and Dawson observed that family leisure seemed to be “purposive” to the achievement of short-term and long-term goals. In the short-term, parents sought to engage in family leisure to foster and enhance family cohesion and communication, to strengthen the family unit, and to build good memories together. Long-term goals included parents wanting to provide their children with opportunities that would help them foster healthy lifestyle patterns and learn values that will aid them throughout their life. Parents found that shared family leisure offered the opportunity for their children to learn morals and life lessons. Shared family leisure also taught children “through doing and seeing rather than being told what to do” by parents (Shaw & Dawson, 2001, p. 226).

The scholars in the *second group* tend to be concerned with “the ideological aspect of family life” and direct their attention towards the complex, and often negative aspects or outcomes of family activities (Shaw & Dawson, 2003). Researchers who fall into the second group frequently employed a critical theory or a feminist approach. Studies rooted in feminist perspectives (e.g., Deem, 1996; Kay, 2006; Parry & Fullagar, 2013; Shaw, 1997; Shaw, 2001a; Wearing, 1990) have expressed that there is a problem with the current dominant ideology. They argued that in North America, the term “family leisure” is commonly thought of as the time that families spend together on their free time doing enjoyable activities (Shaw & Dawson, 2003) and that this image is further reinforced through popular media (e.g., television, women’s magazines, parenting magazines) (Shaw, 1992). According to Shaw and Dawson (2003), this conceptualization of family leisure, however, is problematic as it reinforces the dominant view that family leisure is always enjoyable and beneficial for all participants. This view undermines

the possibility that there can be negative experiences and negative outcomes of all types of family interactions, including leisure (Shaw, 2001b). Daly (2001) and Kay (1996) argued that the idealization of family leisure in North America stems from the societal ideological system, which perpetrates the positive and uncritical view of the traditional family (Shaw & Dawson, 2003). For example, in a study conducted by Shaw and Dawson (2003), the researchers found that there was a gap between parental ideals and reality, which was evident in the reportings the parents made about their positive and negative experiences of family leisure. The parents in this study expressed feelings of guilt, a need to spend more quality time with children, and a mix of satisfaction and frustration. Shaw and Dawson (2003) argued that although family leisure can bring about many benefits, the idealization of family time can add pressure and further exacerbate the sense of responsibility that parents feel. Furthermore, it can reinforce “the contradictory nature (i.e., the positive-negative aspect and the idealization-experiential gap) of this form of leisure” (p. 179). Shaw (2008) also stated that family leisure had become a parental commitment organized to benefit the children and the family as a whole. Shaw (2008) stated that due to the work involved in the planning and facilitation of positive family experiences, family leisure could have contradictory meanings and outcomes.

Additionally, scholarship has found that family leisure can be experienced differently between mothers and fathers. The experiences and expectations of motherhood can vary depending on several factors, including class, race, cultural background, sexual orientation, employment status, and custodial status (Shaw, 2008). None the less, there is a dominant perspective that mothers are selfless and sacrificial (Thurer, 1995; Warner, 2005) and tend to prioritize the needs of their children above that of their own (the so-called “ethic of care”) (Henderson & Allen, 1991). It is expected that mothers focus primarily, if not exclusively on the

needs of the children rather than on their personal needs and desires. Moreover, mothers are primarily responsible for organizing family leisure which negatively affects their ability to have and enjoy free time (Shaw, 2008). In a study conducted by Shaw and Dawson (2003), the researchers found that mothers were more likely than fathers to compromise and participate in activities they did not enjoy. For example, family activities such as vacations can take a significant amount of time to plan and organize. Additionally, some family leisure activities tend to require food preparation, transportation, gathering information about activities, packing extra clothes, and rallying and organizing the children. Although fathers are usually involved in the planning of family leisure and family vacations, “it is clear that women, whether or not they are employed in market activities, consistently shoulder the major portion of this work, including the organizational work, the clean-up work and the ‘emotion work’ of facilitating positive experiences” (Shaw, 2008, p. 697). This, in turn, adds a burden to mothers who may already have existing responsibilities at home and in their workplace, which makes family leisure seem like a “chore” rather than leisure time. It is apparent through several research findings that parents take responsibility to have family leisure activities (Shaw & Dawson 2001, 2003/2004; Shaw et al., 2008; Trussell & Shaw, 2007), but there is a difference in the level of organization required of fathers and mothers, and the roles that they play.

On the other hand, in recent years, there has been a change in the ideology of fathering. There is currently a growing acceptance of “the idea of the androgynous father who is closely involved with his children’s everyday lives” (Shaw, 2008, p. 691). This change has prompted scholars to pay greater attention to the roles that men play in the lives of their children (Hawkins & Dollahite, 1996; Marsiglio, Fox, & Roy, 2005) and the consequences of certain fathering practices (Eggebeen, 2002). According to Shaw (2008), despite changes in fathering practices,

there continues to be a significant difference between the experiences of the mothers and fathers. With the exception of stay-at-home fathers, the involvement levels of fathers are far lower than those of the mothers (Fox, 2001). In addition, Parker and Wang (2013) found that although fathers' time with their children has nearly tripled between 1965 and 2011, American mothers continue to spend twice as much time with the children as compared to fathers. Data from 2011 show that on average mothers spent 13.5 hours per week compared to the 7.3 hours per week that fathers spent with their children (Parker & Wang, 2013). As Shaw (2008) stated, it is often the mother who organizes the family's leisure activities and even facilitates the fathers' involvement.

Silver (2000) found that fathers spent more "family time" (i.e., quality time) than mothers with their children partly due to the fact that most mothers used this time to take care of the children while the fathers' time was spent on leisure. Additionally, Such (2006) revealed that fathers were more likely than mothers to perceive family time as time for being with their children and having fun together. On the other hand, mothers reported being more focused on "being there" for the children and taking care of their needs rather than just having fun (Such, 2006). Zeiders, Updegraff, Umaña-Taylor, McHale, and Padilla (2016) argued that in two-parent Mexican households, fathers' values tend to have a big weight on setting the tone for the families' values and the family members' everyday activities. Zeiders et al. (2016) also found that when a father stressed the significance of family interconnectedness to the children, they were more likely to ascribe to these values.

Similar to motherhood, fatherhood can be a conflictual experience, particularly when there is a conflict between work responsibilities, expectations, and family leisure time (Lupton & Barclay, 1997). Due to the changes in the ideology of fatherhood, family leisure may be something that allows people to get a better understanding of the new culture and conduct of

fatherhood (Shaw, 2008). Coakley (2006), Kay (2007) and others (e.g., Brannen & Nilsen, 2006; Doucet, 2006; Yeung, Sandberg, & Davis-Kean, 2001) found that the involvement of fathers in children's leisure was particularly evident within the sporting context. Harrington (2006) and Such (2006) argued that within the sporting context, the father-child relationships and connections could be nurtured and enhanced. "For fathers, children's organized sport programs may also provide a context in which they can successfully avoid the dilemma of feminizing the fathering role" (Trussell & Shaw, 2012, p. 378).

Although scholars such as Marsiglio et al. (2005) found that sports tend to be the central context of fathering, there has been relatively little research conducted to examine the role of mothers in their children's sports activities (Shaw, 2008). Moreover, although fathers are less likely than mothers to experience the same levels of anxiety and worry (Thurer, 1995; Warner, 2005), some fathers have expressed that sometimes they felt too tired for family activities after work, which also made the activities seem like a chore. Overall, research showed that although leisure has often been perceived as time to relax or as restorative time that helps reduce anxiety and stress (Iwasaki & Schneider, 2003), "active involvement" in family leisure can result in parents experiencing family leisure as a continuation of work rather than a break from their paid work or their obligatory activities (Shaw, 2008). On the other hand, when the child (or children) did not want to participate in the activities, conflict arose, which in turn perpetrated a negative experience for not only the parents but the child as well.

Family Members' Support and Facilitation of Children's Leisure

Scholars have conceptualized "facilitators" in a number of different ways (Shannon, 2014). The literature on children's physical activity has described parental facilitation as "gatekeeper" support that captured the parent's passive efforts to provide access or opportunities

for the child to be active” (Welk, Wood, & Morss, 2003, p. 22-23). The literature on children’s physical activity has found that parents serve as facilitators for their children’s leisure through means of encouragement and support (Davison & Birch, 2002; Davison, Francis, & Birch, 2005). Other research has found that this facilitation can include tangible and intangible forms such as providing transportation and access to recreational facilities, paying for programs and services, and providing early exposure to various activities (Beets, Cardinal, & Alderman, 2010; Moore, Jilcott, Shores, Evenson, Brownson, & Novick, 2010; Walia & Leipert, 2012).

On the other hand, Raymore (2002) utilized the term “facilitator” to describe the parents’ positive roles in their children’s leisure participation. She stated that parents, as the facilitators, are the entities that promote and encourage the formation of leisure participation and preferences. Moreover, Raymore (2002) found that children’s leisure participation can be encouraged verbally or by the parents’ willingness to co-participate in the children’s leisure activities.

Although scholars defined “facilitators” or “facilitation” differently, research has constantly identified parents as being the most important social influence on a child’s physical activity (Sallis, Prochaska, & Taylor, 2000). Welk et al. (2003) argued that parental facilitation is a broader concept than parental involvement, which involves participation in active leisure with a child. Furthermore, Shannon (2014) argued that Raymore’s (2002) conceptualization of facilitation is more inclusive because it encompasses both tangible and intangible forms of support, as well as it acknowledges parents’ roles in shaping a child’s leisure preferences.

According to Hoefer, McKenzie, Sallis, Marshall, and Conway (2001), sports and other leisure activities often require parents to enroll the children and provide transportation. Davison, Cutting, and Birch’s (2003) research found that mothers were more likely to perform these functions than fathers. Trussell and Shaw (2012) revealed that “parenting went beyond the home

environment and became a public act that was observed by other parents” (p. 384). Parents in this study facilitated their children leisure activities because (1) they believed that enrolling their children would prepare them for the future (i.e., for their adult life and their basic skill development), (2) they believed that being involved in their children’s activities was synonymous to good parenting, and (3) they wanted to “maintain the gendered ideal” (p. 387) (i.e., responsibilities or roles expected for mothers and fathers to fulfill). Although there is extensive literature on the parents’ support and facilitation of their children’s leisure, there continues to be a gap in the literature on children’s perspectives on family leisure.

Parental and Children’s Perspectives on Family Leisure

Traditionally, leisure scholarship has focused on the adults’ perspectives on family leisure with a particular focus on the experiences of mothers. The experiences of fathers have been examined less frequently (Harrington, 2006; Kay, 2006, 2009). Although family leisure scholarship has made some advancement, most research thus far has been dominated by parental perspectives (Harrington, 2006a; Hilbrecht, Shaw, Delamere, & Havitz, 2008). While scholars have begun to explore young people’s perspectives on family leisure, there has not been a strong advocacy for further exploration of this research area (Jeanes, 2010). Mactavish and Schleien (1998) have argued that concentrating solely on adult perceptions may underestimate the real value of shared recreation for the family as a whole.

Although there is little research that compares the parents’ and children’s perspectives on family leisure (Daly, 2001), one study (Galinsky, 1999) found that parents were more likely to report that they felt they spent too little time with their children (50%) whereas their children were less likely to report that (30%). As Daly (2001) argued, “Whereas parents did retreat into their homes to be with their families, it may be that their children are more content with the

levels of family time than the parents are able to see or accept for themselves” (p. 293). On the other hand, a study conducted by Sharaievska and Stodolska (2017) on leisure and technology in families, found that children were not content with the decreased quality of interaction caused by parents’ use of social networking sites (SNS). One of the adolescent participants interviewed in this study said,

She [mother] is usually on the computer doing Facebook or something else. So, sometimes [it] doesn’t really seem like she is listening. Like last night we were talking about school and it didn’t seem like she was listening so ... Seems like ... she is on it [Facebook] pretty often and I think she could take a few moments just to listen (p. 238).

The views on the reasons for engaging in family leisure may also differ between the parents and their children. For instance, a study conducted by Zabriskie and McCormick (2003) that explored parent and child perspectives on family leisure involvement and satisfaction with family life revealed that although parents may desire to teach their children new skills and prepare them for the future through leisure, children may simply desire to attain a “stable sense of belonging and closeness through family leisure” (p. 182). Another factor to consider when analyzing family leisure is social class.

Social Class Differences in Family Leisure Patterns

One source of diversity in families is social class. Harrington (2015) argued that “social class is pivotal to understanding what matters to families and how they live” (p. 472). According to Liberatos, Link, and Kelsey (1988), there are various markers of social class (e.g., education, income, occupation, marital status, poverty status, employment and race/ethnicity). Watson and Scraton (2013) described the social class in the context of leisure research as “intersectional” rather than “additive,” meaning that gender, race, ethnicity and other sources of diversity also

can influence family life and leisure (Harrington, 2015). Although family leisure scholars have acknowledged that factors such as ethnicity, race, religion, class, and sexual identity have an effect on family life and family leisure (Bialeschki & Pearce, 1997; Rehman, 2001; Shaw & Dawson, 1998; Willming & Gibson, 2000), little research has been conducted on how diverse families practice and value family leisure (Harrington, 2015).

The research on the effects of socio-economic class on family leisure that does exist points to some important differences in family leisure styles, values and practices. For instance, Harrington (2015) found that when lower income parents talked about long-term goals, they did not reference lifelong values, but rather “framed family leisure as the way to build family bonds that are lasting into the future” (p. 481). Additionally, she found that lower-income parents were more likely than their middle-class counterparts to express that they understood their children were going to leave home someday; therefore, they felt it was important to take the time to get to know them and watch over them while they could. Moreover, Harrington (2015) found that low-income parents worried about their children’s safety when they were not monitored by themselves or other family members, and felt the need “to keep tabs on things” (p. 481). They also strove to teach their children about the dangers of mixing with the “wrong crowd” and instill in them values that would counter potential bad influences of their peers. Due to the fear for the children’s safety, low-income parents encouraged their children to engage in family leisure rather than spend time with people they did not know. The concern for safety was not raised by middle-class parents interviewed in the study. As Harrington (2015) observed, none of the parents in the middle-income families mentioned safety as a concern. Middle-income parents wanted their children to know people outside of the family and believed that socializing with other people was important.

Other studies have also elaborated on the issue of restrictions imposed by working-class parents on their children's leisure participation. For example, Stodolska et al. (2013) found that crime was a factor that prevented or limited youth from doing certain leisure activities or visiting certain locations (e.g., visiting parks or sites that entailed crossing gang boundaries). They also found that adults restricted their children's participation in activities located farther away from home, imposed curfews, and asked siblings to accompany each other while spending time outside of home.

Research has shown that purposive leisure can be particularly dependent on social class. Although purposive leisure has not been theorized "in a way that enables inquiry of how family leisure may be mediated by class and other sociocultural processes" (Harrington 2015, p. 472), research that focused on class and family life offers unique insights. Harrington (2015), for instance, conducted a study that examined purposive family leisure among Australian families from the perspective of social class. In her study, one of the most prominent family leisure practices among both lower and middle-income families was watching television. "Fathers in both groups called watching television *vegging out*, explaining they are too tired to do anything else after work" (Harrington, 2015, p. 476). According to Harrington, "watching television is a low priority but common family leisure that becomes a default option for many lower and middle-income families" (p. 477). Morgan (1996, 2011) found that although both the middle and working class families reported watching television, there were distinctive patterns of family practices depending on the social class. For example, lower income parents made bigger efforts to engage in purposive family leisure that was low-cost yet fun for the entire family. Research on social class and leisure has also shown that activities such as sports, music, and other "healthy" pastimes are less affordable to working class families (Chin & Philips, 2004). On the other hand,

“middle-class parents are able to give their children advantages mainly through mobilizing their material and cultural resources for education and purposive leisure” (Harrington, 2015, p. 475).

Lareau’s (2000, 2002, 2003) research on parenting practices in the United States also indicated that purposive leisure may be mediated by social class. Lareau found that Black and White parents had different perspectives on the nature of childhood and that the parents’ social class influenced how they positioned themselves in the lives of their children. Lareau (2002) coined the terms “concerted cultivation” and “the accomplishment of natural growth” (p. 748) to distinguish two dissimilar parenting strategies used by middle-class and working-class/poor families. She found that middle-class parents offered their children a wider array of organized leisure activities with the hopes of equipping their children with lifelong skills. On the other hand, working-class and poor families provided their children with fewer organized leisure activities; the children opted to create their own pastimes within the limits imposed by their parents. Lareau (2002) found that children of working class and poor families usually had more free time and “deeper, richer ties within their extended family” (p. 749). Moreover, Lareau (2002) concluded that there were differences in values and the “cultural logic of childrearing” (p. 748) among families of different social classes, which lead to different paths for children. Lareau’s (2002) also traced the connections between class position and family members, and examined their experiences with professionals (e.g., doctors, educators). Here, she found that the middle-class children and adults tended to have “an emerging sense of entitlement,” while children raised by working class or poor parents tended to have an “emerging sense of constraint” (p. 749), which was a consequence of working-class and poor families being more distrustful of those in authoritative positions. She concluded that not only are the advantages that children obtain from the parents important, but equally as important are the skills parents

transmit to their children “for negotiating their own life paths” (p. 749). Plantin’s (2007) work confirmed that when it comes to parenting, different classes adhere to different values and identities. In Plantin’s (2007) study conducted in Sweden, working-class fathers taught traditional values to their children, such as “to do their best... stand in line and never stick out” (p. 106). Although neither Plantin (2007) nor Lareau (2000, 2002, 2003) examined family leisure, their scholarship on parenting and class-based values allowed us to get a better understanding of “class-motivated purposive leisure” (Harrington, 2015, p. 473).

Cultural Differences in Family Leisure Patterns

Research conducted mainly outside of the field of leisure, points to some important characteristics of Latino families, rooted in their culture, that affect their leisure behavior. They are related to preferences for specific family pastimes, family rituals and traditions related to leisure, and how Latinos “display” their families.

Preferences for specific family pastimes. Calzada, Tamis-LeMonda, and Yoshikawa’s (2012) empirical work suggested that values rooted in familism may influence how Latino(a) parents structure their children’s everyday activities. The authors found that in Dominican- and Mexican-origin families, familistic values prompted mothers to emphasize shared daily activities among family members. Specifically, mothers emphasized the significance of family members spending time together, which explained their efforts to structure activities to include various members of a family. Similarly, Acevedo (2009) found that “family had a major influence on what leisure activities they [Mexican interviewees] participated in” (p. 80). Acevedo (2009) found that family gatherings (e.g., picnics, barbeques, parties) played an important role in bringing Mexican families together. One of his participants stated, “*We have a lot of picnics,*

barbeques, and parties to unite the family. These are done in any occasion. Big family parties are pretty common.” Another participant said,

I have a lot of parties during the summer. I think any birthday is an excuse for a party.

