Hispanic Entrepreneurs’ Anticipatory Work-Life Socialization:
Conceptual Analysis of Narrative Accounts

By
Yvonne Jay Montoya

A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Approved May 2012 by the
Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Sarah De La Garza, Chair
Sarah Tracy
Eric Margolis

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY
August 2012
ABSTRACT

This narrative study sought to understand the socialization experiences of Hispanic entrepreneurs. While several studies have explored socialization and work-life wellness, few have focused specifically on Hispanics or entrepreneurs. A total of 25 participants were formally interviewed for this study including 16 entrepreneurs and 9 of their family members. Data were also collected through participant observation in which 210 participants were observed at several venues. Participants were recruited from three Southwestern states including: Arizona, Colorado, and Texas. The study employed qualitative interpretive methods to collect and analyze data.

Research questions focused on the socialization experiences Hispanic entrepreneurs’ reported, how they narrated the ways in which these experiences influenced their work-lives as entrepreneurs, and what they and their family members reported about the relationship between family and work. Results indicate Hispanic entrepreneurs were exposed to work at very young ages, acquired a variety of skills (e.g. sales and leadership) that transferred to their careers as entrepreneurs, and developed coping skills which helped them deal with business and personal hardships. Moreover, participants noted the ways in which faith, positive self-talk, and emotional labor played a role in their work lives. Finally, this research extends current constructions of care and what constitutes work and quality family time.
DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandfather, Jose Arsenio Lovato (Grandpa Shine). Thank you for sacrificing your own education in order to work and take care of your siblings, children, and grandchildren. I will never forget how much you stressed the importance of education and hard work. This accomplishment is not mine, but ours and I hope it makes you proud.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank God for giving me the strength, will, and capacity to complete this dissertation. His grace and love carried me through everything.

The participants who shared their stories and insight will remain on my mind and in my heart. My parents, Victor J. and Marilyn Montoya, thank you for the love, guidance, and strength that developed and have sustained me.

This dissertation would not have come to fruition had it not been for my outstanding committee. Dr. Sarah Amira De la Garza thank you for not only teaching me what it means to be a scholar who is willing to take risks and tell the stories that need to be told, but also for helping me to reconnect with God which changed my life and my reality. Sarah J. Tracy, you taught me what it means to be a committed and accountable teacher, researcher, and leader. I truly appreciate your continued support, insight, and guidance. Eric Margolis, thank you for challenging me to determine my own outcomes and for all of the knowledge you shared on labor, justice, and navigating the academy.

Dr. Sallye McKee, who is one of the most amazing scholars and people I have ever known. Thank you for teaching me all that you have, for being a consistent role model and supporter, and for making a difference in so many people’s lives. My wonderful mentors: Drs. Jess Alberts, Angela Trethewey, Phillip Tompkins, Caroline Turner, Heather Canary, Robert McPhee, Louis Olivas, Brenda Allen, and Margarita Olivas. I would like to acknowledge Alison, Liz, Sandy, and Kendra for their shared insight and friendship. Lilian, Karla, and Sarah who have been the most amazing friends and colleagues I could have asked
for. Their love and support have gotten me through the most difficult times. Thank you for the laugh, tears and everything in-between.

I would like to thank my sisters for their love, devotion, unwavering support, and strength. They are the best sisters I could have asked for and I thank God for them every single day. Tee, thank you for constantly giving me quality advice about teaching, and for emphasizing the importance of this research on a larger scale. Brigit, thank you for your keen editing, help with formatting, and motivational messages. Yin, you are awesome and showed me the light. Lorene, thank you so much for watching my baby throughout crunch time, for your love, encouragement, and friendship. To my nieces, nephews, family members and friends thank you for all of your support.

My husband Tony and daughter Reyna Lucia Florez. Tony I will forever be grateful for your love, support, endless encouragement and all of the sacrifices you made for our family. The days and nights when you did all of the household work, took care of our baby, and still made time to rub my shoulders are so appreciated. Thank you for believing in me and being my rock. I could not have completed this dissertation without you. Reyna, you are my love and my life. You embody everything wonderful in this world and are my greatest accomplishment. Thank you all for inspiring me to finish!

Finally, I would like to acknowledge support from the Ford Foundation Pre-doctoral Fellowship which was instrumental in my decision to pursue a doctorate and grant funding through the Hugh Downs School of Communication that supported numerous research projects throughout my graduate career.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LIST OF TABLES</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER

### 1 RATIONALE

- Dissertation Organization ........................................ 1

#### 2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

- Small Business .................................................................. 7
- Hispanic Entrepreneurship ........................................... 8
- Communication Work-Life Research ................................ 10
- Race-Ethnicity in Work-Life .......................................... 13
- Social and Political Context ........................................ 16
- Organizational Socialization ........................................ 28
- Research Questions ...................................................... 34

### 3 METHODS & ANALYSIS

- Researcher Position .................................................... 36
- Data Collection ................................................................ 40
- Methods Justification .................................................... 40
- Data Collection Procedures ........................................... 43
- Sites and Participants .................................................. 52
- Data Analysis .............................................................. 67

### 4 RESULTS

- Developing Expectations ............................................... 79
CHAPTER

Skill Acquisition ............................................................................. 86
Development of Ventures ............................................................. 126
Surviving Hardships & Thriving ..................................................... 139

5 DISCUSSION, LIMITATIONS, & AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH .......................................................... 168
Introduction .................................................................................. 168
Discussion .................................................................................... 169
Practical Contributions ................................................................. 199
Limitations ................................................................................... 202
Future Directions .......................................................................... 203
Conclusion ................................................................................... 204

REFERENCES .................................................................................. 205

APPENDIX

A  INTERNAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL ................................. 224
B  SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW PROTOCOL ......................... 226
C  CODE BOOK ............................................................................... 229

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH ................................................................ 243
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Entrepreneur Demographics</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Entrepreneurs’ Experience and Number of Employees</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Family Member Demographics</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Industries Represented in Interviews</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Industries Represented During Participant Observation</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Skills Acquired Through VAS</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Influences on the Development of Ventures</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Conceptualization of Work in Relationship to Family</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 1

RATIONALE

Currently small businesses employ more than half of the private-sector workforce in the United States (Headd, 2000). In addition to employing millions of Americans small businesses benefit the country in other ways, as well. Reports suggest that most new jobs created in the U.S. are created by small businesses, half of the country's gross domestic product comes from small businesses, and innovations, new enterprises, and new industries often come from small businesses (Office of Advocacy, 2009). Additionally, small businesses contribute more money to local economies than large conglomerates or chains. Greater economic contributions are a result of taxes paid by local employees and owners, profits from the business being spent in local communities, and the fact that smaller businesses tend to purchase more goods and services from local firms than do large chains (Houston, 2002). While these statistics are absolutely important, it is not the “businesses” that create these jobs and influence our societies in such substantial ways. Instead, it is people who make these things happen.

Research on the people who begin businesses and their work-life socialization, which led to ownership, would provide new insight into a crucial sector of our society and would answer calls for organizational research to focus on family businesses (Shenoy & Linvill, 2008) and individuals’ experiences
versus primarily focusing on the organization or institution (Allen, 2000).

Therefore, it is important to seek out small business owners.

Small business owners are often dubbed *entrepreneurs*, yet the exact definition for what constitutes an entrepreneur or entrepreneurship varies in the literature and in everyday conversations. A study on Hispanic small business owners could help shed light on entrepreneurial activities and how entrepreneurialism and small business intersect. Additionally, focusing on small business owners’ work-life socialization would answer calls for work-life scholarship to include broader social discourses (Kirby, Wieland, & McBride, 2006), how meanings of work relate to the enactment of work and life (Wieland, 2011), the experiences of both men and women from various social classes (Kirby, Golden, Medved, Jorgenson, & Buzzanell, 2003), for more organizational research to include and examine race and ethnicity (Allen, 1995; Ashcraft & Allen, 2003; Parker, 2003), calls for studies to explore work and careers for children from various international backgrounds and social classes (Buzzanell, Berkelaar, & Kisselburgh, 2011), and for socialization research to recognize the complex social, economic, personal and communication factors that contribute to career choice (Myers, Jahn, Gailliard, & Stoltfus, 2009).

Given that Hispanics are currently the largest minority group in the United States and census projections predict Hispanics will soon comprise one-quarter of the working-age population (President’s Advisory Commission, 2003) it is imperative their work-life experiences be investigated. Business owners represent a variety of ages, ethnicities and industries. While the majority of small
businesses in the U.S. are owned and operated by non-Hispanics, Hispanics comprise the largest minority business community (Office of Advocacy, 2007) and the number of Hispanic owned non-farm businesses operating in the U.S. increased 43.7% from 2002 to 2007 (U. S. Census Bureau, 2007).

Hispanic owned firms include multiple nationalities and ethnicities such as Mexican, Mexican American, and Chicano; Puerto Rican; Cuban; Columbian and other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino people. Of the various groups Mexicans, Mexican Americans and Chicanos have the highest number of employees per firm (Office of Advocacy, 2007) and own the greatest number of Hispanic businesses (U.S. Census, 2007). Therefore, studying Hispanic small business owners, especially those of Mexican/Mexican-American descent, would help explain the experiences of this group.