We don’t have a lot of money, so inviting people over can be cheap if everyone brings something. It is a nice way to enjoy time with others. (p. 89)

Acevedo (2009) found that festivals and celebrations were so internalized by the Mexican interviewees that they became a source of pride and sense of belonging. Zimmermann (2017) also suggested that hosting parties is a large part of Mexican life. Additionally, Zimmermann stated that it is customary in Mexican culture for the party host to make their guest feel comfortable and well-served. Similarly, Horolets, Stodolska, and Peters (2018) found that parties were so important for some Mexican immigrants that they were willing to prioritize financing them over other activities. For example, one of their participants said,

Us, Mexicans, we do large parties for the family, and we spend a lot of money, but that money we could use for something else, for travel, for example. If you spend \$5,000 on a party, you can take that money and you can go; here in the United States there are packages where you can go travel. You can go to the mountains. You can go to the beach. You can go to lots of places. But many of us who live here we are very ingrained... party, party, party, and party.

Family rituals and traditions. Family rituals and traditions tend to be very important to Latino families and, to a large extent, they shape their leisure. As has been described in the section on Mexican-American families, the concept of family among Latinos is broader than among other groups and not only includes the immediate family members, but can also include distant relatives, close family friends (e.g., *compadres*), godparents, in-laws, and long-standing

neighbors. Just the sheer size of the group can significantly change the dynamic of the family and the use of family resources (Falicov, 2001). According to Falicov (2001), “nowhere is *familismo* better reflected and reinforced than in family rituals that represent a key component of Latino collectivism” (p. 316).

Displaying families. Finch (2007) coined the concept of “displaying family” to describe the idea of “doing a family” rather than “being a family” (p. 66). Harrington (2015) claimed that: “family is enacted in various social settings where individuals ‘constitute certain actions and activities as ‘family practices’ and see themselves and can be seen by significant others as doing ‘family things’” (p. 474). Morgan (2011) later suggested that the concept of “displaying families” should be expanded to take into consideration the “overlap between class practices and family practices using the idea of displaying” (p. 63). In a study conducted by Finch (2007), the researcher found that among middle-class families, parents tended to boast about their “talented” children. Similarly, Gillies (2005) found that only middle-class parents talked about their talented children.

Overall, research has shown that parents perceive family leisure to be an important way to fortify the family (Harrington, 2005; Larson, Gillman, & Richards, 1997; Shaw, 2001b). However, “most of the research on family leisure has taken place within an urban or suburban context, and has typically focused on traditional white middle-class families” (Trussell & Shaw, 2007, p. 366). Shaw (1997) argued that there is a need to expand research on different types of families to better understand family leisure.

In my study, I will examine Mexican-American families and their leisure. This project will offer an important addition to the leisure literature as it will explore family leisure of a minority group and provide information on “ethnic” elements of their leisure. Additionally, I

hope to obtain data that will address gaps in the literature by examining low-income Latino families, which is an area in the family leisure literature that remains fairly unexplored. Additionally, in my study, I will not only examine the parents, but also the child's perspectives on leisure. Understanding children's perspectives is essential as it will allow us to develop a more "holistic understanding of various elements of family life" (Jeanes, 2010, p. 245).

CHAPTER 4: METHODS

The constructivist grounded theory was implemented in this study (Charmaz, 2001, 2006). The tradition of grounded theory started with Glaser (Glaser, 1992, 2001) and Strauss (Strauss & Corbin 1990, 1998). The grounded theory was generated to serve two key functions. The first function was to “guard against theoretical stagnation and mobility via novel theory generation” (Howard-Payne, 2015, p. 52). The second goal was to institute a methodology that would allow scholars to use the collected data as a ground for theoretical development. In other words, grounded theory is a methodology that allows researchers to develop a theory inductively, deriving it from the collected data (Howard-Payne, 2015).

The original definition of the grounded theory presents it as “a general methodology of analysis linked with data collection that uses a systematically applied set of methods to generate an inductive theory about a substantive area” (Glaser, 1992, p. 16). The difference between Glaser’s grounded theory and that of Strauss is that the Straussian grounded theory takes a more structured and linear approach to research. In other words, while there is no major difference between the key elements (e.g., theoretical sampling, comparative methods), Strauss further developed the mechanics of the coding procedures (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). While the Straussian approach was more structured and linear in nature, Glaser argued that instead of forcing structure on the data, scholars should let a theory emerge from the data (Glaser, 1992).

For this study, however, I have chosen constructivist grounded theory because it is most aligned with my epistemological approach and theoretical perspective. The epistemological stance of the constructivist grounded theory is that reality is constructed by each individual (Charmaz, 2006). The constructivist version of grounded theory “assumes the relativism of

multiple social realities, recognizes the mutual creation of knowledge by the viewer and viewed, and aims toward an interpretive understanding of subjects' meanings" (Charmaz, 2003, p. 250). In addition, a central purpose of constructivist grounded theory is to give voice to the participants (Charmaz, 2006). Hence, constructivist grounded theorists probe about the participants' definitions of the terms, perceptions, motivations, attitudes, situations, and events. This strategy allows researchers to develop a better understanding of the participants' meanings and assumptions instead of deciding what something means based on personal assumptions.

"Two original core principles of the grounded theory are to limit exposure to literature prior to beginning research and not use a conceptual or theoretical framework *a priori* to inform the research process" (Nagel, Burns, Tilley, & Aubin, 2015, p. 372). The founding fathers of the grounded theory proposed these limitations to reduce the possibility of researcher's bias during the collection and analytical process and to help diminish preconceived conceptualizations influencing the theory development (Glazer, 2002; Nagel et al., 2015). The constructivist grounded theory, on the other hand, allows scholars to utilize a theoretical framework lens to guide them through the analysis of their data (Charmaz, 2006).

Given that constructivist grounded theory was utilized in this study, the theoretical framework informing this study was the family systems theory (for information about the family systems theory, please refer to the "Theoretical Framework" chapter). The family systems theory framed the idea that a family is important to examine in unison (i.e., mother, father, and child). I opted to utilize the family systems theory because it is a broad and flexible framework. In other words, the family systems theory highlights the roles of the family but does not impose any particular structure of the concepts and relationship between them. Therefore, conceptual relevance and unobtrusive nature of the family systems theory as the theoretical framework

complement constructivist grounded theory without imposing any preconceived notions on the data analysis.

Location of the Study

During the summer of 2017, six families who reside in the San Diego County (i.e., San Marcos, Oceanside, and Vista), which is located in Southern California, were interviewed using individual semi-structured interviews. Since the focus of the study were second-generation Mexican-Americans, I decided to interview Mexican-Americans from California, which has an estimated 15 million Latinos and currently holds the number one position for the biggest Latino population in the nation (Stepler & Lopez, 2016). After asking the participants about the location most convenient for them, all participants opted to be interviewed in their homes. They were then interviewed privately and individually in the place of their choosing (e.g., backyard, living room).

Selection of Participants

The interview questions and procedures were reviewed and approved by the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign's Institutional Review Board (see Appendix A: IRB Approval Letter). Snowball, convenience, and theoretical sampling were utilized to recruit the participants. Convenience sampling is a non-probability sampling method; convenience sampling is when a researcher uses participants that are easily available or easy to reach (Convenience Sampling, n.d.). Snowball sampling is also a non-probability sampling method. It is ideal for reaching out to hidden populations or populations that are hard to reach with traditional sampling methods (e.g., random sampling) (Griffith, Morris, & Thakar, 2016). In this type of sampling, the primary source (i.e., gatekeeper, lead) recommends another primary source that refers other potential participants. Gatekeepers are official or unofficial individuals or entities who have access or

knowledge about the targeted population or targeted sites (Leedy & Ormond, 2001). Gatekeepers can be essential for aiding researchers in locating people who the researcher does not have a direct link to, a relationship with, or is dealing with a vulnerable population who might be hard to access without a proper introduction. In this study, as a point of departure, I asked gatekeepers – one of the directors of the local Educational Opportunity Program- to introduce me to a local Latino soccer coach who recommended a few potential participants. Subsequently, I employed theoretical sampling which refers to “seeking and collecting pertinent data to elaborate and refine categories in the emerging theory” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 96). In other words, I selected interviewees who could provide me with information on emerging theoretical categories I was seeking to further develop. I stopped recruiting subjects when I felt that the categories had been saturated or “when gathering fresh data no longer spark[ed], new theoretical insights” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 113).

Following proper introductions, I introduced the research project (see Appendix B: Parent Recruitment Script) and asked the potential participants about their willingness to participate in the study (see Appendix C: Parent Consent Letter). Both mothers and fathers (in two-parent families) had to agree to take part in the project in order to be included in the study. Once a preliminary agreement was obtained, I asked the participants whether or not they consented to their child participating in the study (see Appendix D: Parent Consent Letter for Child’s Participation). If the parents agreed, then I approached their child to explain the study objectives in layman’s terms (see Appendix E: Minor Recruitment Script) and ask about their willingness to participate (see Appendix F: Minor Assent Letter). If the parents did not consent to their children participating in the study, then they were disqualified from the participation. The participants were made clear that they could refuse to participate or stop at any point of the interview without

a penalty. They were offered \$20 per participant as a token of appreciation for participation in the study.

In order to be eligible to participate in the study, the children had to be born in the U.S. (i.e., second-generation), be between the ages of 11-15 years old, had to have Mexican immigrant parents (i.e., first-generation), and reside in San Diego County.

Researcher's Role – Positionality Statement

In a qualitative study, the researcher is considered the instrument of data collection (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). The data are collected through a human instrument rather than through questioners, machines, or inventories. My role as the researcher started off as emic (i.e., an insider to the culture of interest; insider perspective). Studies conducted from an emic perspective often include culturally-rich information because the researcher is often immersed or immerses themselves within the culture of interest. This allows the researcher to obtain in-depth details about certain practices, influences, and values that may otherwise be ignored by an outside perspective (Cultural Anthropology, n.d.). Later on in the process of my study (i.e., after formulating the interview questions), I moved on to a more etic approach (i.e., the perspective of an outsider looking in; outside view). As a Mexican-American myself and as a member of the community, I at no point during the interview led the participants' answers or expressed any personal opinions about the subject matter. I did not operate in an advisor role with the interviewees beyond maintaining the accepting and empathetic demeanor necessary to establish a rapport. Instead, I sought to seek a deeper understanding of their experiences through probing and asking for explanations when I did not understand something instead of making assumptions.

It is important to acknowledge that my own experience as a second-generation Mexican-American put me in an insider role in this research. Although I always do my best to remain

objective and unbiased, it is impossible to remove myself completely from this role since it is something that is part of me. Some of the benefits of being an insider include an understanding and familiarity with cultural values, cultural practices, experiences of being the child of immigrants, and understanding of other issues and problems that may be unique to the Mexican-American population. An advantage of an insider role also includes the ability to understand how the current political climate can affect the immigrant community, understanding children who have undocumented parents and how this may affect them not only within the leisure context but also at a personal level, and understanding other things that may be invisible to an outsider's eye. Additionally, Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1995) argued that an insider role helps the researcher build a strong relationship with their participants.

Some limitations of being an insider can include response bias (i.e., withholding information and/or giving answers and responses that the study participants believe the researcher wants to hear). However, response bias can occur in all types of research including qualitative and quantitative research. According to Charmaz (2003, 2006), a principle in the constructivist grounded theory is that the data and analysis are co-constructed from the interaction between the researcher and the participant. Charmaz (2006) argued that the constructivist grounded theory is different with this regards to this stance since the classic grounded theory, "assume the role of authoritative experts who bring an objective view to the research" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 132).

Overall, having an insider position in this study allowed me to find gaps in the literature and probe for phenomena that, thus far, have not been examined by scholars in the leisure field. Additionally, having an insider position reduced the time it would take for an outsider to become familiar with the population of interest.

Data Collection Strategies

Although Creswell (1998) considered one-on-one interviews to be the most time consuming, I opted to utilize them in this study. One of the reasons for conducting one-on-one private interviews was because I did not want the parents to influence the child's answers and/or for the parents to influence each other's answers. I also wanted to examine if each party understood their role in the family and/or if everyone had a different or similar perspective of the same situation.

The interviews were conducted in Spanish and English. All parents were interviewed in Spanish, and all children were interviewed in English or "Spanglish" (i.e., a hybrid language combining words and idioms from Spanish and English). The semi-structured interviews lasted from thirty minutes to one hour. The interviewees were asked a number of open-ended questions related to factors affecting opportunities for leisure participation among youth, family decision-making with respect to youth's leisure participation, and parental influences on youth's leisure (see Appendix G: Interview Script for Adults and for Children). The guiding questions involved asking children and parents about 1) the child's leisure involvement, 2) decision making in the family when it came to the child's leisure, 3) negotiation of leisure participation, 4) restrictions on children's leisure, and 5) the importance of family in shaping children's leisure. The questions were developed based on personal observations, my understanding of the culture, and existing literature on Mexican-Americans, Latino culture, and leisure. The questions were slightly modified once the research began to appropriately fit the participants.

The interviews were tape-recorded to obtain the highest accuracy. According to Leedy and Ormond (2001), recording interviews can help the researcher focus on the interview rather than writing down word-by-word of the account. Following each interview, I wrote down notes

of contextual information (e.g., about the household, the interview, interaction among the interviewees, emotions). After the conclusion of all interviews, the interviews were then transcribed by me. The interviews conducted in Spanish were transcribed verbatim in Spanish and then translated into English. The interviews were coded with an alias to maintain the confidentiality of the participants. Each interview transcripts averaged approximately 8-12 pages in length.

Participants

Six Mexican-American families participated in this study; four of the families were two-parent households and two were single-mother households. There was a total of 16 participants; 4 men, 6 women, and 4 boys and 2 girls. At the time of the interviews, the adults' age ranged between 33 and 50 and the children's age ranged between 12 and 14. All of the adults were first-generation individuals who came from different regions of Mexico; all of the children participants were second-generation (i.e., U.S.-born) Mexican-Americans. While the adults varied in terms of their education and work occupation (see Table 1), all of the children were middle-school students. All of the participants belonged to the working-class. Names and other identifying details have been changed in order to preserve the confidentiality of the interviewees. Please see Table 1 for detailed background information of all of the participants.

Table 1:
Participant Demographics

		State of Birth	Age	Occupation	# of Children	Length of Stay in the U.S.
Family #1	Dual parent household Child #1: Male	Mother #1: Oaxaca, MX Father #1: Oaxaca, MX Child #1: California, USA	Mother #1: 42 Father #1: 43 Child #1: 14	Mother #1: Farmworker Father #1: Farmworker Child #1: middle school student	3	Mother #1: 25 years Father #1: 25 years
Family #2	Dual parent household Child #2: Male	Mother #2: Puebla, MX Father #2: Oaxaca, MX Child #2: California, USA	Mother #2: 40 Father #2: 50 Child #2: 13	Mother #2: Farmworker Father #2: Farmworker Child #2: middle school student	5	Mother #2: 19 years Father #2: 22 years
Family #3	Dual parent household Child #3: Male	Mother #3: Guerrero, MX Father #3: Sinaloa, MX Child #3: California, USA	Mother #3: 40 Father #3: 46 Child #3: 14	Mother #3: Factory worker Father #3: Manager of factory Child #3: middle school student	4	Mother #3: 17 years Father #3: 22 years
Family #4	Dual parent household Child #4: Female	Mother #4: Durango, MX Father #4: Durango, MX Child #4: California, USA	Mother #4: 35 Father #4: 37 Child #4: 14	Mother #4: Factory worker Father #4: Construction worker Child #4: middle school student	3	Mother #4: 15 years Father #4: 15 years
Family #5	Single mother household Child #5: Male	Mother #5: Guadalajara, MX Child #5: California, USA	Mother #5: 35 Child #5: 12	Mother #5: Packing warehouse Child #5: middle school student	1	Mother #5: 13 years
Family #6	Single mother household Child #6: Female	Mother #6: Oaxaca, CA Child #6: California, USA	Mother #6: 33 Child #6: 13	Mother #6: Housekeeper Child #6: middle school student	3	Mother #6: 14 years

Data Analysis

The data were analyzed using the first two coding phases of constructivist grounded theory—i.e., initial and focused coding. During initial coding, I utilized the incident-by-incident strategy to develop descriptive empirical codes (348). During this coding phase, I made a conscious effort to keep an open mind to new ideas, put aside what I have learned from the literature, and restrain any personal bias to let the data do the talking. Some examples of the initial empirical codes included safety concerns, space limitations, restrictions, parental constraints, SES-neighborhood, and SES-income, constraint-traveling restrictions, family leisure-using family leisure to teach children about cultural values, and mother negotiations.

After establishing an analytical direction, I moved on to the second step of focus coding to “crystallize participants’ experiences” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 54). Focused codes are more explicit, directed, selective, and conceptual as they aid in “synthesizing and explaining larger segments of data” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 57). The focused codes served as umbrella categories for the initial codes, and I used them to develop an outline for the Findings section. During this analytical phase, I started introducing the adopted theoretical framework of family systems theory to pair up the empirical insights with relevant concepts from the literature to create a coherent storyline. Some examples of the abstract codes included neighborhood constraints, parental negotiation strategies, leisure inside of the community, leisure outside of the community, and active leisure. While writing the findings, the interviews were re-read once again and quotes from participants were placed under appropriate themes.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

This study examined the leisure activities among the second-generation Mexican-American youth. The focus of the study was primarily on the passive leisure that takes place within the confines of the low-income neighborhoods and the active leisure participation in parks, schools, and sports complexes outside of the participant's residence.

The findings are divided into two sections; the first section covers leisure activities that take place within the low-income communities the participants reside in and the second section covers active leisure that takes place outside of the community.

Passive Leisure within the Community

My findings revealed that there were several factors that influenced the participants' leisure activities, but the most important ones included the features of the neighborhoods in which they resided (e.g., safety and space limitations). These features led to parents' imposing restrictions on their children's leisure and adopting coping and negotiation strategies which led to children engaging mostly in passive forms of leisure.

Neighborhood features

Although all of the participants lived in different housing structures (e.g., rented homes, an apartment complex, and a mobile home community), the communities in which they resided shared one common feature – all of them were low-income.