It is important to note that although different connotations associated with the terms Chicano, Hispanic, Mexican-American, and Latino exist (see Buriel, 1987; Zinn, 1980), they will be used interchangeably within this text in order to capture the population on a more broad scale. A broad scale contextualizes the breadth of this group within the United States in ways that focusing on one group would not. However, I specifically use the term Hispanic when referring to participants in the empirical study because that is the term the majority of participants used to label themselves. A description of all of the individual labels used by participants in this study is provided in chapter three. In addition to understanding the work-life experiences of Hispanics business owners in the U.S., it is also an interesting time socially and politically to study this population.
Scholars have noted that many socialization studies have failed to address “historical, political, or local circumstances that might influence newcomers’ realities” (Allen, 2000, p. 182). The present context in the United States and in states such as Arizona provides a unique opportunity to explore business ownership and entrepreneurialism during a time of turmoil. Issues such as national economic downturns, immigration debates, and anti-ethnic legislation have the potential to influence ownership, operation, and longevity of businesses especially for Hispanics. Therefore, developing an understanding of the social and political climate in Arizona adds to the overall importance of this study. This type of information underscores the saliency of social, political and contextual factors in relationship to business. No one instance, law, or event taken out of context allows people to get a feel for what life is like for Hispanics, especially those in Arizona. However, a description of multiple factors provides a more holistic picture of what Hispanics, as well as other business owners endure. A detailed contextual overview along with a communication focus adds to the benefits of this study.

An organizational communication lens helps address the critical need to understand the work-life experiences of Hispanic business owners and how communication centered interactions impacted their lives and businesses. It is often through narratives, storytelling, everyday experiences and interactions that people communicate and make sense of their lives, their work and the intersections between the two. A communication focused study places an emphasis on both the narratives and experiences of business owners and their
family members. By highlighting these salient aspects of business ownership this study will broaden understandings of how small business knowledge and information about work-life issues is disseminated and received. Research related to employee anticipatory socialization as well as work-life literature provide theoretical grounding for this study. Prior to a review of this relevant literature I provide a brief overview of the dissertation.

Dissertation Organization

The following chapter discusses literature and theoretical concepts that informed this project. In order to understand the complex nature of work-life for Hispanic business owners it is important to provide a background on entrepreneurial research, literature related to work-life and the current social and political context impacting business people. Additionally, a central part of this study involved highlighting phases of organizational socialization that impact entrepreneurs’ work-life situations. Therefore, all these phases will be discussed briefly with an emphasis on the vocational anticipatory socialization phase as that is the focus of this study. Drawing on theory as well as areas where additional research can expand knowledge led to research questions which follow the review of literature.

In chapter three I discuss my position as a qualitative researcher, why I selected specific methods to complete this project, the research sites, participants, and amount of data collected. The methods section also provides a description of how the data collected were analyzed. Chapter Four presents the results based on research questions related to work-life experiences and socialization. Chapter
Five provides a discussion of the research findings and theoretical contributions of the results as well as practical applications, limitations of this study, and directions for future research.
Chapter 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The following section provides an overview of literature that has informed the research presented in subsequent chapters. I begin with a discussion of small business and Hispanic entrepreneurialism, work-life research related to Hispanic entrepreneurs and work-life in organizational communication, ethnicity in organizational communication, will provide an overview of the social and political context, and finish with a discussion of organizational socialization. In order to define the scope of this study and illustrate the significance of small businesses it is important to first understand what constitutes a small business.

Small Business

A small business is defined as “a firm with fewer than 500 employees in all of the industries or business locations in which the firm operates” (Headd, 2000, p. 13). Based on the parameters described above recent data estimate over 27 million small businesses in the U.S. are in operation, including both non-employers (firms with no payroll) and employers (firms with payroll), which provide numerous research possibilities (U.S. Census Bureau, 2007).

Any business with fewer than 500 employees is considered a small business. However, based on census statistics 89% of the small businesses in the U.S. have between 1-19 employees, the majority of which (79%) have between 1-9 employees (U. S. Census, 2008). Therefore, business owners who employ fewer than 20 employees would likely be more representative of the majority of small businesses in the U.S. versus those with 20-99 or 100-499 people.
Regardless of the number of people small business owners employ, it is important to extend the definition of a small business owner beyond someone owning a licensed business.

*Hispanic Entrepreneurship*

McKenzi, Ugbah, & Smothers (2007) suggest that “entrepreneurship involves individuals and groups of individuals seeking and exploiting economic opportunity” (p. 29). This definition is noteworthy in that it provides a space to investigate entrepreneurial activity versus simply focusing on the creation of new organizations which has been a common definition of entrepreneurship (Gartner, 1988). It would be interesting to see how “exploiting economic opportunity” unfolds in real life situations and how this process is learned.

Several studies have focused on Hispanic entrepreneurialism. The majority of Hispanic owned businesses are concentrated in the service sector including construction and repair, maintenance, and personal and laundry services (U. S. Census, 2007). Much of the research on Hispanic entrepreneurialism explores factors related to success or barriers to successful ownership. Several barriers exist with regard to owning and operating a small business over a long term period of time for Hispanics. The primary factors include lack of financial resources or access to capital (Fairlie, 2007; Robles, & Cordero-Guzmán, 2007; Zarrugh, 2007); low education attainment (Robles, & Cordero-Guzmán, 2007; Lofstrom & Bates, 2009); and not knowing how to or being able to access legal information (Abril, 2007).
Research on women specifically has found that in addition to having lower educational rates, and financial capital women are both less likely to enter self-employment and more likely to exit (Fairlie, 2007). Although push factors such as lack of mobility in organizations, prejudice, difficulties in previous jobs, feelings of disadvantage in the U.S. and lack of English skills offer some motivation for starting businesses, pull factors such as always wanting a business, having relevant skills, wanting to earn more money and have greater flexibility and so on were shown to have a greater effect on engaging in entrepreneurship (Shinnar & Young, 2008). Some studies suggest that greater autonomy at work and more control counterbalance some of the disadvantages Latinos must face (Lopez & Trevizo, 2009). Hearing first hand narratives from Hispanic entrepreneurs could shed light on specific ways in which they were pulled or pushed into ownership.

In addition to barriers that may prevent successful operation of a small business, data has identified factors that positively impact small businesses or that influence Hispanics to become entrepreneurs. For example research on Hispanics suggests that motivation for owning one’s own business can be based on wanting social mobility, a way to thwart prejudice, and as a means of economic advancement (Fairlie, 2007); as a solution to unemployment and a way to balance work and life by being able to leave work to care for or bring children to work (Zarrugh, 2007); and enhanced personal standing, greater sense of independence, a flexible schedule to handle family needs, and promises of higher earnings (Zuiker Solis, 1998). Since Hispanics often act as members of
collectivistic cultures in which family is highly valued it makes sense that these individuals would want to care for their children as well as earn an income.

While many people decide to start their own business with no previous experience, many business owners have some experience working as an employee in a similar industry (Zarrugh, 2007), and children of business owners are much more likely to become self-employed (Fairlie, & Robb, 2007). Past research documents that people gain experience from working in similar industries over time and as an owner, but less data highlight specific entrepreneurial skills acquired through various jobs prior to ownership. It will be interesting to see if Hispanic business owners cite work-life balance factors such as handling family needs or caring for children as motivation for starting their businesses as self-employed people are often quite busy. Investigation into the work-lives of organizational members is a robust area which branches into various areas of study.

*Communication Work-life Research*

Work-life research is large in breadth and depth encompassing a number of different specialty areas. Researchers have not agreed upon one label to describe work-life research. Labels such as work/life; work-life wellness; work/family; work-life conflict; and work-life balance have been used in academic and popular press publications. Scholars note that these terms marginalize and dichotomize these arenas rather than identifying the ways in which issues at one’s workplace and home have permeable boundaries (Trethewey, Tracy, & Alberts, 2006). Additionally, research suggests that binary
terms do not fully represent the work life picture and can restrict discussions (Kirby, Golden, Medved, Jorgenson, & Buzzanell, 2003). Although there is no single term that defines the intricacies of work-life, this term does acknowledge responsibilities in both public and private spheres (Kirby, Wieland, & McBride, 2006) and will therefore be used in this discussion and study. Wieland (2011) acknowledges that research related work-life issues involves how individuals manage and make sense of the pressure between the demands of paid work and family life.

A few examples of work-life topic areas that have been studied include communication within couples and families (e.g. Buzzanell, 1997); managing burnout (e.g. Tracy, 2009); how communication and interactions in the private sphere influence supervisor-employee interactions in the public sphere (e.g. Tracy & Rivera, 2010); theories and studies related to the domestic division of labor (e.g. Alberts, Trethewey, & Tracy, 2011); work life tensions (e.g. Medved & Graham, 2006), work life and organizational policies (e.g. Kirby & Krone, 2002) and the ways in which caring for others, in paid work or for free, impacts individuals’ work and lives (e.g. Medved, 2007).