The mobile home community where Family #1, Family #2, and Family #3 resided was predominantly Latino, with the exception of one non-Hispanic Caucasian family and one African-American family. The mobile home community was centrally located in Vista, California in a part of the city that is heavily populated by Latinos, most of whom are of

Mexican origin. The mobile home community had approximately 100 units and was very compact. Most of the mobile homes were small and were placed fairly close to one another. They had no backyards and only a small front yard with no driveway. Mobile homes with driveways did not have front yards, and those with backyards did not have a front yard.

The apartment complex where Family #5 lived was inhabited by low-income residents of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds (primarily African-Americans and Latino). Similar to the mobile homes, the apartments were small with no front yards. As reported by Mother #5, although the apartment complex had a gate, the security system (i.e., gate pin pad) had been broken for several years; therefore, there was no way of knowing who comes in and out of the apartment complex. Although there was no place for children to play outside, the apartment had one pool which the entire community had access to.

Two of the families, Family #4 and Family #6, lived in rented homes in a low-income area in the San Diego County. Although Family #4 had a backyard, the children were unable to use it because the parents built a small room in the back to rent it out to another tenant and make a little extra income.

Safety of neighborhoods. One thing that was mentioned by almost all participants in the study was that lack of safety in their neighborhoods limited the leisure opportunities of children. My findings revealed that living in unsafe neighborhoods led to the parents' fears and developing a need to keep their children safe from the growing crime in their communities. For instance, when asked about whether or not they believed their neighborhood was insecure, Mother #1 commented,

Mother #1: Yes! Didn't you hear about the neighbor they killed not long ago?... He was killed by a gang... Besides, you know that in this neighborhood they sell a lot of drugs... and cars go by quickly, so the children can't play outside safely.

In addition, Mother #2 said,

Mother #2: It's ridiculous! I can't even let my children walk over to the trashcan without having to send them with one of their brothers... They sell and do drugs behind the trashcan, so even when I send them to throw out the trash, I make sure to watch them from the window... I just wish that we could move to a safer neighborhood but we can't afford it. This is the cheapest place to live!

Interviewer: How much do you pay?

Mother #2: With everything we pay, more or less, \$700... but it's cheaper than other places because my compadres [the Godfathers of their children] pay like... I think my compadre said she pays \$2,000 per month and they don't even live in a nice place!

Throughout the study, it became evident that not only were the parents aware of neighborhood uncertainties, but the parents also made sure to tell their children about incidents and concerns in an attempt to warn them about the dangers of straying too far away from their homes. For example, when Child #3 was asked about whether he thought the neighborhood was unsafe, he commented,

Child #3: My mom tells me not to go outside when she isn't home because she doesn't want me to get involved with the "wrong" people [sight].

Interviewer: Who is your mom referring to?

Child #3: Like the people that do drugs or the people that are always tagging on the people's fences.

In addition, Child #1 said,

Child #1: My mom used to let us out a little more before, but since they had the shootings she is afraid that we can get killed one day if we get caught in the wrong place... She says that there is no place safer than home because at least you can hide if something bad happens and she can take care of us more if we are close to her.

As mentioned before, not all the families who participated in the study lived in mobile home communities; two of the interviewed families (Family #4 and Family #6) lived in homes, and Family #5 lived in an apartment complex. Parents from Family #4 and Family #6 lived in an area, which although not free of crime, was not as crime infested as other places in the San Diego

County. Although these parents were not as concerned about crime as families living in mobile home communities, they still worried about things such as cars driving fast in their neighborhood. For example, Mother #4 said,

Mother #4: I don't think it's as bad [here] as in other neighborhoods. For the most part, I think it's safe, but my main concern is how fast the cars drive here. They don't respect that it's a residential area and that there are children here!... There have already been a lot of children ran over in this area, so I don't let my children play with the ball outside because I'm afraid that they are going to run after the ball without paying attention to cars that are coming... I know that she [her daughter] is old enough to pay attention to incoming cars, but I still worry... Better safe than sorry.

Similar, Mother #5 commented on the cars driving too fast close to her apartment complex and, in addition, about her fears of possible child abduction.

Mother #5: When you live in apartments, you have to be careful with your kids because cars come in and out of the parking lot. You never know who is coming in either because they don't have a gate anymore... They took it off because people always broke it and so the owner got tired of fixing it.

Interviewer: Why is that a concern?

Mother #5: Well, because I'm a single mother, I don't have anyone else to help me take care of this child. I've heard cases of people stealing children in apartments... It's easier because there are so many people living here that you never know all your neighbors. You know what they say: "Caras vemos, corazones no sabemos" [roughly translates to: "We know people, but we don't know their hearts"]... Plus, there have been cases where children are abducted in apartments! I think that a couple of years ago, they showed a case on the news where a kid was walking to his apartment after school, and someone pulled him into his apartment and killed him. My God, that case was horrible! Ever since then I didn't want to live in an apartment, but since my husband got deported, I couldn't afford to rent a house.

Differently from other families, Mother #6 expressed fear that stemmed from current political turmoil and police discrimination of people of color. Although most of the families who I interviewed were either of indigenous or European ancestry, one of the families was of indigenous and Afro-Mexican heritage. Mother #6 (single-mother family) told me that she was born in Oaxaca, a largely indigenous state, while her ex-husband was born in Cuajinicuilapa,

which is a city in the coast of Guerrero widely known for having the largest black population in the region. Mother #6 told me that all of her children, except the eldest child, had darker skin tone which they took after their father. Their darker complexion than most Mexicans in the neighborhood sometimes was a concern for her. When asked about the security situation in her community, Mother #6 revealed that although there was not as much crime now as when she first moved there, she still worried about her children having encounters with law enforcement.

Mother #6 stated,

Mother #6: ...One of my biggest fears is that my children can get in trouble with the law [police].

Interviewer: Why?

Mother #6: Because most people think that my child is black [African American] and right now I'm seeing a lot of news reports showing that police shoot people, especially black people... I just tell my children that if a cop ever stops them, for any reason, to listen to them and do whatever they tell them to do.

Interviewer: Do you think that's a big problem here?

Mother #6: Umm, not really, but I just tell them that so that they can be careful... There is a solution for everything except for death, you know?... So I just prefer to tell them just in case, God forbid, something like that were to ever happen.

Safety fears were not the only neighborhood feature that affected the lives and leisure of children in the community. Space limitations were also brought up in a number of interviews.

Space limitations. In addition to the safety of their neighborhoods, most participants, more specifically families residing in mobile home communities, expressed a concern about the lack of space they had available. As mentioned before, the mobile home community has approximately 100 mobile home units with no backyard and a narrow front yard/driveway. On average, most families have either one or two cars. Since the mobile home community only has

approximately 40 public parking lots, the majority of residents are forced to park their cars on the street or in their front yard/driveway.

Participants expressed that having limited space in and around the house affected what their children could do for leisure. For example, when asked about family leisure activities, Father #2 said,

Father #2: ...we like to have small BBQs, something small, in the house.

Interviewer: Here in the house? Do you have a backyard?

Father #2: [laughs] No! I have to move the cars to the street to make some space... sometimes there are no parking spaces in the street so we can barely fit the grill and a couple of chairs.

With limited public parking lots in the mobile home community, another option for the residents was to park their car out on the street. Due to high theft rates in that area, however, most families opted for parking their cars on their property, which left them little to no room in their front yard. This lack of space around the house limited children's leisure options to those that could be done within the bounds of their homes. Similar to Father #2, Father #3 said,

Father #3: ...Well, sometimes they [the children] want to kick the ball outside, but I can't put the cars outside.

Interviewer: Why not?

Father #3: For various reasons... like last year... well, in the street they have hours where you can't have your cars in the street because the sweeper comes by and if your cars is there, then you get a ticket, so I got a ticket... That's only one thing! Another time, I parked the car next to my brother's apartment [the apartment is up the street from the mobile home community] and somebody broke my window to steal my stereo equipment!... I'm pretty sure that it was the junkies from up the street, but there is no point of asking if anyone saw anything because I already know nobody is going to tell me... there's no point... it always happens in that street, and nobody says anything.

Although space limitations were more prevalent among residents of mobile home communities, individuals who lived in apartments were subject to similar space constraints. For instance, Child #5, when asked what he did for leisure, he replied,

Child #5: When I'm here?,,, umm...Nothing much. I usually just watch television.

Interviewer: You don't play outside?

Child #5: No. I can't go when my mom's not home because when I want to kick the ball, my mom has to watch to make sure that cars aren't coming.

Interviewer: You play in the parking lot?

Child #5: Yeah... well... sometimes. When she [mother] feels like watching me.

Interviewer: You don't have an area... like a little park or something here in the apartments?

Child #5: No...we only have the pool... but that's it.

Interviewer: How about when your mom can't watch over you?

Child #5: Then I stay home... I don't know; you can't do much here...

Additionally, the participants disclosed that space limitations were more prevalent during the school period as opposed to during the summer break. One reason for this was that during the school year, the parent(s) got back from work at the same time or close to the same time that their children got home from school. Since both got home at the same time and the parent(s) parked their car on the property, the children had little to no time to use the front yard space. During the summer, since parents went to work and most of the children stayed home, they had an "unoccupied" front yard that could be used for play until their parents came home from work. Factors such as space limitations and safety in the neighborhood led to parents' adopting coping and negotiating strategies to keep their children safe.

Parental coping and negotiation strategies

Some of the strategies adopted by parents included keeping the children indoors, prohibiting their children from going to certain places and/or facilities, and restricting them from hanging out with individuals they did not know or that they deemed a “bad influence.”

Restrictions. My data revealed that one of the coping strategies that the parents adopted to keep their children safe was to impose curfews. Child #2, when asked about the restrictions his parents placed on him, said,

Child #2:...Well, umm... my mom doesn't let me go out at night because she says that it's too dangerous for me... she doesn't even let me go to the movie theater at night or even have sleepovers.

Interviewer: What time is your curfew?

Child #2: Umm... Usually, it's like around 6-ish. I can't really go out after that.

Interviewer: Do your friends live far?

Child #2: No! They live in by [Name of the Street]... It's not even far... it's just that my parents say they don't know the parents, so they don't trust them...

With regards to curfews, Father #2 said,

Father #2: No, no, no! None of that nonsense. My children can't go out late at night because they aren't *vagabundos* [homeless]. They don't understand that only people that are up to no good go out at night... I don't really think that they understand the dangers of the streets, much less the dangers of the dark... Plus, no decent people are out late. My parents taught us that decent people are home at night, not out there with the delinquents.

In addition to curfews, children were prohibited from using certain recreation facilities or frequenting certain places. For example, Child #1 expressed that he was not allowed to use the public skate park, a new city facility, because of the danger the parents perceived their children would be exposed to in that park. Although the park was located only three blocks away from the mobile home community, many of the parents disapproved of their children going over to the park.

Child #1: They just added the skateboard park next to the Mexican Market.

Interviewer: Do you go there often?

Child #1: Not a lot because my mom doesn't like it.

Interviewer: Why?

Child #1: Because she says that there are a lot of *mariguanos* [stoners]... She doesn't like me to go because she doesn't want me to like... to hang out with bad people. She thinks that they are going to offer me drugs so I can't go without [Name of Eldest Sibling].

Interviewer: Does he usually come with you?

Child #1: Umm... He doesn't like skateboarding, so I don't really go because I can't go without him...

Although the skate park was less than a year old, it had a bad reputation among many local residents. According to a news report by the San Diego Union Tribune, a week after the inauguration of the park, the city had to close the park temporarily due to a theft incident that a park employee was a victim of (Figueroa, 2017). In addition, the city has reported having trouble keeping people out of the park after closing hours, which is at 10pm local time. Mother #1 added, "No, I don't like him going by himself... when we drive by the park, I always see people that look like junkies... I don't think it's safe."

Family #5, who resided in an apartment complex, had access to a community pool, but their child was prohibited from swimming there. When asked about the reasons for this restriction, Child #5 believed that his mother prohibited him from swimming in the pool as it was "not deep enough."

Child #5: I can't even go to the pool with my friends without one of the parents coming.

Interviewer: Why? Is it because you don't know how to swim?

Child #5: I don't think that you need to know how to swim in that pool because it's small.

Interviewer: Small?... Like not deep?

Child #5: Yeah.

Mother #5, however, explained,

Mother #5: ...He doesn't understand... It's not like I want to keep him inside of the house all the time...When I was a child, I remember that I was like him; I used to love playing outside with my friends... but you see, in Mexico we had more freedom because it wasn't as dangerous as it is here. Over there, the children are free. There is more freedom, and that's beautiful...Here you need to keep your children in your sight all the time.

Interviewer: So, why don't you let him go?

Mother #5: Because, during the summer, there are a lot of people in the pool... Sometimes they bring beer and leave the bottles broken on the floor. God forbid that they step on the glass... Also, I just don't feel comfortable if I'm not there to watch over him... He's too young.

Mother #5 expressed that during the summer, she asked a friend who resides in the apartment complex to keep an eye on the child while she was working. Mother #5 prohibited the child from going to the pool while she was away, but she usually was willing to take him to the pool once she got home from work if she was not too exhausted.

Development of a community within a community. A pattern that I observed among the participants who lived in the predominantly Latino communities (i.e., Family #1, Family #2, and Family #3) was that due to the perceived dangers of living in their neighborhoods, they formed a “community within a community.” In other words, some community members with children came together and formed a system that resembles that of a “neighborhood watch” in order to keep their children safe from dangers. Neighbors kept an eye on each other's children and informed other parents when they saw their children doing something bad, unsafe, or if their child was in danger.

Mother #2 was the first one to tell me about the informal neighborhood watch they had developed to keep their children safe.

Mother #2: The neighbors already know to tell me immediately if they see any of my children doing things that they shouldn't be doing. It's the same with me. If I see any of their children doing things, then I make sure to tell them... It offends some parents if you tell them that their children are misbehaving, but it doesn't really bother me if they tell me that my children are doing something bad, because I prefer to know than not know anything at all. If I don't know, then how can I discipline them or help them?... By knowing, I can try to lead them on the straight path before it's too late.

Mother #1 expressed that she thought it was helpful because "...the community needs to help each other out. If we don't help each other out, then who will?... We are *paisanos* [fellow countrymen], so we need to have each other's back."

It is important to note is that the mobile home community was predominantly low-income with most of the residents being of Mexican origin. Such environment may have played a role in people being comfortable enough to come together and build a neighborhood watch. The fact that most residents spoke Spanish might have also facilitated the interaction among community members. Interestingly, this level of interaction, dynamic, and relationship did not exist among the other participants, who mainly lived in mixed-race or predominantly white communities.

The effects of parental negotiation strategies on leisure among Mexican-American youth

The findings revealed that space limitations, unsafe neighborhoods, and parental coping and negotiation strategies shaped leisure opportunities of Mexican-American youth and led to their leisure being mostly passive. Additionally, I found that parental negotiation strategies influenced the children's friendship circles and led to children engaging in mainstream American activities.

Clustering of friends. Concerned about the neighborhood safety, most of the parents did not feel comfortable allowing their children to spend time with peers they did not know. In addition, the majority of the parents expressed that they did not have time or energy to drive their

children over to their friends' homes and then pick them up, which resulted in children spending most of their leisure time at or in the close vicinity of their homes. As the Child #1 recounted,

Child #1: I usually hangout with my friends here.

Interviewer: Are these your friends that live around here?

Child #1: Yeah.

Interviewer: You told me that you weren't hanging out with your friends from school, why?

Child #1: Because my mom doesn't want to take me to their homes.

Interviewer: Can't they come to your home?

Child #1: Yeah, but I think that sometimes their parents don't want to drive either.

Some parents also mentioned not wanting to drive more than what was necessary (i.e., to work and back) because they did not have a valid driver's license and did not want to run the risk of being detained. For example, Father #4 said,

Father #4: Mija¹, I don't have a driver's license... I can't be running risk like that...she always wants to hang out with [Name of friend], but she lives in Fallbrook... I guess it's not that far away [approximately 25 miles], but I can't be exposing myself like that... I never know when immigration is going to be there... I explain it to her. Sometimes she understands and sometimes she doesn't.

In addition, most parents felt more comfortable with their children spending time with their friends within the bounds of their home or where they could be supervised. As Mother #1 recounted,

Mother #1: That's why I tell my kids that I prefer that their friends come here to the house rather than having them walk on the street or go to other people's houses.

Interviewer: Do his friends live around here or far away?

¹ ***Mija** is a colloquial word for "mi hija" (my daughter). While it is used by parents to address their daughters, in Mexico it is a term of endearment from someone older, and not necessarily related, towards a younger women or girl. A similar term is used to refer to younger men or boys: mijo for "mi hijo" (My son).

Mother #1: No, they live here in the neighborhood; that's why I have them here almost every day.

Interviewer: Does it bother you to have them in your house every day?

Mother #1: No, because as I explained to you, I prefer to have them where I can supervise them rather than somewhere out in the street doing I don't know what. Plus, right across the street, some kids get together to use drugs and drink behind the garbage can. Also, my son's friends don't look like trouble makers, so I don't mind them. In my house, they usually behave; if they didn't then I wouldn't allow them in my home.

Similarly, Mother #3 expressed,

Mother #3: No, most of his friends are from here [the neighborhood]... I guess that's a good thing though [laughs] because I don't have to worry about taking him to other people's house... Plus, I don't really know of his other friends from school; I only know one of them and he looks like he's a good kid.

Interviewer: Do you ever take him over to other friends' houses?

Mother #3: No, because he doesn't really ask me to... I think that if he asked me I would take him, but he's a good kid. He doesn't give me many problems.

When asked about his friends, Child #3 revealed,

Child #3: ...yeah, I do have a lot of friends in school.

Interviewer: Do you ever hang out with them?

Child #3: Here?

Interviewer: Sure... or you going over to their houses or even just hanging out in movie theaters or something like that?

Child #3: No, not really... I pretty much only hang out with them at school.

Interviewer: How about during summer break?

Child #3: No! My parents don't like me to go to stranger's houses... they say that a decent kid should stay in his house... I use to ask them all the time, but I don't try anymore cause I know they won't take me... they always say things like "we don't know the family" or "It's too far" "I'm tired"... so yeah... I just hang out with [Name of neighbor].

Interviewer: Do you like them [neighborhood friends]?

Child #3: Umm... yeah. I mean, they are OK... but I do like my other friends better.

Father #3 seemed not to pay too much attention to his son's friends who visited their house:

Father #3: About my child's friends?... I don't know much about them. His mother must know more than me... All I know is that they spend some time here at the house but they don't really bother me, so I don't really pay attention to them...

Children in Family #2 also spent most of their free time at home. When asked about allowing his child to hang out with his friends in other homes, Father #2 expressed,

Father #2: My parents taught us that decent people stay home... We give them enough for them not to have to leave home, you know?... Like, we get that they want to go out with friends because they are kids, but at the same time people talk... when people see children out in the street all the time they say that they are delinquents or they assume that they are in bad steps [doing things they are not supposed to be doing]... My family is decent, so I don't like to let him out too much. Like, I will allow him every once in a while, but I don't want it to become a habit.

The data obtained from the interviews allowed me to obtain a bigger picture of the family dynamics. For example, in Family #3, either the mother was oblivious of her child's outer circle of friends or she was putting on a façade of her son being the "perfect" child. Mother #3 expressed that her son did not ask to be taken to his friends' houses, while Child #3 told me that he would constantly ask his parents for permission until he finally "gave up" and became resigned to spending time at home. Father #2 provided a compelling explanation of why many Mexican-American families did not allow their children to spend time in others families' homes. In American culture, it is not uncommon for parents to drive their children over to their friends' homes or to allow them to have sleepovers; however, in Mexican culture this is not necessarily the case. Many first-generation Mexican-Americans were taught by their parents that it is not appropriate for children to spend too much time out of their home. According to some of the participants, especially the fathers, respectable and "good" children do not go out. They believed that spending too much time "out in the streets" (i.e., outside of their home), can give an

impression that their children were in “bad steps” (i.e., doing things they were not supposed to). Interestingly, the data revealed that mothers seemed to be less concerned about the appearance of the family and more focused on their children’s safety. For fathers, on the other hand, maintaining a reputation of a “respectable family” was of primary importance.

With the parents’ inability or unwillingness to take their children to their friends’ houses, most of the children were forced or pushed towards spending time with children within the confines of their community, which led to clustering of friends. In addition, the children were closely monitored and not allowed to leave the house without parental consent or without someone the parents would trust. The broader effects of clustering of friends on children’s leisure are yet to be determined. What my study revealed, however, was that on many occasions, Mexican-American children’s exposure to the outside leisure opportunities and participation in active pastimes were hindered by the fact that they were limited to spending time within the confines of their neighborhood. Home-based, passive leisure that most of the children were involved in mainly included watching television and playing video games.

Mainstreaming of leisure engagements. My data revealed that there were many similarities between the second-generation Mexican-American youth’s passive leisure and that of their Anglo counterparts. I found that Mexican-American youth participated in leisure activities such as watching Anglo television shows, playing video games, and hanging out with friends. This trend may reflect fusion between Mexican and American cultures, which is especially pronounced among the second-generation youth because of their parents’ ties to their home country and the youth’s exposure to the American culture through schools and mainstream media. For instance, when asked what he did for fun, Child #3 replied, “Most of the time we

watch T.V. ...we play Grand Theft Auto and stuff like that... I think that we do normal things, you know? *Like things all people do*" [emphasis added].

In the majority of cases, the interviewed children watched American television shows or series that were not of Latino origins. For example, Child #1, asked about his leisure activities, replied,

Child #1: I like to watch "Naruto"!

Interviewer: "Naruto"? What is that?

Child #1: It's a cartoon!

Interviewer: Is it like anime?

Child #1: Yeah!

Child #6 said,

Child #6: ...I don't think that I watch a lot of television, because I usually have things to do... I usually get home a little late and then I have to do my homework and stuff, but I like to watch SpongeBob, The Loud House... oh! And I like watching Chowder!

Children also told me that they enjoyed playing video games such as FIFA, Call of Duty, and Grand Theft Auto, which are some of the most popular games in the United States (Morris, 2017). Child #5 revealed, for example: "My favorite game is Call of Duty right now... My mom doesn't really like it, but we still play it."

Interviews with Family #1 revealed an interesting dynamic. Although parents allowed their children to play video games and even facilitated the activity by purchasing the games for them, there were conflicts and disagreements between the parents on whether or not the children should partake in these activities. Asked what kind of games he played, Child #1 responded,

Child #1: My favorite game is Call of Duty and FIFA.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend playing videogames?

Child #1: (laughs)... I think a lot of time!

The child's mother, asked if she liked her son playing video games, replied,

Mother #1: No, because if I let them play for too long then it takes away a lot of time and then they don't help me around the house or do their homework. Also, some are very violent and I don't like it, but their dad buys it for them, so what can I do?

Interview: Have you talked to your husband about this situation?

Mother #1: Yes, but he says that they are children and that a simple game isn't going to make the children more violent. When I talk to him, he tells me that what would I prefer, to have the child on the street or at home? I don't really like to argue with him, so I just drop the conversation. I'm not the one buying him the games, so if something happens it's not going to be on my conscience.

In a separate interview, Father #1 offered his perspective on how he felt about their son playing video games:

Father #1: She [wife] always gets mad when I give him money to buy video games... but if I'm frank, I do what I want with my money and he's my child too...you know? He's a boy; he needs something to do... When I was younger, I was very active. I used to like climbing trees and going to the lake and to the fields and... I was a *desmadre* [loosely translates to "chaos"]... Look, I feel bad for him and his brothers... They don't have the freedom we had... we don't let them go out very often... At the end of it, I prefer to have him playing games inside of the house than doing drugs out in the street. I don't like it, but I prefer it...

Most of the parents in the study did not like their children playing video games because they viewed them as violent, a waste of time, unproductive, useless, and making their children "dumber." In addition, some of the parents considered these activities as "Americanized" or typical to American culture. As Mother #5 revealed,

Mother #5: I don't like those things [video games]... Those are things of the devil, not from God... In Mexico, we didn't have those things. Where have you seen that it is OK for children to play games where they kill others?! I never imagined that and I didn't know it until we moved here.... You know, I think that Americans are kind of crazy... how can they let their children play such violent games?... I guess, we are crazy too because we allow them to play it to, but... but I think that we let them play it because the children become stubborn because they see everyone else doing it, so they want to do it... and then we go and buy it for them like idiots because they won't stop bugging until they get what they want.

The findings revealed that the mothers were more opposed and vocal against the children's playing video games or watching television, while the fathers were more lenient and voiced their concerns less frequently. Fathers were also more willing to facilitate these activities by buying children video games and ignoring their spouses' decisions. As an interview with Child #1 revealed,

Interviewer: Do your parents like you playing video games?

Child #1: No... my mom is the one that always gets mad at me.

Interviewer: Why?

Child #1: She says that they are violent and stuff... she tells me that they are making me stupid and that I should help her with the chores instead of wasting my time.

Interviewer: Do you think that the games are violent?

Child #1: Not really... they are just games.

Interviewer: What about your dad?

Child #1: He's cool... he doesn't really tell me anything.

My findings revealed that although the fathers were more permissive with their children's leisure activities inside of the home, they were stricter with their children's leisure activities outside of the community. Most fathers in my study expressed that they did not let children go out very frequently, because it could give way to gossips and people talking badly about them and the family. What I found was that children often asked their mother's first if they could go out, but the mother would always direct them to their father for the final decision. In other words, if a mother said "yes" and the father said "no," then the father's decision was always the final one.

Although I was expecting for fathers and mothers to be stricter with girls than they were with boys, I did not find much of a difference. What I did find, however, was that the reasons for imposing restrictions were different for both genders. My findings revealed that parents imposed restrictions on the boys to keep them “off the streets,” away from drugs and bad influences, and to prevent them from “getting in trouble.” Parents, on the other hand, mainly imposed restrictions on the girls to keep them safe from bad influences and other dangers (e.g., sexual assault, drugs) that come from living in a neighborhood they perceived as dangerous. In Mexican families, the role of the father is to make the family decisions and provide for the family, while the mother’s role is often to clean, cook, and care for the family. Although Mexican culture has changed over the years, *machismo* continues to be rampant. *Machismo*, which is a concept associated with having a strong sense of masculinity, is often associated with the man’s responsibility to provide for, protect, and defend the family (Garcia, n.d.). Many modern Mexican families continue to follow the traditional family set up (i.e., the father being the head of household), but they tend to be a little more egalitarian (Garcia, n.d.). The findings of the study clearly showed that final decisions concerning family welfare, including children’s leisure activities, were made by the fathers.

Despite the fact that the majority of children spent most of their time on passive, home-based, mainstream activities, family leisure also had a prominent place in their leisure repertoire.

Involvement in family-oriented leisure. According to extensive literature (Calzada, 2010; Cardoso & Thompson, 2010; German et al., 2009; Villarreal et al., 2005), one of the core values in Mexican culture is family. My findings revealed that parents used family leisure to help children maintain ties to and learn more about their culture. As Mother #4 revealed,

Mother #4: I understand that my children are American, I understand that... but I don’t want them to forget where they come from... My family was so close. We used to eat

together, we used to do a lot of things together, but here [in the U.S.] it's different... It's like they don't support each other... like they don't value family... but I feel that it's our jobs as parents to teach them the importance so we try to do everything we can together.

Activities very popular in Mexican culture are *Carne Asadas* [BBQs]. These BBQs are informal get-togethers for families, friends, and/or extended family members to gather and catch up, hang out, celebrate something and/or spend quality time with their loved ones. My participants, especially the fathers, expressed that they thought that BBQs were an important and easy way to spend time with their families and strengthen their family bonds.

Father #4: Look, my mom and dad taught us the importance of family, and I think that's why we had a good upbringing... We didn't rebel; we didn't talk back to them; we didn't even dare contradict them like children do here [in the U.S.]... I want to be able to teach my children that, so I don't mind spending a little more money to have a *Carne Asada* [BBQ] every other week or whenever we can... *Carne Asada*'s are simple... They are something simple, something just here in the house... Yeah, when we have them [BBQ] they have to stay out here with us and help us cook; we don't tolerate them being inside with the television or in their room... They know that if they aren't outside with the family, then they will get their phones taken away... *Carne Asada*'s are for family time, not just for eating and ignoring us... We want to use these occasions to catch up with them and make sure that everything is ok with them.

Although BBQs were very important in Mexican culture, parents expressed frustration because they felt that the children did not appreciate their efforts enough and had been "lost to American society." As Father #1 revealed, "Since the children started their soccer [season] we have been pretty busy, but when we have time, and we have money, we throw a little BBQ."

When asked whether the BBQs were meant to be for the family, he said,

Father #1: Well, supposedly.

Interviewer: What do you mean?

Father #1: Well, sometimes the kids stay inside until the food is ready. Can you believe that? Instead of offering to help, they only come out once everything is ready!

Interviewer: Does that bother you?

Father #1: Well, yes because the purpose of the BBQ is for us to spend some time as a family and the kids don't even come out... the problem is that the kids don't appreciate what we do for them because they've always had everything that they want. If they had grown up like I did, then they would appreciate everything that they have... Here [in the U.S.], children are used to being stuck in front of the television all day, so I feel that that is why we are losing them a little bit... They can't even be outside for a long time before they start to get bored!... I think that it's the culture here, they can't be without technology.

My data revealed, however, that children understood the importance of family. They told me that their parents not only taught them the importance of family through parental discipline but through leisure activities as well. Children continuously spoke about family serving as a support system, being "all you had in life," and the importance of spending quality time together. For instance, Child #1 revealed,

Interviewer: Do you like to spend time with your family?

Child #1: Yeah.

Interviewer: Do you think it's important to spend time with your family?

Child #1: I would say yes, because family helps you.

Interviewer: Why do you think that?

Child #1: My mom always says that we have to help each other because if we don't help each other out, then who is going to help us?

Another child said,

Child #3: I love my family. Who doesn't?... Like, the family should be the most important thing for all people... Yeah, I think that it's important for all families to spend time together... Yeah, we don't go a lot now, but umm, we sometimes go to the park and feed the ducks... It's fun! [laughs]... My mom always gets old bread and she just... lo despedaza [translation: she tears it apart] and we just feed them.

Although both first-generation Mexican-American parents and second-generation Mexican-American children interviewed in the study valued family, the children showed it differently or to a lesser degree than their parents. For example, most parents expressed that they

felt that going to parties together was good for not only strengthening family ties, but also strengthening ties with their extended families, friends, and community. In Mexican culture, keeping a cordial relationship with all people in the community is important and is often reinforced through festivities or reunions. Being cordial with community members is important and often shows that you are a respectable person or a respectable family. Many parents used festivities as an opportunity to show off their families, to teach children about cultural and religious traditions (e.g., baptisms, first communions, confirmations, Christmas), and to celebrate important milestones in the life of the family (birthday parties, graduations, anniversaries). As Father #4 said,

Father #4: We go to the San Miguel Tlacotepec party with the family every year... we like them because the children can learn about our town and our traditions. It's important for us to go to all the parties like baptisms, family parties, and all those parties as a family because that is what parties are for. They are for families to have fun with other families... plus, it can look bad if your family doesn't come with you.

Unlike their parents, the children participants expressed, however, that although they valued their immediate and extended family members, they had little interest in spending time with more distant relatives and other community members.

Child #4: Like I don't get it, you know? My parents go to all the parties that people invite them to... I mean it's good and stuff, but umm, I don't always want to go with them.

Interviewer: Why?

Child #4: They are boring... and I don't really know anybody, so all I do is sit down and wait until my dad wants to go... and then they always want to stay and talk to everybody at the party, so we stay till really late!... I don't really get why my mom and dad have to go to every single party that they are invited to... Most of the people they don't even know!... Like honestly, I think most of them are fake... most of those people don't even like each other; they just want to be two-faced...plus, I don't get why you have to please people that aren't even your family...

In addition to BBQs and parties, I found that another popular family activity among my participants was watching *novelas* [Latin soap operas]. Watching soap operas turned out to be

especially popular among mothers, who claimed that they helped them to relax. As Mother #5 revealed, “My son knows not to bother me when I am watching my novelas... I work too much to have him disrupting my time to rest...” Mother #6 added,

Mother #6: I love novelas! I’ve liked watching them since I was younger... I remember that I used to watch them with my mother a lot before she passed away... I always make sure to finish all the housework before my *novelas* start, so that I can sit down and relax.

Interestingly, although most fathers claimed not to like novelas because they were “shows for women,” most of them and their children sat down with their mothers to watch them together.

The mothers in the study stated that they particularly liked the religious-themed soap operas because they were a good way to teach their children about the Bible and about God in a way that was “entertaining” to them. Children even expressed liking them:

Interviewer: Do you like the ‘novelas’ your mom watches?

Child #1: Some of them, but some of them are really boring.

Interviewer: Which ones are you watching right now?... Are you guys watching the one about *Moises y Los Diez Mandamientos* [Moses and the Ten Commandments]?!

Child #1: (laughs) Yeah. We watch that every day!

Interviewer: Do you like it?!

Child #1: I do... My mom really likes it.

Interviewer: Why does your mom like it so much?

Child #1: Umm... because it’s about the Bible and stuff and she says that it’s good for us to learn about it.

Child #4 added, “The soap operas are so dramatic [laughs]! But I like to watch...even my dad likes to watch them! He says he doesn’t, but he watches them every day with all of us [laughs].”

To summarize, neighborhood characteristics such as lack of safety and lack of open space led to parents’ restricting leisure of their children to pastimes that could be engaged in inside the

house. In addition, family circumstances such as lack of time to take children to their friends' houses, concerns about driving due to undocumented status, and culturally-based preference for children to remain in close proximity to the house led to children spending most of their free time in the confines of their homes. At home, children primarily engaged in "mainstream" American leisure such as watching TV and playing video games. Parents voiced strong concerns about children's involvement in these activities, which on occasion led to family conflicts between more permissive fathers and mothers who wanted to impose stronger restrictions on their children's leisure. Some of the passive, home-based leisure, however, also took positive forms and included spending time with families on BBQs, parties, and watching Spanish-language soap operas. These activities seemed to bring families closer together, teach children about their heritage and culture, and strengthen family and community bonds. Participation in active leisure in the neighborhood was not an option given the space limitations and high crime rates. Active leisure took part mainly outside of the community.

Active Leisure Outside of the Community

Some of the active leisure that the interviewed children reported participating in included soccer, American football, and rugby. Most of these activities took place within the participant's city of residence. For example, Child #1 and Child #5, played soccer with the "Juarez Soccer League." They practiced and played most of their games in a park that is located between 3-5 blocks away from their residence. Child #3 and Child #2 were enrolled in sports teams through their school program, so most of their practices took place on campus grounds. In this section, I will examine motivations for involvement in active leisure (both from the children's and parents' perspectives) and constraints on their participation in recreational sports.

Motivations for youth's involvement in active leisure

My data revealed that children and parents had different motivations for the youth's involvement in active leisure. Children's motivations included wanting to have fun, socialization / spending time with friends, to relieve boredom, and to become professional or famous athletes. When asked about why they wanted to participate in sports, many reported that they simply liked it or "for fun." For instance, Child #5 said, "I like to play soccer... my dad used to play soccer when he was small too... It's just fun!" Child #3 added, "I started playing [American] football in school with my friends just for fun... like we just played during lunch, but then [Name of friend] told me to join the school team and I just liked it."

Although the children reported enjoying the sport, some of them complained that sometimes their parents placed too much pressure on them, which, on occasion, detracted from their enjoyment of the sport. As Child #1 revealed,

Child #1: Sometimes I tell my dad and my mom that I want a break for like one season, but they always enroll me anyways.

Interviewer: A break? Why do you want a break?

Child #1: Because sometimes I'm like tired.... Like my body is tired. Do you know what I mean?

Interviewer: No... can you tell me more?

Child #1: Like sometimes my legs hurt and sometimes it [soccer] takes too much time, so I ask my parents to not sign me up for the other [soccer] season.

Interviewer: They don't allow you to take a break?

Child #1: No, they sign me up anyways.

Interviewer: Does this bother you?

Child #1: I'm used to it.

Interviewer: Are your parents not listening to you?

Child #1: Yep. My dad just tells me that it's because I'm out of shape and that I'll be fine when it [soccer season] starts... but, I still enjoy it anyways, it's just that sometimes my dad wants too much...

In addition to the enjoyment of the sport, I found that other motivations were social interactions and relief from boredom. Given how much most of these children were guarded in their daily lives, playing in sports teams gave them an opportunity to get out of the community and interact with other people or with friends from school.

Child #6: Well, I really like hanging out with my friends... I don't really get to see them outside of here, so it's fun to play with them...

Interviewer: You don't hang out with them?

Child #6: No, not really.

Interviewer: Why not?

Child #6: I don't know, my mom is always too busy to take me with them... We do hang out outside when the coach takes us to Froyos [frozen yogurt shop] though!

Child #5 added, "I get so bored when we finish soccer [the soccer season] because there is nothing to do here in the house!"