Many studies related to work-life involve taking particular types of individuals and investigating the ways in which they balance work and life in their current occupations. As Cowan & Bochantin (2009) report, studies have been completed on a variety of groups from single mothers and stay at home dads to women facing maternity leave. Communication centered research focuses on the communicative aspects of organizing and work-life which is relevant to both
families and organizations. Moreover, communication scholars have the unique opportunity, and are encouraged, to engage in cross subdisciplinary research (Golden, Kirby, & Jorgenson, 2006). Organizational scholars have been able to collaborate with family communication and interpersonal scholars to share information and provide a more holistic picture of the work-life picture (Kirby, Wieland, & McBride, 2006). In addition to such collaborative research making communication central to the work-life picture adds to our understanding of how work-life is constructed and maintained.

Aspects of life, such as work, are constructed through stories and conversations (Clark, 1996). Norms are communicated through these stories and interactions. Additionally, systems and structures are produced and reproduced and formal policies are adopted or resisted (Kirby & Krone, 2002) through communicative interactions. Communication scholarship has also focused on the ways in which discursive and symbolic interactions construct realities at home and work (Medved, 2009) and how the focus on that construction versus outcomes is imperative to understanding the work-life picture (Kirby, Golden, Medved, Jorgenson, & Buzzanell, 2003). Therefore, it would be important to understand what norms have been communicated to Hispanic entrepreneurs in terms of work in relationship to life. Understanding these norms, various interactions and realities these individuals face can help broaden the picture of how work-life is constructed for various groups.

In addition to understanding constructions surrounding work life, it is also necessary to focus on specific communication patterns and interactions. As Baxter
(2010) notes the development and maintenance of relationships is based on dialogue. Communication scholars are well poised to study what aspects of dialogue sustain or terminate various relationships in the workplace and at home. While work-life research is extremely broad in scope, communication researchers are making valuable contributions to this area of study. One area that would allow communication scholars to contribute even further to this topic is by drawing on interdisciplinary research on ethnic minority employees and conducting studies on various demographic groups such as Hispanics.

*Race/Ethnicity in Work-life Organizational Studies*

A report on labor force statistics notes that in 2008 Hispanics had the highest labor force participation of any major ethnic group at (68.5%) compared with Asians (67%); Whites (66.3%) and Blacks (63.7%) (U.S. Department of Labor, 2009). Additionally, among adult men Hispanics had the highest employment-population ratio of any group (U.S. Department of Labor, 2009). Despite the numbers of Hispanics in the workforce little organizational communication research has examined the work experiences of this population. However, Hispanics are not the only ethnic minority groups that do not receive adequate attention within the organizational communication discipline.

Organizational communication literature "rarely and inadequately attends to racial issues" (Ashcraft & Allen, 2003, p. 6). Scholars have noted the lack of focus on race/ethnicity in organizations for decades (Cox & Nkomo, 1990; Allen, Gotcher, & Seibert, 1993). While these reviews go back to the 1960s and 80s respectively, more recent reviews show similar trends. Data show that over a 32
year period only a handful of articles related to race were published in the Journal of Applied Communication Research and fewer still centralized the experiences of people of color or focused on the multidimensional aspects of race (Orbe & Allen, 2008).

Various explanations have been given as to why little research exists with regard to race. Issues such as researchers not wanting to be pigeonholed, Whites not seeing issues of “racioethnicity” as topics of universal importance, the assumption that the audience for articles with non-White participants is limited to the group being studied, as well as low submission rates to journals have been identified as factors impacting race research in organizations (Cox & Nkomo, 1990). Scholars have also noted that due to the managerial bias of organizational research and few people of color in management positions, the assumption that equal employment initiatives have ended racial problems, and methodological impediments such as race being a taboo topic in organizations have also contributed to the lack of scholarship related to race (Allen, 1995). Additionally, many texts reproduce the assumption that only non-White groups have a racial identity (Nkomo, 1992). Texts also marginalize race and minimize or ignore the contributions of women and men of color that have had a strong presence in the labor force (Orbe & Allen, 2008; Ashcraft & Allen, 2003).

While organizational scholarship, across interest areas, has inadequately attended to issues of race, work-life scholarship in particular could benefit from more research on domestic minorities. Work-life scholars have called for studies on diverse populations and studies that address the ways in which race, class and
gender influence organizational and identity related experiences (Kirby, Golden, Medved, Jorgenson, & Buzzanell, 2003; Buzzanell, & Liu, 2005; Tracy & Trethewey, 2005). Work-life scholarship suggests that researchers have made significant inroads in terms of expanding work-life scholarship beyond white, middle-class, professional domains (Golden, Kirby, Jorgenson, 2006). These types of studies have provided new insights into work-life.

Articles that represent participants from diverse backgrounds and different social classes have broadened our understanding of work-life constraints. For example, in a study examining Asian, Hispanic and African American women's discourse data revealed different and shifting references for how women enacted mothering (Buzzanell, Waymer, Tagle, & Liu, 2007). The authors noted that "work-family interventions designed for one workforce group may not take into consideration the differential interests and needs of other groups" (p. 216). Bylund (2003) found that the participants in her study told very different family stories based on ethnicity and those stories served different purposes. For example, African American families shared stories that dealt with racism and how children should or could counter it, whereas these types of stories were not shared in Caucasian families. As these two examples illustrate, the narratives surrounding ethnic groups in relationship to work and family can be very different and therefore, it is important to hear these stories if we are to get a better picture of the work-life puzzle. Since Hispanics currently comprise a large sector of the U.S. workforce and census projections predict even higher representation in the
future it is important to better understand their work-life experiences as well as the current social and political context related to Hispanics in the United States.

**Social & Political Context**

Understanding the context in which a study is being conducted is an important attribute of any qualitative study and descriptions of the “site” are typically included in the methods section. While this study does discuss the specific sites for data collection in the next chapter, it is important to go beyond those sites and provide a deeper description of the larger social context. In order to do this I discuss demographic shifts, legislation, and economic factors that can have an impact on Hispanic small businesses.

Nationally the Hispanic population has increased by 43 percent in the past decade, which is four times greater than the growth of the total population, and is now the largest ethnic minority group in the U.S. (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas, & Albert, 2011). Additionally, Hispanics are occupying communities in new small and large metro areas across the U.S. in addition to heavy occupation in the Southwest (Yen, 2011). While the term Hispanic includes Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Spaniards, Chileans and so on, the majority of Hispanics in the U.S. are Mexican (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas, & Albert, 2011).

Mexican workers have developed a reputation of being good workers. A report on labor force statistics notes that in 2008 Hispanics had the highest labor force participation of any major ethnic group at (68.5%) compared with Asians (67%); Whites (66.3%) and Blacks (63.7%) (U.S. Department of Labor, 2009). Additionally, given that among adult men Hispanics had the highest employment-
population ratio of any group (U.S. Department of Labor, 2009) and a study on 29 countries found that Mexico was the country with the longest work days (OECD, 2011) support exists for the contention that Mexicans value work. Despite some praise for having a positive work ethic, Latinos, especially those living and working in Arizona, have faced a multitude of social and legal challenges in relationship to work and life. In order to develop a timeline and trajectory for the legislation it is important to begin with events taking place at the beginning of the decade.

After terrorist attacks in New York on September 11, 2001, issues surrounding immigration became significantly more heated and lawmakers and U.S. citizens alike called for tighter border security (Leiken, 2002). While many people felt the U.S. was under attack, the anti-immigrant sentiment was also used to promote racism, ethnic superiority, and fuel anti-ethnic legislation and actions (Shattell & Villalba, 2008). Since 2000 the number of hate groups in the U.S. has increased 48% with 70% growth in Arizona; the increase in hate groups could account for the 35% increase of hate crime attacks on Latinos (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2008). Media portrayals and rhetoric characterizing Latinos as “invaders” and “criminal aliens” encourages and/or endorses violence (Mock, 2007). While anti-immigrant sentiment has been heavy, Latinos and others decided to take a stand against the various attacks.

In 2006 an estimated one million U.S. citizens and immigrants marched through the streets of cities across the country such as Chicago, Los Angeles, Phoenix and Texas in support of immigration reform and in response to a national
House bill that would make being an undocumented immigrant a felony and would criminalize those providing humanitarian aid to immigrants (NBC News, 2006). The marches were believed to be the beginning of a new civil rights movement, but lost momentum when Congress failed to pass legislation on immigration reform, but instead voted to extend the fence along the U.S./Mexico border (Johnson & Hing, 2007). Legislation targeting Latino communities has continued to be passed in Arizona and nationally.