Contrary to the children, parents' motivations for enrolling their children in sports included wanting to keep them healthy, away from harm, and expose them to opportunities for advancement (i.e., getting recruited to professional leagues, college scholarships). Mother #3 stated that originally she did not want her child to play American football. "Truthfully, I've never really liked the sport [American football]... I still don't really get it [laughs]; my husband gets it, but he gets mad when I ask him a bunch of questions." She then added,

Mother #3: My friend told me that she has heard that a lot of children are being recruited to colleges because they are good players... I don't know if my child will ever be recruited, but I really hope so... Can you imagine the blessing it would be for him to get recruited?... How things are going, I don't know if we will ever be able to pay for his school [college], but if he really tried, then I think that he can do it...

In other words, Mother #3 allowed her child to play a sport that she was not fond of, because her friend had told her that colleges recruited football players. Mother #3 saw it as an opportunity to possibly provide her child the opportunity to obtain higher education, which given her financial situation, might not be possible otherwise.

One of the most prevalent motivations among all parents was to keep their children healthy. Father #1 and Mother #2 commented,

Father #1: Everyone in my family has diabetes, so I tell him that he needs to eat healthy because it already runs in the family... His mother had diabetes when she was pregnant, so the doctor told her [wife] that he could be more prone to it since his mother had it during pregnancy.

Mother #2: Oh *mija*, these kids could sit and watch television all day if I let them!... At least I know that he's getting some exercise when he is playing...

Additionally, some parents expressed that they liked keeping their children active so that the children had the opportunity to channel out all the "extra energy," remain busy, and be "off the streets." For instance, Mother #3 said, "Oh my God! This kid is extremely energetic! Since he was small he always needed to be doing something or else he started doing mischievous things." Father #3 and Mother #2 added,

Father #3: You know, back in Mexico children used to work so much that by the end of the day we didn't have much energy left... when we did play, we had a lot of space in the fields... it was a hard childhood, but it was beautiful... We could run, climb trees... umm, I remember that we used to try and ride the donkeys [laughs] until my cousin was almost killed by one!... Here, they can't really do that because they don't have that much freedom or space to run around... I think that having them involved in sports is another way to keep them healthy.

Mother #2: Have you ever noticed that when children aren't busy they have a lot of time to plan stupid things? [Laughs] Seriously! When children don't have anything to do, they start getting stupid ideas or they start wanting to go out all the time because they are bored... At this age, you have to keep them active or else they will get themselves in trouble!

Many of these motivations for sport involvement among children and their parents (e.g., fun, social factors, relief of boredom, health) were quite similar to the “mainstream” American population (Eitzen & Sage, 2008; McCullagh, Matzkanin, Shaw, & Maldonado, 1993; Sirard, Pfeiffer, & Pate, 2006). What was unique was that my adult interviewees cited their active childhoods back in their home country, family health problems (diabetes common in many Mexican-American families), and the distinct situation in their neighborhoods (crime, lack of space) that they hoped participation in sport among their children would offset. In the next section, I will examine parental constraints that limited second-generation Mexican-American children’s involvement in active leisure outside of their communities.

Parental constraints on youth’s participation in active leisure

The immigrant population, specifically the undocumented immigrants, is unique in that they face constraints that other groups (i.e., U.S. citizens, U.S. permanent residents) are not likely to face. For example, some of the constraints that were prominent among my participants were the legality of status and travel restrictions. In addition, other constraints that limited children’s involvement in active leisure included affordability / financial issues, tiredness among their parents, and lack of information. These constraints limited parents’ ability to facilitate their children’s sport participation.

Since the majority of my adult participants were undocumented, a lot of them reported feeling afraid of being deported. The data in this study were collected in the summer of 2016, which may have played a role in the answers that were obtained from the participants. During this time, there was an uptick in political turmoil due to some of the comments made by the current administration against Latinos, specifically against Mexicans, which made many of them uncomfortable and afraid of being deported.

Mother #5's husband had recently been deported, so she was raising her son on her own. Although she had thought about moving to Mexico with her husband, they decided that it was best for the child if she stayed in the United States, at least until he finished high school.

Mother #5: If you knew how scared I am *mija*... It's been hard because I want to be with my husband, but at the same time, umm, I want what is best for him [Child #5]... He isn't going to get the same education and opportunities back in Mexico, so I have to stay here... Right now, I have to be more careful than usual. Imagine, if they deport me, then who is going to take care of him here?... Right now, I prefer to keep calm and not do anything that isn't necessary.

Mother #5 opted to "keep calm" and avoid doing "unnecessary" things, such as driving too much or going to certain places that could potentially expose her to immigration officials. Similar to Mother #5, Mother #1 told us that due to checkpoints located in different parts of southern California, she sometimes could not take her son to his soccer games.

Interviewer: You told me that sometimes you don't go to your son's soccer games, when you don't go is it because you work or...

Mother #1: [interrupts] No, neither my husband nor I work on weekends, but sometimes the children have games far away and we cannot go. When [Name of Coach] sees that the children are playing well, he enrolls them in tournaments against teams from other cities.

Interviewer: Do you have a car?

Mother #1: Yes, but that's not the problem. The problem is that sometimes we can't go because we do not have papers [they are undocumented immigrants].

Interviewer: Where are the games?

Mother #1: It depends. Sometimes they are in Los Angeles ... sometimes in Riverside or by Encinitas ... it depends on which tournament the coach registers them.

Interviewer: Ah! So you're worried about the check points?

Mother #1: That's right! You never know when the officers are going to be checking for documentations. Sometimes they're there and sometimes they're not... so sometimes what we do is we send our "compadres" ahead of time and have them check to see if they [immigration officers] are there. If they aren't there, then we follow from behind.

To help them ease this constraint, Family #1 depended on their connections and acquaintances, which in this case was their *compadre* [the Godfather of their child]. Since their *compadre* was a U.S. permanent resident, sometimes the parents asked him to take the child to games that were outside of the city. Another one of the strategies they used was to send their *compadre* through the checkpoint first so that he could see if immigration officers were on sight or if they were clear to pass.

Another prominent constraint among my participants was the affordability of the programs. This was especially hard on families with more than one child. As Father #3 recounted,

Father #3: If you knew, *mija*! It's a good thing that not all my children want to play sports because then I would be [expletive removed]! Even when the school covers some of the cost, I still have to pay a lot... I have two playing, imagine that! That's why when I can, I work overtime... It doesn't bother me, because I know it's for their future, so I gladly make sacrifices for them. I mean, it's hard because I work my ass off, but that's life.

In addition, Mother #1 told me a heartbreaking story about a time when she had to “swallow her pride” when she could not afford to pay for her children's soccer registration.

Interviewer: Are the prices of the activities in which your child is involved accessible?

Mother #1: Ummm ... not so much, because it always adds up together when you have two of your children playing soccer. It's not much, but it's not very cheap either.

Interviewer: Has money ever been a problem for you?

Mother #1: The truth is that yes... once, when my husband was laid off, we couldn't afford to pay for the season, so we told [Name of the Coach] that the children weren't going to play that season and I explained the situation to him. Then [Name of the Coach] told the children's parents and they donated \$5 or \$20 or whatever they could to pay for my children's soccer registration fees. The truth is that it was embarrassing, but oh well. One has to swallow their pride so that their children can be happy.

Interviewer: Does this happen a lot?

Mother #1: That I can't pay?

Interviewer: No, that the parents help each other out by donating money for the families that can't afford to pay for their children's soccer registration.

Mother #1: Of all the years we've been there it has happened several times with different people. But we always help each other. As they helped me, when others need help we also cooperate with what we can. If we don't help each other, then who is going to help us out, right?

I found that all of the children were aware not only of their parents' financial struggles, but of the grief that it caused their parents. For instance, Child #1 explained,

Interviewer: Have you ever seen your parents struggle to pay for your soccer registration?

Child #1: Yeah, they had trouble like once or twice.

Interviewer: Really?...

Child #1: I remember that when that happened [Name of Soccer Coach] offered to help my parents.

Interviewer: How did you feel about it?

Child #1: It was a little embarrassing.

Interviewer: Why?

Child #1: Because we couldn't pay for it and [Name of Coach] had to tell the other people so that they would help us...

Interviewer: I'm sorry to hear about that... How do you think that your parents felt about it?

Child #1: My mom cried when we were home, but my dad told her that it was fine.

Interviewer: Why do you think your mom cried?

Child #1: I don't know... I think that she felt bad...

The importance of a strong community was evident in this case, because without the community, these children would have had to drop out of their soccer teams. This shows that although

support from parents was important, equally as important was having a support system from the community.

Another constraint that was prominent in my findings was that parents were often too tired to volunteer for their children's team or to make a commitment that would require a lot of their time. As Mother #1 and Father #6 recounted,

Mother #1: One of the requirements was that the parents had to volunteer as "coaches" or help the team to take equipment to the games or something like that ... It's not that I don't like it, but I don't have enough time to help out all the time. Sometimes I have commitments on weekends, or I'm very tired, so I wouldn't like to make such a big commitment...

Father #6: When I come home I just want to rest... Most of the time her mom takes her or I just drop her off and go home... I don't really stay because I'm hungry and tired so I go home, eat, sit down, and then, later on, pick her up... Some parents do [stay with their children], but I don't have the energy.

In addition to the undocumented status, financial problems, and lack of time and energy, another constraint was lack of information due to the language barrier among the parents. Many of the interviewed parents knew little to no English, which presented a problem because the majority of program applications and information pamphlets were in English. Since many of the staff hired in recreation programs are English speakers, parents often felt intimidated and were reluctant to ask for information. This constraint was often amplified by children who either did not want to translate or that did not know how to. Most of the children who were interviewed knew some Spanish, but they were not proficient Spanish speakers. Mother #1 recounted her struggles:

Interviewer: Do your children help you translate?

Mother #1: Oh, *mija!* You know how these children are! When they want to help me, they do it, but when they don't want to, I can't force them. "Se montan en su macho y ni quien los baje" [roughly translates to: "they get stubborn and nobody can force them to do anything"]... Instead of helping me, he always ends up confusing me because he tells me something else rather than what is on the paper!

Interviewer: The youngest doesn't speak Spanish?

Mother #1: He does, but it's "broken" Spanish. Sometimes, when I ask him for help, or I tell him to explain something to me, he confuses me more [laughs] because he doesn't know how to translate it.

To summarize, I found that some of the constraints experienced by the parents were unique to the undocumented immigrant population. They included the legality of status, which kept them from being able to travel past checkpoints and thus take their children to away games. Other constraints stemmed from their lower socio-economic status and limited knowledge of the English language. Lack of information kept them from being able to obtain information about recreational programs. Parents had to rely on children for their translation needs which posed a problem when children were not proficient Spanish speakers or refused to assist their parents. Although all of the constraints discussed in this section were experienced by the parents, they greatly affected children's leisure opportunities.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

The objectives of the study were to (1) examine how residence in low-income communities conditions leisure activities among Mexican-American youth and the effects of parental negotiation of neighborhood constraints on children's leisure participation and (2) examine the involvement in active leisure among Mexican-American youth outside of their neighborhoods of residence. Furthermore, special attention was paid to the differences and similarities between the views of the mothers', fathers', and children, as well as to the parental negotiations, and neighborhood constraints that affected children's leisure participation. Although the constructivist grounded theory was utilized in this study, the theoretical framework underpinning this research was the family systems theory.

The Findings of the Study within the Context of Family Systems Theory

The family systems theory posits that a family is an emotional unit that cannot be completely understood without looking at the sum of all its parts (i.e., all of the family members) (Whitchurch & Constantine, 1993). Given that one of the central and most important values in Mexican culture is familism (Villarreal, Blozis, & Widaman, 2005), I believed that the family systems theory was appropriate to serve as a context to understand leisure behavior of youth within the complex structure of intergenerational Mexican-American families (The Bowen Center for the Study of the Family, n.d.b). The decision to collect data from both parents and children was influenced by the family systems theory.

When examining second-generation Mexican-American youth, it is nearly impossible to detach them from the influence of their parents, especially since family members serve as a primary source of instrumental and emotional support in Mexican culture. Examining the data

through the lens of family systems theory allowed me to understand the importance of all family units and how a hierarchical system in Mexican-American families shapes leisure behavior among youth.

There were many findings of the study that clearly showed that one could not seek to understand leisure behavior of a child without understanding his or her parents' backgrounds (e.g., socio-economic status, cultural values, and traditions). For example, one of the children interviewed in this study disclosed that sometimes he did not attend games. This response would have been hard to understand if his parents did not provide more context and background. By interviewing the mother and father, I was able to deduct that the child was missing his soccer games because the parents were undocumented and could not take him to locations that required crossing immigration checkpoints. The family systems theory allowed me to get a better understanding and a broader picture of the complexities of intergenerational family dynamics and leisure constraints unique to Mexican-American families.

The Effects of Culture on the Leisure Behaviors of Mexican-American Youth

My findings suggested that culture played a big role in the leisure activities that children were exposed to and the activities that they could participate in. One of the findings showed that familism had a major influence on the leisure participation of children. I found that parents used family leisure to teach their children about cultural traditions by requiring them to attend parties and cultural festivities. They believed that by attending family events, children would learn about the importance of family and community, respecting their elders, and would maintain cultural ties to their parents' country of birth. The parents' value of familism also prompted them to take advantage of parties and festivities to "display" their families. According to the parents,

attending festivities without the family would show the lack of unity, while joint participation with their spouses and children showed that they were a respectful and united family.

Furthermore, I found that youth's family leisure was infused with cultural elements. For example, a very popular family leisure activity among my participants was watching *novelas* (Latin soap operas). The entire families, including the parents and children, watched them together, often on a daily basis. Soap operas are widely popular among Latinos across the world and are an integral part of Mexican culture. According to Laveaga (2007), by the end of the 1970s and the 1980s, Mexico had become a world pioneer in using soap operas to influence their citizens' behavior; they were especially successful in introducing the idea of family planning. Over the time, soap operas have evolved and adapted their plots and storylines to fit and address issues relevant to current society. For example, a recent new genre in soap operas is *Narconovelas*, which are soap operas inspired by infamous drug dealers, drug wars, and the drug culture in Latin America. *Narconovelas* have become extremely popular over the last decade but gained the most attention during the beginning of the Mexican Drug War. In addition, in 2017, after President Trump's inauguration, *Univision*, an America Spanish-language broadcast television network, released a soap opera called *La Doble Vida de Estela Carillo* (The Double Life of Estela Carillo), which was based on the life of an undocumented woman in the United States. This soap opera covered topics such as police brutality, racism, discrimination, and issues faced by undocumented immigrants and people of color in the United States. More recently, a new phenomenon that has caught the attention of the millions of Latinos has been religious-themed or Bible-based soap operas. My participants, including the children, expressed liking the religious-themed *novelas*. Moreover, the parents stated that through the *novelas*, they taught their children about Catholicism and Christianity. They also expressed that using the *novelas* to teach

their children about religion was easier and more entertaining for the youth. Catholicism is not only the most practiced religion in Mexico, but it has also played a big role in shaping Mexican culture.

Another popular family leisure activity among my participants were BBQs. The entire family was expected to stay outside from the beginning to the end of the BBQ, or from the time parents cooked to the time that the family was done eating. Children were supposed to stay outside with the family (remaining at home was frowned upon) and politely interact with older family members. Parents used BBQs to spend quality time with their children and “catch up” with them on daily matters. They believed that BBQs were important to strengthen family ties and maintain contact with distant relatives. The central role of family BBQs in leisure among Mexican-American families has been documented in the past research (e.g., Acevedo, 2009). My study provided additional information on the expectations of children to attend such family events and cultural norms that guided family interactions.

In addition to Mexican culture influencing the types and styles of family leisure, I found that culture shaped leisure behavior of children who were expected to spend most of their leisure time at home. According to my participants, in Mexican culture, it is deemed inappropriate for children to spend too much time outside of their home and that “good” and “respectable” children should not venture too far out into the community. The interviewees expressed that children who spend too much time outside are viewed as trouble makers or delinquents. Furthermore, they stated that allowing their children to spend too much time outside could give way to gossiping from the community and would make the parents seem like they were not raising their children correctly.

Given that second-generation youth are bi-cultural, it is important to note the influence that American culture has had on their leisure preferences as well. My findings revealed that much of the Mexican-American children's leisure was grounded in American culture. For instance, there were many similarities between the Mexican-American youth's unorganized leisure and that of the Anglo youth (e.g., watching TV, playing videogames, hanging out with friends, playing rugby and American football). This trend may reflect the cultural fusion between the Mexican and American cultures, which is especially prominent among second-generation youth because of their parents' ties to their home country and the youth's exposure to the American culture through schools, media, and other channels.

In addition to engaging in mainstream activities, I found that there were some signs of family conflict that were related to the acculturation gap. As Birman and Poff (2011) argued, "A major issue confronted by immigrant children and their families is the acculturation gap that emerges between generations over time... as a result, immigrant parents and children increasingly live in different cultural worlds" (p. 1). One of the conflicts or differences between parents and children that surfaced in this study was related to who they considered to be a "family." Although the interviewed children understood the importance of family in their life, they defined "family" differently than their parents. The parents had a much broader definition of "family" than their second-generation sons and daughters. To them, family encompassed the nuclear family, extended family, friends, *compadres*, and community members, while the children only viewed immediate family members (i.e., the nuclear family) as "family." Although it was important for the parents to interact with distant family and community members, children did not understand the need to keep in constant contact with distant relatives and why their

parents went to great lengths to attend the parties of family members that they did not know or that they did not have a close relationship with.

Another conflict between the parents and children was related to the children's participation in some of the mainstream leisure activities. For example, the parents viewed video games as violent or as something that came from "the devil," while the children viewed them as "just games." Although many American parents are concerned about their children's preoccupation with video games, the amount of time they spend on such pastimes, and the violent nature of some of the games (Gentile, 2009; Walker, Laczniak, Carlson, Brocato, 2016), the parents interviewed in this study saw their children's addiction to violent video games as an example of the Americanization of their leisure. They did not understand why it was so "normal" for American parents to allow their children to play violent video games and expressed that in Mexico children had not been involved in these types of leisure. It is likely that the parents' point of reference was the time of their youth, as Mexico is currently one of the fastest growing retail video game markets in the world (VG Chartz, 2011).

The issue of children's playing video games led to conflict not only between the parents and children but also between the mothers and fathers. Fathers seemed to be more permissive with this aspect of their children's leisure participation and frequently disregard the concerns of their wives. They often asserted their authority in the family and expressed that they preferred their children to engage in questionable forms leisure at home than to be exposed to the dangers of their neighborhood. According to Covarrubias Garcia (n.d.), Mexico has traditionally adhered to a patriarchal family structure (i.e., a family in which the father figure holds authority over the women and children). Indigenous customs and Catholic teachings have always portrayed father figures as the leader of the family and women as its heart. A mothers' role, according to

traditional Mexican culture, is to cook, clean, and care for the children. The role of the fathers includes making the family decisions, protecting, and providing for the family. Although today's families tend to be a little more egalitarian, patriarchal family structures continue to be rampant (Covarrubias Garcia, n.d.) and, as this study revealed, manifest themselves in decisions made regarding children's leisure participation.

The Socio-Economic Status and its Effect on Leisure Opportunities of Mexican-American Youth

This study revealed that socio-economic status greatly affected the leisure opportunities of Mexican-American children. I found that the lack of socio-economic resources limited the activities that the children could partake in (e.g., being able to play on sports teams). Parents' tiredness due to overwork prevented them from being more actively engaged in the children's leisure (e.g., coaching, taking them to games) and limited their ability to facilitate social aspects of their leisure (e.g., taking them to their friends' homes).

Moreover, the parents placed many restrictions on their children's activities, locations, and times when they were allowed to go out in order to protect them from the dangers of living in low-income neighborhoods. Thus, this study corroborated the results of Reese (2001), Harrington (2015), and Stodolska et al. (2013) who found that parents often restricted leisure activities of their children and put limitations on their friendships to keep them safe. Moreover, similarly as in the study done in Chicago by Stodolska et al. (2013), crime affected the Mexican-American children's ability to visit outdoor places and recreation facilities such as skateboard parks and pools that parents considered unsafe. Reese (2001) found that although the close monitoring of children was not exclusive to Mexican immigrants, the protective strategies implemented by Latino immigrant parents were in accordance with their home-country values.

Similarly, in this study, both mothers and fathers justified the restrictions imposed on their children's leisure not only in terms of the dangers of the neighborhoods where they lived but also traditional Mexican cultural values.

Due to parental restrictions, children became accustomed to passive forms of leisure (e.g., watching television and playing video games). In addition, lack of open spaces in the neighborhood and lack of access to outside recreation resources lowered children's ability to be involved in physically active forms of recreation. The restrictions imposed on the youth's social contacts, as well as parents' fears for children's safety led to developing a community within a community.

Contributions of the Study to the Existing Literature on Youth and Leisure

This study that focused on the second-generation Mexican-American youth provided a number of novel contributions to our understanding of leisure among the youth of color. Thus far, the existing research on recreation participation among Mexican-Americans has focused primarily on first-generation adults (e.g., Chavez, 2012; Cronan et al., 2008) with little research examining recreation behaviors among the second-generation youth (Tirone & Pedlar, 2000). It is a significant omission as the recreation behavior among second-generation Mexican-American youth is likely to be significantly different from their immigrant parents and even first-generation counterparts. Youth born in the U.S. are influenced by the values and practices of their parents (that also evolve with their changing acculturation levels), American peers, communities, and the school system. Their behaviors and opportunities are also influenced by the broader political and social discourses that shape the availability of recreation and sport opportunities, resources available to Mexican-American families, and the climate that surrounds their participation in community life.

My findings suggested that although there are differences between leisure of the Mexican-American second-generation youth and their “mainstream” counterparts, there are also important similarities that should not be overlooked. While the majority of the existing literature has focused on the uniqueness of leisure behavior among ethnic groups (e.g., Stodolska & Shinew, 2014; Walker & Deng, 2014), my study revealed that leisure of the second-generation Mexican-American youth largely resembles that of their Anglo counterparts.

Another important finding that contributes significant information to the leisure field is that even though second-generation youth are U.S. citizens and tend to be fluent in English, they are directly affected by their parents’ legal status and lack of English proficiency. The constraints that affect undocumented first-generation Mexican-American parents (e.g., traveling restrictions) largely shape the leisure opportunities of second-generation Mexican-American youth. For instance, in the study, I found that undocumented parents could not travel to certain destinations that required them to go through immigration checkpoints, which directly affected children’s ability to travel to away games and to access recreation resources located far away from their place of residence.

Moreover, I found that children’s isolation and limited friendship networks resulted not from their immigration status (as in the studies by Doherty and Taylor, 2007 and Whitley et al., 2016), but from the restrictions imposed by their parents on contacts with youth and families they did not know well. This prompted youth to use sports to keep in touch with their school friends and with peers outside of their community. Findings like these show that one cannot analyze leisure of children without understanding the circumstances of their parents, which is what the family systems theory advocates.

In addition, this study confirmed the results of Tirone and Pedlar (2000) who found that second-generation youth are often “caught between two worlds.” Second-generation youth in Tirone and Pedlar’s (2001) study often had to reconcile their desires to engage in mainstream leisure activities and their parents’ desire for the children to partake in activities that are traditional to their culture. The findings of my study also aligned with those of Cardoso and Thompson (2010), German et al. (2009), and Roosa et al. (2002), who showed that immigrant parents tend to encourage behaviors that align with their home country values, which in this case was familism.

Contributions of the Study to the Existing Literature on Family Leisure

The focus of this study was on family leisure among non-traditional (i.e., minority) working-class families, which is rare in the family leisure scholarship. According to Trussell et al. (2017), as a whole the North American leisure scholarship has failed to examine more diverse families (e.g., families of lower socio-economic class, non-traditional religion, geographical location, and/or ethnic backgrounds). Trussell and Shaw (2007) argued that “most of the research on family leisure has taken place within an urban or suburban context, and has typically focused on traditional white middle-class families” (p. 366). Thus, the findings of this study on leisure among working-class Mexican-American families provided important contributions to this line of scholarship.

In addition to examining leisure among minority families, this study explored how purposive leisure is enacted in cross-cultural contexts and how culturally-determined parental dynamics (mother-father) and child-parental interactions shaped children’s leisure. One of the most important contributions of this study to the family leisure scholarship was the inclusion of children’s perspectives. With the exception of Christenson et al.’s (2008) study, most of the

leisure scholarship that focused on Mexican-American families failed to take children's perspectives into account.

Although the findings presented in this thesis did not allow me to provide extensive commentary on the parental facilitation of leisure, interestingly, I found that extended family and community members often facilitated and helped to offset constraints experienced by the parents. For instance, one of the families who I interviewed received help from the child's Godparents to drive the children to games that required driving past immigration checkpoints. I also found that community members played a big role in offsetting parental constraints by helping cover the cost of the registration fees when the family could not afford to pay.

Overall, the study provided unique contributions to our understanding of how cultural values and socio-economic status shape involvement in passive and active leisure among second-generation Mexican-American youth. The findings revealed that leisure among youth in general, and among Latino youth in particular, cannot be understood in separation from the broader influences of their families and communities where they live.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

Some of the findings of the study included but were not limited to, neighborhood characteristics such as high crime rate and lack of open spaces shaping leisure patterns of Mexican-American youth. Parents' employed protective strategies to ensure their children's safety (e.g., curfews, location restrictions, and prohibiting children from spending time with certain people) that were in accordance with their home-country values rooted in familism. They encouraged their children to spend time at home with the family. As a result, much of the leisure among youth that took place within their communities was passive and home-based. A large proportion of their leisure included mainstream American pastimes such as watching TV and playing video games. Youth have also been involved in many traditional activities with their families such as joining the family BBQs, festivities and watching Latino soap operas. Youth engaged in active leisure (e.g., playing soccer, American football, and rugby) almost solely outside of the confines of their communities. The constraints experienced by the first-generation parents (e.g., the legality of status, lack of information caused by the lack of English proficiency, limited economic resources) shaped the opportunities for involvement in active leisure among the second-generation youth. The data revealed that children and parents had different motivations for the youth's involvement in active leisure. Children's motivations included wanting to have fun, socialization / spending time with friends, to relieve boredom, and to become professional or famous athletes. Their parents, on the other hand, wanted their children to participate in recreational sport to keep them healthy, away from harm, and expose them to opportunities for advancement.

Limitations of the Study

Although interesting and useful information was obtained from this research project, there are a number of limitations of this study that should be considered when interpreting the data. First, given the limited time I had to recruit and conduct interviews, I only spent a short time in the field, which prohibited me from being able to explore the topic more in-depth. Second, the small sample size in the study means that the findings cannot be generalized to the broader Mexican-American population. It is likely that other Mexican-American families may have different leisure experiences that were not explored in this study. However, considering the qualitative nature of the study, generalizability of the findings was not one of its goals. Third, it is possible that the information provided by the respondents may be affected by the degree of comfort they felt during the interview and their willingness to share their personal experiences.

Fourth, my background (i.e., being a Southern California resident and a second-generation Mexican-American woman) may have influenced the interview process and the questions that were asked of the participants. In addition, it is also possible that some important information may have been omitted or overemphasized due to my interactions with the respondents. As in any qualitative research, it is possible that my own experiences and characteristics may have played a role in the questions I asked and how I interpreted the data. During the course of this study, I was fully aware of the possible influence my nationality, ethnic background, legal status, socioeconomic status, knowledge of the culture, and prior experiences may have had on the analysis of the data gathered in the study. I made sure to guard myself against the negative impacts of being an insider by continuously reminding myself of the possibility of personal biases and took extra precautions by probing and asking for clarifications instead of making assumptions during the interviews. In addition, I remained neutral and did not

disclose my opinions and stances on any issues in front of the participants. Lastly, I worked alongside my advisors, who were not of Latino background, and who made sure that I was basing my interview questions on the gaps in the literature rather than solely on the bases of my experiences.

Suggestions for Future Research

I believe this work will provide an important contribution to the literature, as recreation behavior among second-generation Mexican-American youth is an area that remains almost completely unexplored in the field of recreation, sport, and tourism. This study represents an initial step in our understanding of the experiences and constraints unique not only to first-generation immigrant families but to second-generation individuals as well. Furthermore, this study will serve as a springboard for a discussion of the changing patterns of leisure participation among second-generation youth which has important implications for leisure provision across the U.S.

Most of the existing literature in the field of leisure among Mexican-Americans tends to consider this group as homogeneous, which is an unfortunate omission as recreation behavior among second-generation Mexican-American youth is likely to be significantly different from their immigrant parents. Future research would benefit from not only focusing on different generations but from being more explicit regarding who the participants are. This information would greatly help not only the readers but scholars and practitioners who are seeking to understand more about the targeted group. For example, when conducting research on Mexican-Americans, researchers should consider their generational and socio-economic status, their legality of residence, and the size and characteristics of their families (e.g., how many children

they have, where they were born, their level of proficiency in English, how many years have they been in the United States).

In addition to being more descriptive, future research should explore not only adult perspectives but also children's perspective as they can provide essential information that may be overlooked by focusing exclusively on adults. Unfortunately, most research studies exploring recent immigrants have concentrated on first-generation adults (Dixon et al., 2008; Harker, 2001; Jensen & Chitose, 1996; Rumbaut, 1996; Stodolska & Alexandris, 2004) and, with the exception of few studies (Christenson et al., 2008), have almost completely ignored children's voices. Furthermore, when examining leisure among Mexican-Americans, studies would benefit from more research examining the entire family unit. Although my study only included the perspectives of children, mothers, and fathers, future research should include siblings and/or the extended family members (e.g., grandparents) as they can play significant roles in the facilitation of youth's leisure.

Lastly, generating new knowledge on these issues and sharing it with practitioners in the field of recreation would hopefully increase their cross-cultural competence and help them design programs that would attract more minorities to recreational activities. With the changing demographics of the United States, especially in the state of California, it is critical that recreation professionals understand culture, behaviors, and perceptions of Latinos. I believe increasing accessibility of recreation programs to Latino families and youth is critical, as leisure has been shown to have very important benefits for their health, well-being, and quality of life.

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**APPENDIX A:
IRB APPROVAL LETTER**

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research
Office for the Protection of Research Subjects
805 West Pennsylvania Ave
Urbana, IL 61801



June 6, 2017

Monika Stodolska
Recreation Sport and Tourism
104 Huff Hall
1206 S Fourth St

RE: *The Effects of Intergenerational Family Dynamics on Participation in Leisure among Mexican-American Youth*
IRB Protocol Number: 17821

Dear Dr. Stodolska:

This letter authorizes the use of human subjects in your project entitled *The Effects of Intergenerational Family Dynamics on Participation in Leisure among Mexican-American Youth*. The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Institutional Review Board (IRB) approved, by expedited review, the protocol as described in your IRB application. The expiration date for this protocol, IRB number 17821, is 06/05/2020. The risk designation applied to your project is *no more than minimal risk*.

Copies of the attached date-stamped consent form(s) must be used in obtaining informed consent. If there is a need to revise or alter the consent form(s), please submit the revised form(s) for IRB review, approval, and date-stamping prior to use.

Under applicable regulations, no changes to procedures involving human subjects may be made without prior IRB review and approval. The regulations also require that you promptly notify the IRB of any problems involving human subjects, including unanticipated side effects, adverse reactions, and any injuries or complications that arise during the project.

You were granted a three-year approval. If there are any changes to the protocol that result in your study becoming ineligible for the extended approval period, the RPI is responsible for immediately notifying the IRB via an amendment. The protocol will be issued a modified expiration date accordingly.

If you have any questions about the IRB process, or if you need assistance at any time, please feel free to contact me at the OPRS office, or visit our website at <https://www.oprs.research.illinois.edu>.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jennifer Ford".

Jennifer Ford, MS
Human Subjects Research Specialist, Office for the Protection of Research Subjects

Attachment(s): 1 Research Team Application, 6 Consent Forms

c: Leslie Camarillo
Yelyzaveta Berdychevsky Kustanovich



RESEARCH TEAM APPLICATION

Form to Report All Investigators That Will Participate in Any Way on The Research

IRB Number 17821

Responsible Project Investigator: Monika Stodolska

RECEIVED

MAY 30 2017

UIUC OPRS

Project Title:

The Effects of Intergenerational Family Dynamics on Participation in Leisure among Mexican-American Youth

- ☒ Submitting with Initial New Protocol Application
☐ Changing research team, date of submission _____

List all investigators engaged in the research study, including those from other institutions. Include all persons who will be 1) directly responsible for the project's design or implementation, 2) recruitment, 3) obtain informed consent, 4) involved in data collection, data analysis, or follow-up.

Collaborators, outside consultants, and all graduate and undergraduate students should be listed if they will be responsible for these activities. Include all investigators named on grant proposals who will be engaged in human subjects' research.

Note: Changes made to the Responsible Project Investigator require a revised New Protocol application and amendment form.

Please copy and paste text fields to add additional researcher team members.

Last Name: Camarillo		First Name: Leslie		Academic Degree(s): B.A.	
Dept. or Unit: Recreation, Sport and Tourism		Office Address: 104 Huff Hall		Mail Code: 584	
Street Address: 104 Huff Hall		City: Champaign		State: IL	Zip Code: 61820
Phone: (760)828-1538		Net ID: Lcamari2		E-mail: Lcamari2@illinois.edu	
Affiliation:	☐ University of Illinois Faculty ☐ Academic Professional/Staff ☒ Grad Student				
	☐ Undergrad Student ☐ Visiting Scholar, or				
	☐ Non-Urbana-Champaign campus Affiliate of (Institution):				
Training	☒ CITI Training, Date of Completion, May 18, 2017 valid till May 17, 2020				
	☐ Additional training, Date of Completion ¹ ,				
☒ Please check box if this individual should be copied on IRB correspondence					

Last Name: Berdychevsky		First Name: Liza		Academic Degree(s): Ph.D.	
Dept. or Unit: Recreation, Sport and Tourism		Office Address: 104 Huff Hall		Mail Code: 584	
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Phone: (217) 244-2971		Net ID: lizabk		E-mail: lizabk@illinois.edu	
Affiliation:	☒ Faculty ☐ Academic Professional/Staff ☐ Grad Student ☐ Undergrad Student ☐ Visiting Scholar, or ☐ Non-Illinois Affiliate of (Institution):				
Training	☒ CITI Training, Date of Completion, 02-08-2017 ☐ Additional training, Date of Completion,				
☒ Please check box if this individual should be copied on IRB correspondence					

INVESTIGATOR ASSURANCES

I certify that the information supplied on this form is complete and correct and that new members of the research team will not engage in research until IRB approval has been obtained.

Responsible Project Investigator M. Stodolka

Date 5/19/2017

For Office Use Only University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Institutional Review Board Approved: <u>June 6, 2017</u> IRB #: <u>17821</u>

^{1, 2} Additional CITI modules may be required depending on subject populations or types of research. These include: (i) research enrolling children; (ii) research enrolling prisoners; (iii) FDA regulated research; (iv) data collected via the internet; (v) research conducted in public elementary/secondary schools; and, (vi) researchers conducted in international sites

**APPENDIX B:
PARENT RECRUITMENT SCRIPT
IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH**

Parent Recruitment Script in English

Dear Parent(s)/Guardian(s):

My name is Leslie Camarillo, and I am a graduate student in the Department of Recreation, Sport and Tourism at the University of Illinois. I am conducting research project on “The Effects of Intergenerational Family Dynamics on Participation in Leisure among Mexican American Youth.” The goal of the study will be to understand the influence that first-generation Mexican-American parents have on the leisure activities of their second-generation middle-school-aged children. We would like to invite you to participate in this research project. The following information is provided to help you make an informed decision whether or not you would like to participate.

Parents participating in this research project will be asked to complete an interview. The interview will take approximately 30-45 minutes and will take place in a location that is convenient to you. Approximately 12-20 parents will be asked to participate in individual interviews.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. Some questions in this study may be sensitive to you, such as the decision making process in the household when it comes to your child’s leisure participation, but there are no foreseeable risks for individuals that might result from participating in this project. You can skip any questions in the interview that you do not wish to answer with no negative consequences and may stop participating at any time without penalty. A copy of the interview questions will be available upon request for your review.

Each parent who completes the interview will be given a \$20 gift card. We hope that as a result of this project you will gain a better awareness of factors that influence your child’s leisure participation. We also hope that through this research we will gain a better understanding of leisure behaviors among second generation Mexican-American youth. This research could aid experts in the field learn more about Mexican-American second generations youth and parent-child dynamics within the context of leisure activities. Its results will be disseminated through scientific publications and conferences.

We will carefully protect your privacy and will take steps to ensure that the information collected will be kept strictly confidential. Names will not be recorded on the interview recordings; a unique identification number will be assigned to each recording. This process assures that names are not associated with the data collected. Access to data files will be limited to members of the research team only. All interviews will be audio recorded and the recordings will be erased immediately after transcription; however audio-recording is not a requirement for participation in the study. If you do not want yourself to be recorded, please indicate that at the bottom of this letter. Data will be stored in a locked cabinet and will be retained indefinitely to permit comparisons with future studies of parent-child dynamics within the context of leisure activities. Information obtained from the study may be published in an academic journal or presented at a scholarly conference, but names or identifying information of participants will not be revealed. You will not be included in the study if you do not wish to participate.