In 2007, Arizona voters approved HB 2779, The Legal Arizona Workers Act, which is more commonly known as the “Employer Sanctions Law” (Hansen, 2007). This law requires business owners to use an e-verify system to check the backgrounds of potential employees and verify that they have the required documentation to legally work in the U.S. and makes it illegal for people to solicit work or hire workers soliciting work in parking lots or on street corners (House Bill 2779, 2007). The bill also sanctions business owners for knowingly hiring undocumented workers by fining them and potentially revoking their business licenses (House Bill 2779, 2007). The Arizona Chamber of Commerce and Civil Liberties Union challenged the law arguing that this type of law upsets federal law which ensures people are not discriminated against due to speaking with an accent or looking like they might be immigrants (Sherman, 2011). The Supreme Court upheld the law in 2011 and in an effort to enforce this law controversial Maricopa County Sheriff, Joe Arpaio, has conducted several immigration sweeps in Arizona.
The raids or sweeps occurred after reports that an organization was hiring undocumented employees, followed by weeks of surveillance by the Sheriff’s office. During the sweeps, Sheriff Joe and his posse, go to organizations that have been reported and detain and/or arrest anyone they suspect of working without legal documentation. If people are able to provide documentation they are released and those without documentation are turned over to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agents. Sheriff Arpaio highlights the success of these raids by noting that approximately 1,000 arrests have been made, and estimates about 60% of those arrested were in the U.S. illegally (MyFoxPhoenix.com, 2010). The fact that 40% of those detained or harassed actually have a legal right to work in the U.S. is often glossed over. While many people applaud Sheriff Joe’s efforts, opponents believe the immigration sweeps usurp time, money and other resources and lead to racial profiling of Hispanics (Associated Press, 2010). As intended the worker sanctions law has made it difficult or impossible for undocumented workers to find jobs. While some of these workers have left Arizona, others have remained in the state and continue to try and better their lives.

Estimates suggest over 11 million undocumented immigrants are currently living in the U.S. (Passel & Cohn, 2011). Many of those immigrants are children or were brought to the U.S. illegally when they were children. These individuals often spend their childhoods and adolescence attending U.S schools and taking part in local activities. Some of these students go on to college. Proposition 300, which was passed in 2006, forbade public colleges from giving undocumented
students any state funding (McKinley, 2008). Therefore, even if undocumented students have only ever attended in-state elementary and secondary schools and have lived in the state for years they are unable to get in-state status. Some lawmakers do not believe undocumented students should have the right to attend public universities at all. SB 1611, a bill prohibiting undocumented students from attending public Arizona universities was introduced, but defeated in the legislature in 2010 (East Valley Tribune, 2011). While many of the undocumented students attending college were able to secure private scholarship money to continue their education, others dropped out of college but continue to push for legislation that could benefit themselves and others.

The Development Relief and Education for Alien Minors Act\(^1\) (The "DREAM Act") is legislation aimed at providing a path to citizenship for undocumented youth who were brought to the country illegally and have been in the U.S. for at least five years, are under 30 years old, do not have criminal records and can prove they plan to either attend college or enter the U.S. military (S. 952, 2011). In the past Arizona senator John McCain supported the Dream Act by voting for it, but changed his stance in the 2011 election. The DREAM Act has garnered support because undocumented students who graduate from college are skilled and able to contribute to the U.S. economy, but often unable to secure employment. Supporters believe that undocumented youth who have gone

\[^1\] Shortly after this dissertation was defended, President Barack Obama announced a change in immigration law. “The Department of Homeland Security will no longer initiate the deportation of illegal immigrants who came to the United States before age 16, have lived here for at least five years, and are in school, are high school graduates or are military veterans in good standing” (Preston & Cushman, 2012, para. 5).
through the U.S. school system and did not have a choice with regard to where they would live should be able to contribute back to society via the economy and military service. These young people attend(ed) college and/or served in the military in an effort to help their families and contribute to society, but are not eligible for employment because their parents brought them to the U.S. illegally. As a result some of these individuals become disheartened while others look for new challenges and opportunities to contribute to their families and communities. In fact, a business consultant in Arizona notes that he has helped start a couple hundred small businesses in Arizona, half by undocumented owners (Pratt, 2011). The inability for undocumented immigrants to work legally is one problem for these employees, but the fact that Latinos are being further targeted has additional implications.

In 2010, AZ Senate President Russell Pearce introduced the “Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act,” Senate Bill 1070 (SB 1070), to “discourage and deter the unlawful entry and presence of aliens and economic activity by persons unlawfully present in the United States” (Senate Bill 1070, 2010). The Bill was signed into law by Governor Jan Brewer on April 23, 2010. However, due to numerous legal challenges, SB 1070 has yet to go into full effect. SB 1070 requires state agencies and officials to enforce federal immigration laws, ensure employers are not violating laws by employing undocumented immigrants, and specifies that smuggling of human beings consists of anyone, including family members, who provides or facilitates transportation for someone who is not a United States citizen (Senate Bill 1070, 2010). While
on the surface this bill seems to reinforce existing federal immigration policy, it has come under contention due to contents that could impede citizens’ Constitutional rights.

For example, SB 1070 allows law enforcement officials to request documentation based on “reasonable suspicion” (Senate Bill 1070, 2010). Civil rights activists and law enforcement officials alike have expressed concern over the bill. Police chiefs have cited several reasons for opposition to this law “SB 1070 is a dangerous law that will cause far more harm than it is worth. It will divert precious police resources away from fighting crime, create rampant distrust of police in immigrant communities, and lead to unlawful racial and ethnic profiling” (National Immigration Law Center, 2010, p. 1). Additionally, the bill allows for citizens to sue law enforcement agencies if people do not believe law enforcement agencies are aggressive enough in enforcing the bill. There is concern over the potential for frivolous lawsuits, as well as the fact that SB 1070 could lead to racial profiling and harassment of people, including legal citizens, who may look or sound foreign (Arizona Daily Star, 2010).

Regardless of one’s position with regard to the value of SB 1070, the legislation has had less impact on immigration and a huge impact on the Arizona economy. Opponents of the legislation called for boycotts of Arizona and encouraged people from other states to take their business elsewhere (Gorman & Riccardi, 2010). As a result of these calls many cities, groups and individuals decided to boycott Arizona by suspending city or government funded travel, supporting legal challenges to the legislation, refraining from buying goods from
Arizona-based companies, and cancelling meetings, conferences, sporting events, musical performances and conventions (AZCentral, 2010). These boycotts resulted in lost revenue for the state. Two weeks after SB 1070 was passed 23 large convention groups canceled their plans to come to Phoenix, which cost the city roughly $10 million in business and experts predict there will be millions more in lost revenue (Britt, 2010). The Center for American Progress, which performed one of the most recent and comprehensive studies available to the public, reports an estimated loss of $141 million dollars in total lost revenue (Fitz & Kelley, 2010). Therefore, in addition to trying economic times felt nationally, Arizona’s economy has been damaged by legislation as well. Montopoli (2010) predicted that the economic crisis and SB 1070 legislation could affect small businesses that rely on tourism, primarily serve Hispanic clientele, and/or are headquartered in Arizona as boycotts were not just against the state, but against local businesses too. While the exact business impact has not been documented, businesses have reported negative effects. For example, farm owners have lost crops due to not being able to find workers to harvest (Groff, 2011) and 60 CEOs/corporate executives and 20 chambers of commerce in Arizona were bothered enough by proposed state immigration legislation to sign a letter to the Legislature opposing these bills (Hammer, 2011). The fact that the AZ Chamber of Commerce along with local chambers of commerce and numerous CEOs object to new state immigration legislation suggests they recognize negative business impacts. Examining the economic climate in Arizona and the U.S. is important and extends our understanding of what business owners are currently facing.
Like most states across the U.S. Arizona has experienced rough economic times and it is necessary to highlight the ways in which the present context is directly related to events taking place over the past few years. In 2009 the U.S. experienced what top economists dubbed “the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression” (Reuters, 2009, para. 2). The 2007-2009 U.S. recession resulted in huge job losses and unemployment across numerous industries, an increase in oil prices, and a decline of home values (Goodman & Mance, 2011). As unemployment continued to rise the number of people defaulting on home mortgages continued to increase. Experts predict that over 11 million homes (or 1 in 5 mortgages) will default (White, 2010). Not only did the recession impact home ownership, but businesses were affected as well. In fact, between 2008 and 2009 there was an 11.8 percent decrease in the number of businesses founded and a 40 percent increase in small business bankruptcies (Economic Report of the President, 2011). Given that small businesses employ roughly half of the private sector workforce; these losses are significant (Headd, 2000). The decrease in small businesses also led to a decrease in jobs available for day laborers and other workers (González, 2010). Current data suggest that the AZ economy and housing sectors are making very slow recoveries, yet of the more than 300,000 jobs that were lost during the recession only around 75,000 were created (Vest, 2012). In addition to the economic declines caused by the recession, there have been declines in morale for Latinos as additional legislation continues to marginalize this group.
Beyond the laws discussed above that directly relate to workers and immigration, other “anti-ethnic” legislation has been adopted in Arizona. Attorney General, former Superintendent of Schools, Tom Horne pushed for legislation banning ethnic studies in state funded institutions based heavily on what was once called the Raza Studies Program (now Mexican American studies) in the Tucson Unified School District in Tucson, Arizona. Horne contends that ethnic studies programs encourage militant behaviors, cause students to have negative opinions about the U.S. and to have resentment toward one race (Pitzl, 2010). House Bill 2281 cites that curriculum violates the law if it includes content that would: “(1) promote the overthrow of the government, (2) promote resentment towards a race or class of people, (3) be designed primarily for pupils of a particular ethnic race, or (4) advocate ethnic solidarity instead of treatment of pupils as individuals” (Conover, 2011, para. 4). HB 2281 has been used to declare Tucson’s Raza Studies Program illegal and current Superintendent of Schools, John Huppenthal, has plans to take action against universities, as well (Rodriguez, 2010). This push to forbid students to learn history from non-white perspectives could be a response to growing concern for the position of Caucasians in a country that is demographically shifting to include more ethnic diversity. A desire to preserve the status quo reaches beyond educational institutions and has found its way into other areas as well.

Proposition 107, the Preferential Treatment or Discrimination Prohibition, was passed in order to amend the Arizona constitution to ban any programs that grant preferential treatment to discriminate against individuals based on race, sex,
color, ethnicity or national origin in relationship to public employment, education or public contracting (Proposition 107, 2010). The language of the bill is especially important because it does not refer to “affirmative action” yet specifically targets affirmative action programs put in place in order to create equal opportunity for groups who have historically been discriminated against (Borns & Stigler, 2010). While the law is purported to enforce equity, some Arizona residents believe it targets women and other minorities who have consistently had to fight for entry into and advancement in organizations. In California, where a similar was passed, lawsuits against organizations such as domestic violence shelters that specifically serve women were filed citing discrimination against men (Blumhorst vs. Haven Hills, 2005). Other organizations such as the Minority and Woman-Owned Business Program in Tucson, AZ could be targeted (Newcomb, 2010). As a result of Proposition 107, underrepresented groups will likely remain underrepresented as organizations do not want to face sanctions or law suits for actively trying to diversify. While the legislation discussed above speaks to the racial/ethnic climate in Arizona and nationally, other extreme laws are being considered.

In Arizona lawmakers have introduced SB 1308 and 1309 which challenge the 14th Amendment and deny citizenship to the children of illegal immigrants born in the U.S., SB 1405 which would prohibit hospitals from providing non-emergency care to illegal immigrants and would require that these immigrants be reported to federal immigration authorities (East Valley Tribune, 2011b), and HB 2191 which would make a constitutional amendment to the Arizona constitution
denying punitive damages after winning a lawsuit to illegal immigrants retroactive to 2004 when undocumented immigrants were awarded punitive damages for being assaulted and illegally held against their will (East Valley Tribune, 2011a). Similar laws are being considered nationally (Gamboa, 2010).

It is important to document the various laws and policies being put into place because highlighting one incident alone does not allow people to see the systematic and perpetual efforts to preserve power for one group at the expense of others. While much of the legislation has been characterized as anti-ethnic, Hispanics have been the primary targets. Numerous people (including some Hispanics) believe that anti-immigrant legislation is good for the U.S. and protects U.S. citizens. Many Americans agree that people who break the law and come to the U.S. illegally should not have the same rights as citizens and immigrants who migrated legally. What becomes problematic is that it is impossible to determine whether someone is in the country legally based on the way they look.

Young men, married couples and even a Superior Court Judge, among many others, have been the victims of racial profiling due to having accents and/or based on the way they look (Lavender, 2011). Being the victim of racial profiling has significant effects, and scholars have found that even perceptions that racial profiling exists also have negative consequences. Not only does the perception of racial profiling negatively impact citizens’ relationships with police, but they also have implications for employment, housing, the judiciary and criminal justice system (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002).
A single law, incident, or racial slur may not impact the day-to-day activities of individuals. However, living and working in an environment in which one’s identity is continually challenged, called into question, and demonized can take its toll. Taken together recent legislation related to workers, anti-Hispanic legislation dubbed anti-immigrant legislation, political and economic factors impact the context in which business owners operate. This historical time point can provide insights into whether and/or how these factors impact small businesses. While the day to day issues, operations, and intricacies of running a business are important, taking a more holistic approach to understanding individual, organizational and environmental factors impacting business can extend our understanding of how and why entrepreneurs stay engaged despite challenges.

Now is also an important time to study small business owners as 86% of small business decision makers state that the current economic crisis in America has affected their business and 46% are worried about the long-term survival of their business (Bernhard, 2009). Examining the experiences and socialization of Hispanic small business owners could help us to better understand their overall work-life experiences. Interviewing both male and female Hispanic entrepreneurs may provide additional information about these factors as well as how their socialization impacts their current occupations as business owners.

Organizational socialization

Organizational socialization can be viewed as "the process by which an individual enters and becomes integrated into organizational settings" (Allen,
Organizational socialization is a process rather than an event. Researchers contend that this type of socialization extends from childhood through one’s chosen career (Jablin, 1987, 2001). Integrating into an organization or workplace requires employees to learn about the organization and engage in activities that expand that knowledge thus facilitating on-going employment.

Scholars have identified stages related to organizational socialization. While I provide a brief overview of all three stages, I emphasize vocational anticipatory socialization (VAS) as that is the focus of this particular study.

The first stage of socialization is anticipatory socialization which involves beliefs or practices about how people communicate in various work settings prior to entering the organization (Jablin, 1987). The two major aspects of anticipatory socialization include the process of vocational choice and the process of organizational choice (Jablin, 1985). Vocational anticipatory socialization recognizes that children intentionally and unintentionally gather information about occupations that they use to one day make conscious choices related to their career (Jablin, 1987; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). This type of information can come from family members and their work experiences; educational institutions; previous job experiences; peers and friends; and the media (Jablin, 1985, 1987, 2001). Research suggests children learn about work from their parents, yet their experiences could differ based on age, socioeconomic status, and nationality (Buzzanell, Berkelaar, & Kisselburgh, 2011). Therefore, it would be interesting to learn what specific things Hispanic children learn from their parents.
Anticipatory socialization research has shown that families are extremely important in children’s socialization with regard to work (Gibson & Papa, 2000; Levine & Hoffner, 2006). Children inherit values about hard work (Lucas, 2011) and occupational following in which children follow in their parents footsteps with regard to work (e.g. Sorensen, 2004). Studies have shown that individuals get specific messages about work and family, learn the value of work, and develop attitudes about work from their families (Levine & Hoffner, 2006; Medved, Brogan, McClanahan, Morris, & Shepherd, 2006). Previous research reports that most children learn information from discussions with parents (Gibson & Papa, 2000). For example discussions or hearing parents talk about work can provide information about whether individuals make their own decisions or wait for people to tell them what to do (Bowes & Goodnow, 1996). However, more recent studies suggest that in addition to learning about work primarily through discussions, children also learn about work by starting work by engaging in specific activities (Gabor, 2009). Examining the VAS experiences of Hispanics could shed light on whether they learned information primarily through discussions or through hands on work.

Part-time jobs have also been shown to influence adolescents’ socialization experiences. Research suggests that part-time jobs can lead help children develop responsibility and confidence in knowing they can earn income (Gibson & Papa, 2000). Working part-time can also help adolescents learn about relationships and utilize various communication skills (Greenberger, Steinberg, & Ruggiero, 1982; Greenberger, Steinberg, Vaux, & McAuliffe, 1980).
research suggests that skills learned during part time employment did not necessarily translate to future careers (Barling, Rogers, & Kelloway, 1995) whereas more recent research has shown skill transfer (Gabor, 2009). Therefore, further inquiry into whether skill transfer exists would be useful. Additionally, part time job experiences impact socialization in that time spent with family was shown to be diminished (Manning, 1990) and ethnicity can influence the socialization process (Morelli, Rogoff & Angelillo, 2003). Studies focusing on ethnic minorities and how they negotiate work and family time could add to this literature.

The second component of anticipatory socialization involves organizational anticipatory socialization in which job seekers develop expectations about organizations and specific job roles. Job seekers often gather information about specific organizations from organizational literature and interpersonal interactions with other organizational stakeholders such as current employees or interviewers (Jablin, 1987, 2001). Studies suggest that during this phase of the anticipatory socialization stage newcomers have unrealistic or inflated expectations often due to organizations promoting positive aspects of themselves during recruitment (Larson, 1996). These unrealistic expectations assume little or no other knowledge of the organization, but may be more realistic if people know what to expect. While vocational anticipatory socialization is the focus of this particular study other aspects of anticipatory socialization and phases of organizational communication are briefly discussed below.
The next phase of the socialization process is the entry/assimilation phase in which employees actually encounter every day workplace realities, deal with tensions arising from disconnects between expectations and actual experiences, and finally resolve conflicts, learn appropriate behaviors, and individualize roles (Jablin, 1987). One of the important aspects of this phase is that various communication outcomes arise as the result of the assimilation process including: communication satisfaction, communication climate, communication culture, and communication participation (see Jablin, 1987 for a full review of each outcome). Research on this stage of socialization that attended to individual experiences, race/ethnicity and or political, social and historical factors provided new insights into our understanding of socialization such as the fact that organizational members project expectations based on sociohistorical stereotypes (Allen, 2000). Given that studies on diverse groups including women, ethnic minorities, and employees from various work sectors have uncovered aspects of the socialization process that were previously overlooked, continuing these types of studies with a focus on different phases of the socialization process could further broaden our understanding of the nuances involved in this process.