If you have any questions about the study you may contact me at 760-828-1538 or e-mail me at Lcamari2@illinois.edu. If you have any questions about your and your child’s rights in this study, please contact the University of Illinois Institutional Review Board at 217-333-2670 or via email at irb@illinois.edu.

If you decide to participate in this study, please sign below, thus indicating that we have your permission to include you in the research project. The decision to participate, decline, or withdraw from participation

will have no effect on your relations with the University of Illinois. Please keep a copy of this letter for your records. We thank you very much in advance for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Leslie Camarillo
Graduate Student
Department of Recreation, Sport and Tourism
104 Huff Hall; 1206 South Fourth Street
Champaign, IL 61842
Tel: 760-828-1538
e-mail: Lcamari2@illinois.edu

Parents please be aware that under the Protection of Pupil Rights Act, 20 U.S.C. Section 1232(c)(1)(A), you have the right to review a copy of the questions asked of or materials that will be used with your children. If you would like to do so, you should contact Leslie Camarillo at 760-828-1538 to obtain a copy of the questions or materials.

YES: I have received a copy of this letter. I am fully aware of the nature and extent of my participation in this project as stated above and the possible risks arising from it. I hereby agree to be a part of the study on *The Effects of Intergenerational Family Dynamics on Participation in Leisure among Mexican American Youth* by participating in:

_____ **interview**

_____ **I agree to be recorded
during the interview**

_____ **I do not agree to be recorded**

NO: I do not wish to participate _____
in the interview.

(Signature of parent/legal guardian)

(Date)

(Printed name of parent/legal guardian)

(Printed name of child participant)

Parent Recruitment Script in Spanish

Estimados Padres / Guardián(es):

Mi nombre es Leslie Camarillo, y soy estudiante de posgrado en el Departamento de Recreación, Deporte y Turismo de la Universidad de Illinois. Estoy llevando a cabo un proyecto de investigación sobre "Los Efectos de la Dinámica Familiar Intergeneracional sobre la Participación en el Ocio entre la Juventud Mexicana Americana". El objetivo del estudio será entender la influencia que los padres mexicano-americanos de primera generación tienen en las actividades de ocio en sus hijos de segunda generación entre las edades de 11-15 años. Nos gustaría invitarle a participar en este proyecto de investigación. La siguiente información se proporciona para ayudarle a tomar una decisión informada sobre si desea participar o no.

A los padres que participen en este proyecto de investigación se les pedirá completar una entrevista. La entrevista tomará aproximadamente 30-45 minutos y tomara lugar en un lugar que sea conveniente para usted. Aproximadamente 12-20 padres serán invitados a participar en entrevistas individuales.

La participación en este estudio es completamente voluntaria. Algunas preguntas en este estudio pueden ser de naturaleza sensible para usted; por ejemplo, se le preguntara sobre el proceso de tomar decisiones en el hogar cuando se trata de la participación en actividades u ocio de su hijo. A pesar de las preguntas que pueden ser sensibles, no hay riesgos previsible para usted o para nadie que participe en este proyecto. Usted puede omitir cualquier pregunta en la entrevista que no dese responder sin consecuencias negativas y puede dejar de participar en cualquier momento sin penalización. Una copia de las preguntas de la entrevista estará disponible si usted la solicita.

Cada padre que complete la entrevista recibirá una tarjeta de regalo de \$20 para Wal-Mart. Esperamos que como resultado de este proyecto usted obtendrá una mejor conciencia de los factores que pueden influir en la participación de ocio de su hijo. También esperamos que a través de esta investigación obtengamos una mejor comprensión de los comportamientos de ocio entre los jóvenes Mexicanos Americanos de segunda generación. Esta investigación podría ayudar a los expertos en el campo a aprender más acerca de la juventud mexicana-estadounidense y la dinámica entre padres e hijos en el contexto de las actividades de ocio. Sus resultados se difundirán a través de publicaciones científicas y conferencias.

Protegeremos cuidadosamente su privacidad y tomaremos medidas para asegurar que la información recopilada se mantenga estrictamente confidencial. Los nombres no se grabarán en las grabaciones de las entrevistas; se asignará un número de identificación único a cada grabación. Este proceso asegura que los nombres no están asociados con los datos recopilados. El acceso a los archivos de datos estará limitado a los miembros del equipo de investigación solamente. Todas las entrevistas serán grabadas en audio y las grabaciones serán borradas inmediatamente después de la transcripción; Sin embargo, la grabación de audio no es un requisito para la participación en el estudio. Si usted no desea ser grabado, por favor indique esto al pie de esta carta. Los datos serán almacenados en un gabinete cerrado y serán retenidos indefinidamente para permitir comparaciones con estudios futuros de la dinámica padre-niño dentro del contexto de las actividades de ocio. La información obtenida del estudio puede ser publicada en una revista académica o presentada en una conferencia académica, pero los nombres o información de identificación de los participantes no serán revelados. Si no desea participar, usted no será incluido en el estudio.

Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre el estudio, puede ponerse en contacto conmigo al 760-828-1538 o enviarme un correo electrónico a Lcamari2@illinois.edu. Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre los derechos de

usted y de su hijo en este estudio, comuníquese con la Junta de Revisión Institucional de la Universidad de Illinois al 217-333-2670 o por correo electrónico a irb@illinois.edu.

Si usted decide participar en este estudio, firme por favor abajo, indicando así que tenemos su permiso para incluirlo en el proyecto de investigación. La decisión de participar, declinar o retirarse de la participación no tendrá ningún efecto en sus relaciones con la Universidad de Illinois. Por favor guarde una copia de esta carta para sus registros. Le agradecemos de antemano por su consideración.

Sinceramente,

Leslie Camarillo
Estudiante de Posgrado
Departamento de Recreación, Deporte y Turismo
104 Huff Hall; 1206 South Fourth Street
Champaign, IL 61842
Tel: 760-828-1538
Correo Electrónico: Lcamari2@illinois.edu

Padres, por favor tengan en cuenta que bajo la Ley de Protección de los Derechos del Alumno. 20 U.S.C. Sección 1232 (c) (1) (A), usted tiene el derecho de obtener una copia de las preguntas o materiales que serán usados con sus hijos. Si desea hacerlo, debe comunicarse con Leslie Camarillo al 760-828-1538 para obtener una copia de las preguntas o materiales.

SÍ: He recibido una copia de esta carta. Estoy plenamente consciente de la naturaleza y alcance de mi participación en este proyecto tal como se ha indicado anteriormente y de los posibles riesgos que se derivan de él. Por la presente acepto ser parte del estudio sobre los Efectos de la Dinámica Familiar Intergeneracional sobre la Participación en el Ocio entre los jóvenes Mexicano-Americanos participando en:

_____ entrevista

___ **Acepto ser grabado durante la entrevista**

___ **No acepto ser grabado**

NO: No deseo participar en la entrevista _____

(Firma del padre / tutor legal)

(Fecha)

(Letra de molde del nombre de padre / tutor legal)

(Letra de molde del nombre del niño participante)

**APPENDIX C:
PARENT CONSENT LETTER
IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH**

Parent Consent Letter in English

Dear Parent(s)/Guardian(s):

My name is Leslie Camarillo, and I am a graduate student in the Department of Recreation, Sport and Tourism at the University of Illinois. I am conducting research project on “The Effects of Intergenerational Family Dynamics on Participation in Leisure among Mexican American Youth.” The goal of the study will be to understand the influence that first-generation Mexican-American parents have on the leisure activities of their second-generation middle-school-aged children. We would like to invite your child to participate in this research project and, thus, we need to obtain your signed agreement to allow your child to participate. The following information is provided to help you make an informed decision whether or not allow your child to participate.

Children participating in this research project will be asked to complete an interview. The interview will take approximately 30-45 minutes and will take place in a location that is convenient to you. Approximately 6-10 children will be asked to participate in individual interviews.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. Some questions in this study may be sensitive to your child, such as the decision making process in the household when it comes to your child’s leisure participation, but there are no foreseeable risks for your child that might result from participating in this project. Your child can skip any questions in the interview he or she does not wish to answer with no negative consequences and may stop participating at any time without penalty. A copy of the interview questions will be available upon request for your review.

Each child who completes the interview will be given a \$20 gift card. Only one child per family can participate in the study. We hope that as a result of this project your child will gain a better awareness of factors that influence his or her leisure participation. We also hope that through this research we will gain a better understanding of leisure behaviors among second generation Mexican-American youth. This research could aid experts in the field learn more about Mexican-American second generations youth and parent-child dynamics within the context of leisure activities. Its results will be disseminated through scientific publications and conferences.

We will carefully protect your child’s privacy and will take steps to ensure that the information collected will be kept strictly confidential. Names will not be recorded on the interview recordings; a unique identification number will be assigned to each recording. This process assures that names are not associated with the data collected. Access to data files will be limited to members of the research team only. All interviews will be audio recorded and the recordings will be erased immediately after transcription; however audio-recording is not a requirement for participation in the study. If you do not want your child to be recorded, please indicate that at the bottom of this letter. Data will be stored in a locked cabinet and will be retained indefinitely to permit comparisons with future studies of parent-child dynamics within the context of leisure activities. Information obtained from the study may be published in an academic journal or presented at a scholarly conference, but names or identifying information of children will not be revealed. A child will not be included in the study if a parent or guardian declines his or her participation or if the child does not agree to take part.

If you have any questions about the study you may contact me at 760-828-1538 or e-mail me at Lcamari2@illinois.edu. If you have any questions about your and your child’s rights in this study, please contact the University of Illinois Institutional Review Board at 217-333-2670 or via email at irb@illinois.edu.

If you decide to allow your child to participate in this study, please sign below, thus indicating that we have parental permission to include your child in the research project. The decision to allow your child to participate, decline, or withdraw from participation will have no affect on your child's relations with the University of Illinois. Please keep a copy of this letter for your records. We thank you very much in advance for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Leslie Camarillo
Graduate Student
Department of Recreation, Sport and Tourism
104 Huff Hall; 1206 South Fourth Street
Champaign, IL 61842
Tel: 760-828-1538
e-mail: Lcamari2@illinois.edu

Parents please be aware that under the Protection of Pupil Rights Act. 20 U.S.C. Section 1232(c)(1)(A), you have the right to review a copy of the questions asked of or materials that will be used with your children. If you would like to do so, you should contact Leslie Camarillo at 760-828-1538 to obtain a copy of the questions or materials.

YES: I have received a copy of this letter. I am fully aware of the nature and extent of my child's participation in this project as stated above and the possible risks arising from it. I hereby agree to allow my child to be a part of the study on *The Effects of Intergenerational Family Dynamics on Participation in Leisure among Mexican American Youth* by participating in:

_____ interview

_____ **I agree to have my child
recorded during the interview**

_____ **I do not agree to have my child recorded**

NO: I do not give consent for my child to participate _____
in the interview.

(Signature of parent/legal guardian)

(Date)

(Printed name of parent/legal guardian)

(Printed name of child participant)

Parent Consent Letter in Spanish

Estimados Padre(s) / Guardián(es):

Mi nombre es Leslie Camarillo, y soy estudiante de posgrado en el Departamento de Recreación, Deporte y Turismo de la Universidad de Illinois. Estoy llevando a cabo un proyecto de investigación sobre "Los Efectos de la Dinámica Familiar Intergeneracional sobre la Participación en el Ocio entre la Juventud Mexicana Americana". El objetivo del estudio será entender la influencia que los padres mexicano-americanos de primera generación tienen en las actividades de ocio en sus hijos de segunda generación entre las edades de 11-15 años. Nos gustaría invitar a su hijo a participar en este proyecto de investigación y, por lo tanto, necesitamos obtener su acuerdo firmado para permitir que su hijo participe. La siguiente información se le proporciona para ayudarle a tomar una decisión informada para elegir si le permite o no a su niño participar.

A los niños que participan en este proyecto de investigación se les pedirá completar una entrevista. La entrevista tomará aproximadamente 30-45 minutos y tendrá lugar en un lugar que sea conveniente para usted. Aproximadamente a 6-10 niños de diferentes familias se les pedirá que participen en entrevistas individuales.

La participación en este estudio es completamente voluntaria. Algunas preguntas en este estudio pueden ser de naturaleza sensible para su hijo; por ejemplo, se le preguntará sobre el proceso de tomar decisiones en el hogar cuando se trata de la participación en actividades u ocio de su hijo. A pesar de las preguntas que pueden ser sensibles, no hay riesgos previsibles para su hijo que pudieran resultar de participar en este proyecto. Su hijo puede omitir cualquier pregunta en la entrevista que él o ella no desea responder sin consecuencias negativas y puede dejar de participar en cualquier momento sin penalización. Una copia de las preguntas de la entrevista estará disponible si usted la solicita.

Cada niño que complete la entrevista recibirá una tarjeta de regalo de \$20. Sólo un niño por familia puede participar en el estudio. Esperamos que, como resultado de este proyecto, su hijo tenga una mayor conciencia de los factores que influyen en su participación en el ocio. También esperamos que a través de esta investigación obtengamos una mejor comprensión de los comportamientos de ocio entre los jóvenes Mexicanos Americanos de segunda generación. Esta investigación podría ayudar a los expertos en el campo a aprender más acerca de la juventud mexicana-estadounidense y la dinámica entre padres e hijos en el contexto de las actividades de ocio. Sus resultados se difundirán a través de publicaciones científicas y conferencias.

Protegeremos cuidadosamente la privacidad de su hijo y tomaremos medidas para asegurar que la información recopilada se mantenga estrictamente confidencial. Los nombres no se grabarán en las grabaciones de las entrevistas; Se asignará un número de identificación único a cada grabación. Este proceso asegura que los nombres no están asociados con los datos recopilados. El acceso a los archivos de datos estará limitado a los miembros del equipo de investigación solamente. Todas las entrevistas serán grabadas en audio y las grabaciones serán borradas inmediatamente después de la transcripción; Sin embargo, la grabación de audio no es un requisito para la participación en el estudio. Si no desea que su hijo sea registrado, por favor indique esto al pie de esta carta. Los datos serán almacenados en un gabinete cerrado y serán retenidos indefinidamente para permitir comparaciones con estudios futuros de la dinámica padre-niño dentro del contexto de las actividades de ocio. La información obtenida del estudio puede ser publicada en una revista académica o presentada en una conferencia académica, pero los nombres o información de identificación de los niños no serán revelados. Un niño no será incluido en el estudio si un padre o guardián no nos da su consentimiento para la participación o si el niño no acepta participar.

Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre el estudio, puede ponerse en contacto conmigo al 760-828-1538 o enviarme un correo electrónico a Lcamari2@illinois.edu. Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre los derechos de usted y de su hijo en este estudio, comuníquese con la Junta de Revisión Institucional de la Universidad de Illinois al 217-333-2670 o por correo electrónico a irb@illinois.edu.

Si usted decide permitir que su hijo participe en este estudio, por favor firme abajo, indicando así que tenemos el permiso de los padres para incluir a su hijo en el proyecto de investigación. La decisión de permitir que su hijo participe, declive o se retire de la participación no afectará las relaciones de su hijo con la Universidad de Illinois. Por favor guarde una copia de esta carta para sus registros. Le agradecemos de antemano por su consideración.

Sinceramente,

Leslie Camarillo
Estudiante de Posgrado
Departamento de Recreación, Deporte y Turismo
104 Huff Hall; 1206 South Fourth Street
Champaign, IL 61842
Tel: 760-828-1538
Correo Electrónico: Lcamari2@illinois.edu

Padres, por favor tengan en cuenta que bajo la Ley de Protección de los Derechos del Alumno. 20 U.S.C. Sección 1232 (c) (1) (A), usted tiene el derecho de obtener una copia de las preguntas o materiales que serán usados con sus hijos. Si desea hacerlo, debe comunicarse con Leslie Camarillo al 760-828-1538 para obtener una copia de las preguntas o materiales.

Sí: He recibido una copia de esta carta. Estoy plenamente consciente de la naturaleza y el alcance de la participación de mi hijo en este proyecto, como se ha indicado anteriormente, y de los posibles riesgos que se derivan de él. Por la presente acepto permitir que mi hijo / a participe en el estudio sobre los *Efectos de la Dinámica Familiar Intergeneracional en la Participación en el Ocio entre la Juventud Mexicana Americana* participando en:

_____ entrevista

___ **Acepto que mi hijo(a)** ___ **No acepto que mi hijo(a) se grabado**
se grabado durante la entrevista

NO: No doy consentimiento para que mi hijo participe _____
en la entrevista.

(Firma del padre / tutor legal)

(Fecha)

(Letra de molde del nombre de padre / tutor legal)

(Letra de molde del nombre del niño participante)

APPENDIX D:
PARENT CONSENT LETTER FOR CHILD'S PARTICIPATION
IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH

Parent Consent Letter for Childs Participation in English

Dear Parent(s)/Guardian(s):

My name is Leslie Camarillo, and I am a graduate student in the Department of Recreation, Sport and Tourism at the University of Illinois. I am conducting research project on “The Effects of Intergenerational Family Dynamics on Participation in Leisure among Mexican American Youth.” The goal of the study will be to understand the influence that first-generation Mexican-American parents have on the leisure activities of their second-generation middle-school-aged children. We would like to invite your child to participate in this research project and, thus, we need to obtain your signed agreement to allow your child to participate. The following information is provided to help you make an informed decision whether or not allow your child to participate.

Children participating in this research project will be asked to complete an interview. The interview will take approximately 30-45 minutes and will take place in a location that is convenient to you. Approximately 6-10 children will be asked to participate in individual interviews.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. Some questions in this study may be sensitive to your child, such as the decision making process in the household when it comes to your child’s leisure participation, but there are no foreseeable risks for your child that might result from participating in this project. Your child can skip any questions in the interview he or she does not wish to answer with no negative consequences and may stop participating at any time without penalty. A copy of the interview questions will be available upon request for your review.

Each child who completes the interview will be given a \$20 gift card. Only one child per family can participate in the study. We hope that as a result of this project your child will gain a better awareness of factors that influence his or her leisure participation. We also hope that through this research we will gain a better understanding of leisure behaviors among second generation Mexican-American youth. This research could aid experts in the field learn more about Mexican-American second generations youth and parent-child dynamics within the context of leisure activities. Its results will be disseminated through scientific publications and conferences.