The final phase of the socialization process involves organizational exit in which employees leave the organization. Several aspects of communication have been related to turnover such as communication across the organization, integration in organizational networks, and communication with supervisors and co-workers (Jablin, 2001).
Numerous studies have focused on socialization and have identified communication variables that impact the socialization process. Research has shown that time or temporality can be important to socialization. Time is related to communication in that it becomes significant through human interpretation and communication with others (Mosakowski & Earley, 2000). Additionally, people who construct long-term/futuristic temporal views of organizational activities or believe they will be with the organization for a long time are more likely to engage in structured socialization practices (Gomez, 2009). Since entrepreneurs likely hope their businesses succeed over the long haul this may impact the timeframe in which new members are socialized into small businesses.

Job knowledge, trust, and knowledge of organizational culture have also been shown to significantly impact the socialization of organizational newcomers (Myers, 2005). Additionally, involvement and trust-worthiness within work-group level interaction and information seeking behaviors are recognized as important aspects of the socialization process (Myers & McPhee, 2006; Hart & Miller, 2005). Determining if Hispanic entrepreneurs had previous job experience in the industries in which they developed their own businesses would help inform the literature on job knowledge and related factors. Moreover, understanding how or when entrepreneurs develop information seeking behaviors can shed light on their overall socialization with regard to work.

Researchers suggest studying the socialization processes of underrepresented, marginalized groups in non-traditional organizations in order to ascertain the similarities or differences between them and White, heterosexual
men on which most studies rely (Allen, 2000; Bullis, 1993). It is important to continue to expand this research as the limited research that exists confirms that race, gender, and role power influence on-the-job interactions (Allen, 1996; Jablin, 1985). For example, ethnic minorities may be seen as “tokens” in the organization (Allen, 2000); Hispanics may be expected to speak Spanish due to their surname (Montoya, 2006); and recognition of ethnic stereotypes can influence emotional displays (Allen, 1996). Understanding the socialization of Hispanic entrepreneurs who are underrepresented can answer these calls.

Practical and theoretical issues inform the study I have chosen to undertake. Organizational communication as a discipline has not done a good job of focusing studies on diverse populations (Ashcraft & Allen, 2003). Though recent scholarship has begun to address the needs for research to move beyond white, middle-class domains, studies related to organizations rarely include the experiences of underrepresented groups such as Hispanics (Golden, Kirby, Jorgenson, 2006). Many studies on Hispanic entrepreneurs focus on barriers to and motivation for starting a business, but little research focuses on what entrepreneurs learned about work and how those early experiences impact their work-lives in the present. Therefore, in my dissertation I explored the following research questions:

RQ1: What vocational anticipatory socialization experiences do Hispanic entrepreneurs report?

RQ2: How do Hispanic entrepreneurs narrate the effect of socialization on their current work-life experiences?
RQ3: What do Hispanic entrepreneurs report about the relationship between work and family?

The following chapter details the methodological rationale and proposed methods needed to complete this study.
Chapter 3

METHODS & ANALYSIS

To adequately answer the research questions posed and allow participants to narrate their own experiences, I collected data at various venues and with entrepreneurs and family members across multiple work sectors. Data were collected and analyzed in an effort to better understand and extend current conceptualizations of work-life knowledge. In this chapter I describe my position as a researcher and how it influenced this study, rationale for the methods selected for data collection, the research sites, participants, data collection procedures, quantity of data collected, and how the data were analyzed.

Overview

Researcher Position

My decision to pursue this project is grounded in the fact I am a Chicana woman whose family members have lived and worked in the U.S. for generations. Since I was a child, I heard family members and friends of the family tell stories about their work experiences and I loved hearing those stories—even the sad and unjust stories. In addition to the stories, growing up I witnessed both formal (formally licensed business) and informal (engaging in entrepreneurial endeavors without an official business license) work ventures in action. For example, while working full time in mining and at a different time as a heavy equipment operator my dad, Vic, sold wood, shod and trained horses, and owned/operated a small cattle business on the side. Additionally, after years of informally selling inventory to landscaping companies he was in the process of starting a tree
business, but passed away before the business was ever officially licensed. His long term goal was to become a full time rancher, but he knew that he needed to work in other jobs to build up the capital necessary to reach his goal while being the sole supporter of a family of five.

In addition to watching and working with my dad I saw other family and community members who operated both licensed and unlicensed business to both earn extra income, and cultivate their interests. Although I only remember three of my uncles and one aunt having their own licensed businesses, I witnessed countless entrepreneurial ventures in my small, rural community from small grocery stores and insurance agencies to people selling tortillas or welding racks for trucks out of their homes/garages. I also had the privilege of earning income as a child by helping out my aunt Janet with her catering business whenever she needed extra servers at events and cleaning up my uncle’s barber shop. I remember my uncle Phil paying me with cash, salon shampoos/conditioners, and a crimping iron back when they were quite popular. Work has been part of my life and my family members’ lives for as long as I can remember and it was not until embarking on this project that I began to understand how these experiences shaped my current interests in organizations, work places, and entrepreneurialism.

González (2000) maintains that "the importance of heightened personal awareness cannot be stressed too much" as reflexivity is essential and can be thought of as honesty and authenticity with one's self, one's research, and one's audience (p. 634). Eastland (1993) also recognizes that researchers must negotiate the space between self and other in order to be in the scene which
requires addressing the emotionality within the context. To summarize, researchers should not try to objectively interpret situations, but should instead be upfront about how and why they have chosen particular paths, and interpreted data in certain ways.

Influences of Researcher Position

My background provides tacit knowledge (Altheide & Johnson, 1994) about understanding Hispanic work experiences, but also puts me into a position where I have to pay even closer attention to the data and what participants are saying rather than taking for granted that I understand what participants are communicating because we share some characteristics. I was diligent about recording my thoughts, feelings and my own positions as a student, researcher, Chicana, and eventual entrepreneur in a journal as all of these factors influenced various decisions, but were separate from my field and interview observations. Having a detailed account of what was observed at a research site in addition to what was going on in my mind was a good way to remain accountable for choices that were made throughout the research project (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). In addition to my own position leading to understanding of phenomena being described by participants, my background also influenced this study in other ways as well.

I was employed in the sales/marketing industry for several years prior to becoming a researcher. My experience with sales was vitally important when cold-calling potential participants, connecting with administrators in Hispanic community organizations, and in terms of developing relationships versus
collecting the data I needed and walking away. Because of my sales and relationship building skills I was easily able to recruit participants from this study from three different Southwestern states. While the willingness to call and ask was a first step in finding participants, I believe my ethnic background also contributed to my ability to have participants open up and share their experiences.

I label myself as Chicana, but other people might use the terms Mexican-American, Hispanic, Latina, or of Mexican heritage to describe me and all of those labels would be correct. The fact that I am from the same or a similar ethnic background to the participants in this study helped me to understand cultural aspects of the research context that enhanced my ability to ask questions that further probed the phenomena versus spending time asking about definitional and contextual type factors. For example, when a couple of participants referenced their “tatas” being entrepreneurial role models instead of having to ask what a tata is, I knew they were referring to their grandfathers and asked how their grandfathers influenced them. Participants would say things like you know how it is with big Mexican families and I do know. While this tacit knowledge helped upkeep the flow of discussions and understandings I was conscious about asking participants to articulate things in their own terms to ensure my understanding was the same as theirs. When participants mentioned “side jobs” I felt I knew what they meant because my dad worked side jobs, but I asked, “When you say side jobs can you define that for me or just describe what a side job is?” These types of checks helped to ensure that I did not let my own experiences or understandings privilege those of my participants.
Finally, I believe that participants were interested in sharing their experiences in order to help further the body of knowledge on entrepreneurs, but also to help a Chicana completing her graduate degree. Participants indicated that they were proud of me, supported what I was doing and wanted me to finish. They offered their time and expertise not only for the sake of research, but to make an impact in a person’s (my) life as well because they enjoy giving back. As a researcher one of the ways I feel I was able to give back to my participants is by being a channel for them to share their knowledge and experience with others. Additionally, scholars have noted that giving participants opportunities to tell their stories may provide psychological benefits (Tracy, Lutgen-Sandvik, & Alberts, 2006). Through the telling of their stories I believe participants were able to recall and make sense of events which will be discussed further in later chapters. I believe that participants have the most knowledge about their lives and are the best people to dictate their experiences; therefore it was important to employ methods that allowed for this form of sharing. Below I will describe additional rationale for selecting the methods I used.

Data Collection

Methods Justification

Qualitative methods are particularly well suited toward understanding experiences in that they locate the observer within the world being studied; participants are studied in their natural settings; researchers piece-together multiple representations to make sense of complex situations; and participants are allowed to share their points of view (Denzin, & Lincoln, 2005). Qualitative
methods can be useful to study experiences in a variety of settings, but are especially important in studying issues related to organizational communication.

Kreps & Herndon (2001) note a number of benefits of using qualitative methods to study organizations: qualitative data can generate in-depth insights into the complexities of organizational life; can identify performance gaps in organizational activities; promote reflexivity among organizational members; and can provide the basis for critiques leading to the reformulation of organizational processes (p. 6). Additionally qualitative research explores the horizon of experience and can generate theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). While my goal is not necessarily theory generation, I am interested in understanding if/how the theory of organizational socialization relates to Hispanic entrepreneurs.

Moreover, since I am reporting on the experiences of entrepreneurs it was important to use a method that values subjective experience rather than looking for one objective reality. The participants in this study had different experiences based on their gender, country of birth; the generation status of living in the U.S. (i.e. first generation, second generation American); their age; how many years they have worked in a particular occupation; their education level, whether their parents or other mentors owned a business and so on. While quantitative methods allow for statistical analysis of the difference in demographics, they do not allow participants to share personal experiences, which is an important part of understanding how their realities were constructed. Hearing detailed accounts of business owners’ stories allowed me to answer the research questions I posed.
Finally, many studies conducted on Mexican-American entrepreneurs are based on quantitative data that report statistics and factors that impact success rates and experiences overall (e.g. Fairlie, 2007; Robles, & Cordero-Guzmán, 2007; Fairlie & Woodruff, 2010). While these studies provide important information, very little research provides narratives that explain Hispanic entrepreneurs’ experiences, goals, personal ideas of success, or rationale for remaining engaged in their work or persisting. It was important to hear these narratives as other narrative studies have shown differences between the experiences of Hispanics versus other ethnic groups (Buzzanell, Waymer, Tagle, & Liu, 2007; Bylund, 2003) which may lead to insights regarding Hispanic entrepreneurs' business experiences.

Therefore, the questions I sought to answer required methods that relied on stories rather than numbers. By providing detailed descriptions of participants' experiences I hope to avoid interpreting difference as a deficit because it varies from the norm as is often done with quantitative work (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003). Additionally, I wanted to centralize my participants' experiences rather than focus on just my own interpretation. With qualitative research the researcher is an instrument and therefore, subjectivity is a part of this process (Morrow & Smith, 2000).

Several qualitative methods are available to researchers. Below I will discuss why interviewing and participant observation yielded the data necessary to answer my research questions.
Data Collection Procedures

*Interviews.* Interviews involve person-to-person encounters or conversations with a purpose. These conversations are especially important because speech and language allow others to understand tacit and explicit aspects of culture (Spradley, 1979). The primary purpose of an interview is to find out what is "in and on someone else's mind" (Patton, 1990, p. 278). Interviewing is an important form of data collection because it lends insight into things that cannot be observed or things that happened in the past and cannot be replicated (Merriam, 1998). Dexter (1970) notes that interviewing is important when it can generate better data or more data or data at a lower cost than other methods. Interviews can also provide a useful means by which to collect data because narratives incorporate the everyday lived experiences participants, and can explain, entertain, inform, defend, complain, and confirm or challenge the status quo (Chase, 2005). Interviews are used to garner participants' responses about specific situations or to understand how they feel about the world (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). Narratives gathered through interviews also offer participants or narrators the ability to determine how they want to position their own stories. This ability to choose gives the participants voice, which Chase (2005) argues, forces the researcher to move away from looking for factual accounts, and to instead value the versions of self, reality and experience the storyteller produces. Providing participants with a space and venue to share their ideas, insights and stories is a value of interviewing (Kvale, 1996).
Interviews vary in terms of their structure. Below I will summarize Merriam's (1998) descriptions of interview styles. In highly structured interviews the exact wording and order of questions is predetermined and it is basically the oral form of a survey. One of the drawbacks of using highly structured interviews is that it does not allow the researcher to respond to things the participants think are important, to probe to get additional details about a subject, or to clarify meanings. The benefit of these types of interviews is that all respondents are asked the same questions which makes it easier to compare data among groups.

Semi-structured interviews are more common among researchers and have a mixture of structured and unstructured questions allowing the researcher to follow up on important points. Semi-structured interviews have open-ended questions, are very flexible and tend to be more like conversations than structured interviews. These types of interviews can take place at a scheduled one-on-one interview or in more spontaneous ways. I conducted 25 semi-structured interviews for this study.

Ethnographic interviews (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002), informal conversations (Patton, 1990) or situational conversations (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973) in which a researcher who is in the field deems it appropriate to ask a research related question even if they have not scheduled a specific interview time are often semi-structured in which the researcher has an idea about what she will ask, but allows for flexibility in the research context. The benefit of these interviews is that they can take place spontaneously and elicit a response from a participant in an indirect
way unlike one-on-one interviews structured interviews. I completed 7 ethnographic interviews while at participant observation sites.

While both semi-structured and unstructured interviews allow researchers to follow up with participants and follow trails that participants think are significant, lack of structure can cause the interview to go in a variety of directions and one may not be able to complete the prepared protocol (Tracy, forthcoming). Regardless of what type of interview a researcher conducts, it is important to include three ethnographic elements: explicit purpose; ethnographic explanations, and ethnographic questions (Spradley, 1979). Spradley advises that researchers must recognize and make participants aware that the discussion has a purpose and it is a researcher’s job to control the direction of the discussion. He notes that researchers must also be ready to answer questions about the study and how data will be recorded, must explain to participants the importance of speaking the way they ordinarily talk rather than translating for a researcher, and must be ready to detail the rationale for asking different types of questions. Finally, Spradley recognizes that researchers should be prepared with different types of questions that serve different purposes such as grand tour, mini-tour, structural, descriptive and contrast questions which will yield a plethora of data needed to answer research questions. Interviews are a wonderful means of collecting data, but like all methods limitations exist.

One of the limitations of this method is that it can be time consuming and difficult to acquire large samples and transcribe large amounts of data. Instead researchers may be subject to practical time, money, and resource
constraints. Another limitation of using interviews is that the data obtained are based on what a participant recalls. There is no indication that what a participant remembers actually happened and they are instead reporting on what they believed happened or specifically how they interpreted it. Most data collection is subject to the "truthfulness" of the participant including quantitative surveys. The goal of qualitative research is not to uncover a single truth, but instead to determine what truths resonate with participants and why. However, one way to address limitations with a method is to use multiple methods to acquire data. If a researcher notes discrepancies in terms of what a person says versus what they are observed doing he or she can follow up and ask participants for clarity. Therefore, I decided that participant observation would be another useful method for obtaining data.

*Participant Observation.* Participant observation has its roots in ethnography. Historically it began as a means of studying cultures in which researchers would live in a society for long periods of time, participate in the daily lives of society members, and observe their ways in an effort to gather material for scientific study (Tedlock, 2005). More recently scholars noted the importance of trying to subject oneself to the life circumstances of participants rather than just making outward observances (Goffman, 2001). One of the primary benefits of utilizing participant observation is that it allows researchers to observe people in the natural physical settings in which activities take place rather than in lab type settings, can offer a fresh perspective, and can help understand phenomena that participants do not want to discuss (Angrosino, 2005; Merriam,
Additionally observations provide an opportunity for researchers to have firsthand encounters with the phenomena rather than relying solely on secondhand accounts as with interviews or focus groups, observations also provide context to various incidents that can be used in interviews (Merriam, 1998). Being in the presence of others on an ongoing basis and becoming part of their lives allows participants to get to know the researcher before taking part in personal interviews or in focus groups (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). When researchers are in the field for a long time they can take on different roles. Therefore, it is important to note the various relationships that can occur between the researcher or observer and participants or those being observed.

Gold (1958) developed a typology which details four types of relationships that can occur between researchers and participants. A researcher can become a *complete participant* in which he is a member of the group being studied and conceals her role so as not to disrupt normal activity. While this role has benefits of gaining insider information a complete participant can lose perspective on the group and by labeled a traitor. When the *participant is an observer* his researcher activities become less important than his role as a participant in which the researcher becomes involved in activities that advance the group without fully committing to the group's values. When the *observer is a participant* they observe and interact enough to establish an insider identity, but do not participate in activities that constitute group membership instead their role of information gatherer is more important than any role as a participant. Finally, a *complete observer* is someone who is completely hidden from the group or
collects data in a public setting in which group members do not know they are being observed. Researchers' roles and actions when conducting observation can impact the setting and participants.