We will use all reasonable efforts to keep your personal information confidential, but we cannot guarantee absolute confidentiality. When this research is discussed or published, no one will know that you were in the study. But, when required by law or university policy, identifying information (including your signed consent form) may be seen or copied by:

- The Institutional Review Board that approves research studies;
- The Office for Protection of Research Subjects and other university departments that oversee human subjects research;
- University and state auditors responsible for oversight of research

The researcher(s) may not be able to maintain as confidential, information about known or reasonably suspected incidents of abuse or neglect of a child, dependent adult or elder, including, but not limited to, physical, sexual, emotional, and financial abuse or neglect. If the researcher is given such information, he or she may report it to the authorities. Names will not be recorded on the interview recordings; a unique identification number will be assigned to each recording. This process assures that names are not associated with the data collected. All interviews will be audio recorded and the recordings will be erased immediately after transcription; however audio-recording is not a requirement for participation in the study. If you do not want your child to be recorded, please indicate that at the bottom of this letter. Data will be stored in a locked cabinet and will be retained indefinitely to permit comparisons with future studies of parent-child dynamics within the context of leisure activities. Information obtained from the study may be published in an academic journal or presented at a scholarly conference, but names or

identifying information of children will not be revealed. A child will not be included in the study if a parent or guardian declines his or her participation or if the child does not agree to take part.

If you have any questions about the study you may contact me at 760-828-1538 or e-mail me at Lcamari2@illinois.edu. If you have any questions about your and your child's rights in this study, please contact the University of Illinois Institutional Review Board at 217-333-2670 or via email at irb@illinois.edu.

If you decide to allow your child to participate in this study, please sign below, thus indicating that we have parental permission to include your child in the research project. The decision to allow your child to participate, decline, or withdraw from participation will have no affect on your child's relations with the University of Illinois. Please keep a copy of this letter for your records. We thank you very much in advance for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Leslie Camarillo
Graduate Student
Department of Recreation, Sport and Tourism
104 Huff Hall; 1206 South Fourth Street
Champaign, IL 61842
Tel: 760-828-1538
e-mail: Lcamari2@illinois.edu

Monika Stodolska
Professor
Department of Recreation, Sport and Tourism
104 Huff Hall; 1206 South Fourth Street
Champaign, IL 61842
Tel: 217-255-2433
e-mail: stodolsk@illinois.edu

Parents please be aware that under the Protection of Pupil Rights Act. 20 U.S.C. Section 1232(c)(1)(A), you have the right to review a copy of the questions asked of or materials that will be used with your children. If you would like to do so, you should contact Leslie Camarillo at 760-828-1538 to obtain a copy of the questions or materials.

YES: I have received a copy of this letter. I am fully aware of the nature and extent of my child's participation in this project as stated above and the possible risks arising from it. I hereby agree to allow my child to be a part of the study on *The Effects of Intergenerational Family Dynamics on Participation in Leisure among Mexican American Youth* by participating in:

_____ **interview**

_____ **I agree to have my child
recorded during the interview**

_____ **I do not agree to have my child recorded**

NO: I do not give consent for my child to participate _____
in the interview.

(Signature of parent/legal guardian)

(Date)

(Printed name of parent/legal guardian)

(Printed name of child participant)

Parent Consent Letter for Childs Participation in Spanish

Estimados Padre(s) / Guardián(es):

Mi nombre es Leslie Camarillo, y soy estudiante de posgrado en el Departamento de Recreación, Deporte y Turismo de la Universidad de Illinois. Estoy llevando a cabo un proyecto de investigación sobre "Los Efectos de la Dinámica Familiar Intergeneracional sobre la Participación en el Ocio entre la Juventud Mexicana Americana". El objetivo del estudio será entender la influencia que los padres mexicano-americanos de primera generación tienen en las actividades de ocio en sus hijos de segunda -generación entre las edades de 11-15 años. Nos gustaría invitar a su hijo a participar en este proyecto de investigación y, por lo tanto, necesitamos obtener su acuerdo firmado para permitir que su hijo participe. La siguiente información se le proporciona para ayudarle a tomar una decisión informada para elegir si le permite o no participar a su hijo(a).

A los niños que participan en este proyecto de investigación se les pedirá completar una entrevista. La entrevista tomará aproximadamente 30-45 minutos y tomara lugar en un lugar que sea conveniente para usted. Aproximadamente a 6-10 niños de diferentes familias se les pedirá que participen en entrevistas individuales.

La participación en este estudio es completamente voluntaria. Algunas preguntas en este estudio pueden ser de naturaleza sensible para su hijo; por ejemplo, se le preguntara sobre el proceso de tomar decisiones en el hogar cuando se trata de la participación en actividades u ocio de su hijo. A pesar de las preguntas que pueden ser sensibles, no hay riesgos previsibles para su hijo que pudieran resultar de participar en este proyecto. Su hijo puede omitir cualquier pregunta en la entrevista que él o ella no desea responder sin consecuencias negativas y puede dejar de participar en cualquier momento sin penalización. Una copia de las preguntas de la entrevista estará disponible si usted la solicita.

Cada niño que complete la entrevista recibirá una tarjeta de regalo de \$20 para Wal-Mart. Sólo un niño por familia puede participar en el estudio. Esperamos que, como resultado de este proyecto, su hijo tenga una mayor conciencia de los factores que influyen en su participación en el ocio. También esperamos que a través de esta investigación obtengamos una mejor comprensión de los comportamientos de ocio entre los jóvenes Mexicanos Americanos de segunda generación. Esta investigación podría ayudar a los expertos en el campo a aprender más acerca de la juventud mexicana-estadounidense y la dinámica entre padres e hijos en el contexto de las actividades de ocio. Sus resultados se difundirán a través de publicaciones científicas y conferencias.

Haremos todos los esfuerzos razonables para mantener su información personal confidencial, pero no podemos garantizar la confidencialidad absoluta. Cuando se discuta o publique esta investigación, nadie sabrá que usted estuvo en el estudio. Sin embargo, cuando sea requerido por ley o la política de la universidad, la información de identificación (incluyendo su formulario de consentimiento firmado) puede ser visto o copiado por:

- La Junta de Revisión Institucional que aprueba estudios de investigación;
- La Oficina de Protección de los Sujetos de Investigación y otros departamentos universitarios que supervisan la investigación de sujetos humanos;
- Auditores universitarios y estatales responsables de la supervisión de la investigación

El investigador o los investigadores pueden no ser capaces de mantener información confidencial acerca de incidentes conocidos o razonablemente sospechosos de abuso o negligencia de un niño, adulto dependiente o anciano, incluyendo, pero no limitado a, abuso físico, sexual, emocional y financiero o negligencia. Si el investigador recibe dicha información, puede informar a las autoridades. Los nombres no se grabarán en las grabaciones de las entrevistas; se asignará un número de identificación único a cada grabación. Este proceso asegura que los nombres no están asociados con los datos recopilados. Todas las entrevistas serán grabadas en audio y las grabaciones serán borradas inmediatamente después de la transcripción; Sin embargo, la grabación de audio no es un requisito para la participación en el estudio. Si

no desea que su hijo sea registrado, por favor indique esto al pie de esta carta. Los datos serán almacenados en un gabinete cerrado y serán retenidos indefinidamente para permitir comparaciones con estudios futuros de la dinámica padre-niño dentro del contexto de las actividades de ocio. La información obtenida del estudio puede ser publicada en una revista académica o presentada en una conferencia académica, pero los nombres o información de identificación de los niños no serán revelados. Un niño no será incluido en el estudio si un padre o guardián no nos da su consentimiento para la participación o si el niño no acepta participar.

Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre el estudio, puede ponerse en contacto conmigo al 760-828-1538 o enviarme un correo electrónico a Lcamari2@illinois.edu. Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre los derechos de usted y de su hijo en este estudio, comuníquese con la Junta de Revisión Institucional de la Universidad de Illinois al 217-333-2670 o por correo electrónico a irb@illinois.edu.

Si usted decide permitir que su hijo participe en este estudio, por favor firme abajo, indicando así que tenemos el permiso de los padres para incluir a su hijo en el proyecto de investigación. La decisión de permitir que su hijo participe, declive o se retire de la participación no afectará las relaciones de su hijo con la Universidad de Illinois. Por favor guarde una copia de esta carta para sus registros. Le agradecemos de antemano por su consideración.
Sinceramente,

Leslie Camarillo
Estudiante de Posgrado
Departamento de Recreación, Deporte y Turismo
104 Huff Hall; 1206 South Fourth Street
Champaign, IL 61842
Tel: 760-828-1538
Correo Electrónico: Lcamari2@illinois.edu

Monika Stodolska
Profesora
Departamento de Recreación, Deporte y Turismo
104 Huff Hall; 1206 South Fourth Street
Champaign, IL 61842
Tel: 217-255-2433
Correo Electrónico: stodolsk@illinois.edu

Padres, por favor tengan en cuenta que bajo la Ley de Protección de los Derechos del Alumno. 20 U.S.C. Sección 1232 (c) (1) (A), usted tiene el derecho de obtener una copia de las preguntas o materiales que serán usados con sus hijos. Si desea hacerlo, debe comunicarse con Leslie Camarillo al 760-828-1538 para obtener una copia de las preguntas o materiales.

SÍ: He recibido una copia de esta carta. Estoy plenamente consciente de la naturaleza y el alcance de la participación de mi hijo en este proyecto, como se ha indicado anteriormente, y de los posibles riesgos que se derivan de él. Por la presente acepto permitir que mi hijo / a participe en el estudio sobre los *Efectos de la Dinámica Familiar Intergeneracional en la Participación en el Ocio entre la Juventud Mexicana Americana* participando en:

_____ entrevista

___ **Acepto que mi hijo(a)**
se grabado durante la entrevista

___ **No acepto que mi hijo(a) se grabado**

NO: No doy consentimiento para que mi hijo participe _____
en la entrevista.

(Firma del padre / tutor legal)

(Fecha)

(Letra de molde del nombre de padre / tutor legal)

(Letra de molde del nombre del niño participante)

**APPENDIX E:
MINOR RECRUITMENT SCRIPT
IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH**

Hi!

My name is Leslie Camarillo and I'm a graduate student in the Department of Recreation, Sport, and Tourism at the University of Illinois. I am conducting a research study to examine the effects of intergenerational family dynamics on leisure behavior among second generation Mexican-American middle school youth. I am recruiting middle-school aged children to participate in an interview. Your participation in the study is voluntary. Children who complete the interview will be given a \$20 Wal-Mart gift certificate.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please call me at 760-828-1538 or email at Lcamari2@illinois.edu. Thank you for your time and consideration!

Sincerely,

Leslie Camarillo
Graduate Student
Department of Recreation, Sport and Tourism
104 Huff Hall; 1206 South Fourth Street
Champaign, IL 61842
Tel: 760-828-1538
e-mail: Lcamari2@illinois.edu

¡Hola!

Mi nombre es Leslie Camarillo y soy estudiante de posgrado en el Departamento de Recreación, Deporte y Turismo de la Universidad de Illinois. Estoy llevando a cabo un estudio de investigación para examinar los efectos de la dinámica familiar intergeneracional sobre el comportamiento del ocio o las actividades que hacen en el tiempo libre los niños Mexicanos-Americanos de la segunda generación entre las edades de 11 y 15 años. Estoy reclutando niños que están en la secundaria (11-15 años) para participar en una entrevista. Su participación en el estudio es voluntaria. Los niños que completen la entrevista recibirán un certificado de regalo de \$ 20 para Wal-Mart.

Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre este estudio de investigación, por favor llámeme al 760-828-1538 o envíe un correo electrónico a Lcamari2@illinois.edu. ¡Gracias por su tiempo y consideración!

Sinceramente,

Leslie Camarillo
Estudiante de Posgrado
Departamento de Recreación, Deporte y Turismo
104 Huff Hall; 1206 South Fourth Street
Champaign, IL 61842
Tel: 760-828-1538
Correo Electrónico: Lcamari2@illinois.edu

**APPENDIX F:
MINOR ASSENT LETTER
IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH**

Minor Assent Form in English

University of Illinois Minor Assent Form

Interview Phase

Project Title: The Effects of Intergenerational Family Dynamics on Participation in Leisure among Mexican American Youth

Name of Principal Investigator: Leslie Camarillo
Additional researcher:

I am being invited to participate in an interview that asks questions about what I like to do for fun in my free time, what my parents think about the activities I do in my free time and how it affects what I do. Even though my parents have said that I, _____, can participate in this study, I know that I can still say no without getting into any trouble. There are no right or wrong answers in the interview.

I understand that my participation is voluntary. I know I can skip questions I choose not to answer and I can decide to stop participating in the project at any time. If I choose to skip questions or decide that I don't want to participate in the project at all, nothing bad will happen to me.

I know that I will be recorded in this interview and that I can say no if I do not want to be recorded on audio tape. I know that I can still participate even if I don't want to be recorded, and I can just tell the person doing the interview that I don't want to be recorded. We will not tell anyone what you tell us without your permission unless there is something that could be dangerous to you or someone else. If you tell us that someone is or has been hurting you, we may have to tell that to people who are responsible for protecting children so they can make sure you are safe.

I know that I will be given a \$20 Wal-Mart gift card for participation in this interview.

(Name)

(Date)

☐ I agree to be recorded

☐ I do not want to be recorded

If you have any questions about the study you may contact me at 760-828-1538 or Lcamari2@illinois.edu. If you have any questions about your rights in this study, please contact the University of Illinois Institutional Review Board at 217-333-2670 or via email at irb@illinois.edu.

Minor Assent Form in Spanish

Universidad de Illinois Formulario de Asentimiento Para Menores de Edad

Fase de Entrevista

Título del proyecto: Los efectos de la dinámica familiar intergeneracional sobre la participación en el ocio entre los jóvenes mexicanos americanos

Nombre del Investigador Principal: Leslie Camarillo
Investigador adicional:

Estoy siendo invitado a participar en una entrevista que hace preguntas sobre lo que me gusta hacer por diversión en mi tiempo libre, lo que piensan mis padres sobre las actividades que hago en mi tiempo libre y cómo esto afecta lo que hago. Aunque mis padres han dicho que yo, _____, pueden participar en este estudio, sé que todavía puedo decir que no quiero participar sin meterme en ningún problema. No hay respuestas correctas o incorrectas en la entrevista.

Entiendo que mi participación es voluntaria. Sé que puedo omitir preguntas que no deseo responder y puedo tomar la decisión de dejar de participar en el proyecto en cualquier momento. Si elijo omitir preguntas o decidir que no quiero participar en el proyecto, nada malo me pasará.

Sé que voy a ser grabado en esta entrevista, pero puedo decir si no deseo ser grabado en cinta de audio. Sé que puedo participar incluso si no quiero ser grabado, y puedo decirle a la persona que está haciendo la entrevista que no quiero ser grabado. No le diremos a nadie lo que nos diga sin su permiso a menos que haya algo que podría ser peligroso para usted o alguien más. Si nos dice que alguien lo está o ha estado lastimándolo, podríamos decírselo a unas personas que sea responsables de proteger a los niños para que puedan asegurarse de que este a salvo.

Sé que se me dará una tarjeta de regalo de \$20 para Wal-Mart por participar en esta entrevista.

(Nombre)

(Fecha)

☐ Estoy de acuerdo en ser grabado

☐ No deseo ser grabado

Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre el estudio, se puede contactar conmigo llamando al 760-828-1538 o por correo electrónico a Lcamari2@illinois.edu. Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre sus derechos en este estudio, comuníquese con la Junta de Revisión Institucional de la Universidad de Illinois al 217-333-2670 o por correo electrónico a irb@illinois.edu.

**APPENDIX G:
INTERVIEW SCRIPT FOR ADULTS AND FOR CHILDREN
IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH**

Interview Script for Adults in English

1. What kind of leisure activities is your child involved in?
2. How are decisions made in your family when it comes to your child's leisure participation?
3. How involved are you in your child's leisure? What is your role? What is your partner's role?
4. Are there any activities you prohibit or discourage your child from participating in?
5. Do you ever "negotiate" leisure participation with your child?
6. Are there places where your child is not allowed to go?
7. Are there any people your child is not allowed to spend his/her time with?
8. Has money ever been an issue for you when it comes to financing your child's leisure activities?
 - a. If yes: have you had to sacrifice anything to keep your child enrolled in leisure activities?
 - b. Are scholarships available for the leisure activities that your child wants to participate in?
 - c. Has your child ever used scholarships to cover the cost of his/her leisure participation?
9. What would you like your child to get out of his/her participation in leisure activities?
10. How important is family in your life?
11. How much of its leisure time does your child spend with family members?

Interview Script for Adults in Spanish

1. ¿Qué tipo de actividades hace en su tiempo libre su hijo?
2. ¿Cómo se toman las decisiones en su familia cuando se trata de la participación de ocio de su hijo?
3. ¿Qué tan involucrado está usted en el ocio de su hijo? ¿Cuál es tu papel? ¿Cuál es el papel de su pareja?
4. ¿Hay alguna actividad que prohíba o desanime a su hijo(a) de participar?
5. ¿Alguna vez ha "negociado" la participación de ocio con su hijo?
6. ¿Hay lugares donde su hijo no está autorizado a ir?
7. ¿Hay persona que usted le prohíbe a su hijo juntarse?
8. ¿Alguna vez ha sido el dinero un problema para usted?
 - a. Si es el caso: ¿ha tenido que sacrificar algo para mantener a su hijo inscrito en sus actividades?
 - b. ¿Hay becas disponibles para las actividades que su hijo quiere participar?
 - c. ¿Ha utilizado su hijo alguna vez una beca para cubrir el costo de su participación?
9. ¿Qué le gustaría que su hijo obtenga de su participación en sus actividades de ocio?
10. ¿Qué tan importante es la familia en su vida?
11. ¿Cuánto tiempo pasa con la familia su hijo(a) en su tiempo libre?

Interview Script for Children in English

1. What kind of things do you do for fun when you are not in school?
2. Do you like to spend time with your family? Do you think it is important to spend time with the family?
3. What to do you for fun with your family members?
4. Who makes the decisions in your family about what leisure is OK for you to participate in? Who has the final decision?
5. Do your mother and father give you advice on places you should or should not visit?
 - a. If yes: Can you give me examples of the advice they give you?
6. Do your mother and father give you advice on with whom you should or should not spend your free time with?
7. Do your parents support your leisure participation in any way?
 - a. If yes: How do your parents support your leisure?
8. Are there any activities that your parents don't let you do?
9. How important is family in your life?
10. Do you know if your parents pay for your activities?
 - a. If so, do you know if they can afford it?
 - b. Do you know if they ever apply for scholarships to pay for your activities?
11. Do your mom and dad like the leisure activities that you are involved in?