It is important to note that scholars have questioned the ability to have completely natural settings as the researcher's presence influences the scene (Gupta & Ferguson, 1996). Moreover, the observation and reporting of others' cultures has a colonialist history and was used to construct society members as Others in an effort to justify various agendas (Clair, 2003; González, 2003; Smith, 1999). In addition to critiques of using observation to colonize others, critics recognize that human perception can be selective and have questioned the subjective nature of observation (Merriam, 1998). Scholars note that while observational techniques do rely on the researcher he or she has been trained to pay special attention to things that might only garner the passing attention of a general observer (Wolcott, 1992). Training and mental preparation are crucial to conducting observations that move beyond personal viewpoints (González, 2000; Merriam, 1998). Good research requires learning how to write descriptively, record fieldnotes, separate detail from trivia, and use a variety of methods to validate observations (Patton, 1990). Gaining access to organizations, in order to observe participants on the job, can be quite difficult depending on the organizational culture and management. Also, people may not consent to being observed even if the organization has given consent. In order to engage in

---

2 It should be noted that the author of works listed by M. C. González (2000, 2003) are now found under the name Sarah Amira de la Garza.
participant observation, researchers must have time, energy and access to observe what actually takes place in various settings.

In past research studies I have conducted I learned the importance of allowing enough time to do substantial observations. It often took a few minutes to get settled in to the setting, to greet and talk with people, and to find a comfortable and unobtrusive place to sit or stand. Therefore, I had to plan to conduct observations in hour long blocks rather than in short instances. If researchers want to present concrete details and complex narratives then it is necessary to have the time and space necessary to collect substantial data (Bochner, 2000). The more time I spent in the field interacting with participants the more comfortable I got with describing what was occurring. However, I was consistently aware of the ethical implications surrounding my presence, the characterizations I made and how I represented my relationships, subjectivities and actions which are important in doing this type of research (Ellis, 2007; Miles & Huberman, 1994). When observing participants it is important to be in the setting at different times, at different events and to talk with multiple people (Miller, 2002). Being physically present on multiple occasions can also make researchers less concerned with capturing everything at once or asking questions when they are not prepared to do so. Opportunities to collect data do not get lost, but may be delayed and will reoccur (Gonzalez, 2000).

While no set criteria regarding what should be observed in any one setting exist, scholars have made lists of things that are relevant to most research settings (see Goetz & LeCompte, 1984; Patton, 1990; and Taylor & Bogdan, 1984). Some
of the elements they list include: a description of the physical setting including
space, objects, resources and so on; the participants as well as what brings them
together and who is present/absent; activities and interactions and how they might
be interconnected; conversations including non-verbal behavior, content, and who
is speaking/listening; subtle factors such as symbolic or connotative meanings of
words, what does not happen if it was expected, and unplanned activities; and
finally researchers should also be aware of their own behavior, thoughts, attitudes,
etc. and record those things in field journals. I completed a field journal during
participant observation.

Field notes are a crucial part of participant observation as that is how most
data are recorded. Field notes are used to describe everything that is being seen,
heard, smelled, felt, touched, or interacted with in any way. Once data have been
collected the primary focus of ethnography becomes writing accounts that
preserve as much as possible about what was noticed and what the researcher
feels is significant (Emmerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). Goffman (2001) notes that
researchers will see more on the first day than on any other day and should
constantly take notes and make every effort to type up the notes on a daily basis
because they could quickly add up and researchers could forget important details.
When researchers are full participants field notes could reveal both front-stage
and backstage behaviors and conversations which would be lost on an outside
observer (Tracy, 2000) and field notes also identify what interactions took place.
In addition to field notes describing the research context and actions it is also
important to record the researcher’s thoughts, feelings and emotions.
Self-reflexivity can help researchers contextualize their voice and thoughts in relationship to what they observe (Altheide & Johnson, 1994). Logging consistent reflections about thoughts, feelings, ideas, and insights in relationship to what is being studied and to outside factors can offer insights into the research situation (Richardson, 2000; Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005). These reflections help researchers examine themselves and how their perspective influences research (Fine, 1993). Additionally, reflective writing, when completed with “systematic and rigorous intention,” can open meditative places of awareness about one’s own experiences and cultural frames of reference (De la Garza, 2004, p. 20). These types of reflections also serve as a way to allow researchers to be more conscientious of the emotional, intuitive, and liminal aspects of themselves and their participants (Eastland, 1993). Self-reflective journals can help remind researchers of why decisions were made and how a researcher’s thinking could influence observations and interviews. Therefore, I wrote self-reflections in a personal journal that was separate from my field journal.

Some benefits of qualitative methods include talking with and observing participants in natural settings, being able to provide context for various interactions, and experiencing phenomena first hand rather than through recollections. However, researchers must be aware of the ways in which research can cast the gaze of Other on participants. Therefore, researchers must make a concerted effort to describe their participants and what is being witnessed in non-colonizing ways noting researchers’ own motivations, thoughts, feelings and actions. Thus it is important to learn how and where data were obtained.
Data Collection Sites and Participants

Data were collected at various venues and with entrepreneurs and their family members. A total of 25 one-on-one formal interviews, and 7 informal or “ethnographic” interviews were conducted with participants during participant observation (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). A total of roughly 210 participants were observed during the course of observations (participants would come and go at these public venues so the 210 figure is the number of different people counted and recorded in field notes at the various sites though there may have been more). This study was reviewed and approved by the internal review board at Arizona State University (see Appendix A).

After formal interviews were conducted I had subsequent informal discussions with participants in which I clarified findings, asked their thoughts about themes that were emerging and followed up on business happenings that were mentioned in early interviews. These subsequent discussions lasted between 10 and 35 minutes and took place at networking luncheons, a conference for entrepreneurs, and at participants’ places of business. The discussions were not audio-recorded, but I wrote descriptions of the discussions in my field journal.

The following section details my recruitment strategy, states and sites for participant observation and interviews, and time spent observing and interviewing. I then give a detailed description of the participants that took part in this study including demographic factors related to personal characteristics and work sectors/industries.
Recruitment Strategy

Based on past interactions with Hispanic business people in Arizona I knew about a business association in the Phoenix/metropolitan area. Therefore, I looked up the organization’s website and emailed the President of the organization, introduced myself, and asked for a meeting to discuss my project. After a couple of email and phone conversations, he invited me to attend a monthly meeting to get to know members. At the second monthly meeting I attended I made a brief presentation to the group and asked for volunteers. The President of the association followed my request with his own encouraging anyone who could help to please raise their hands. A friend and I noted all of the people who raised their hands and after the meeting I introduced myself to people who raised their hand and secured their contact information. After the meeting I followed up via email and asked for one-on-one interviews. Once I conducted interviews with those entrepreneurs I asked them for referrals thus implementing a purposeful snowball sampling method of recruitment.

Purposeful sampling involves recognizing specific things a researcher wants to discover or understand and purposely selecting information-rich cases from which researchers can gain key insights into the issues central to their study (Tracy, in press; Merriam, 1998; Patton, 1990). Snowball sampling yields participants by obtaining referrals among people who share certain characteristics that researchers are interested in (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). In my case I asked Hispanic entrepreneurs who owned their own businesses if they could refer me to other Hispanic entrepreneurs they may know. Snowball sampling has been
recognized as a way to increase a sample’s diversity and study subcultures (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). In the U.S. Hispanics are often referred to as being part of a subculture which contributed to making this an appropriate strategy.

I ultimately recruited seven entrepreneurs through the Hispanic business association and their referrals. In addition to asking entrepreneurs for referrals I also asked friends and colleagues if they could refer me to entrepreneurs and was able to secure an additional four interviews. While most of the entrepreneurs were recruited through the Hispanic business organization and snowball sampling a few participants were recruited differently.

One entrepreneur was recruited by cold-calling. I desired more female entrepreneurs and remembered reading about a particular woman and the name of her company. Therefore, I did an internet search for her company website and thought she would be an interesting participant so I contacted her having never met her and she agreed to do an interview. I met one entrepreneur at an event where I was conducting participant observation and after an ethnographic interview asked if she would be willing to sit down for a formal interview and she agreed. Finally, I met a gentleman at a social event and when I found out he was a business owner and entrepreneur I asked if I could contact him to discuss my project. After we talked we set up an interview.

During my initial three interviews each of the participants mentioned family members helping out, filling in or having permanent positions within the business. They suggested I talk with their family members because they had different knowledge about their small business and felt their perspective would be
useful. Therefore, I decided to talk with family members in order to get their perspectives on the family business, socialization, and the ways in which the family business impacts work-life experience for various family members.

Hearing from family members in addition to entrepreneurs can add to the overall picture of the work-life worlds of entrepreneurs. All family members of the entrepreneurs were recruited by directly asking the entrepreneurs if they were comfortable with me talking to their family members and if they would provide contact information for family members who work with/for their business or are their spouses/significant others or children. Upon getting contact information I followed up with all family member referrals and set up interviews.

Although I used purposeful and purposeful snowball sampling to recruit the majority of participants I was conscientious about seeking out disconfirming cases from the initial interviews (e.g. people who did not want to work in their business for a prolonged period of time, people without previous experience in their industry, and people who do not have children). The purpose behind recruiting people fitting the criteria mentioned above was to see if their work-life socialization or experiences were different from others who loved their work and wanted to continue, already knew about the industry so may have an easier time integrating into ownership, and to recognize that one can have a family business without necessarily having children. Ultimately, I sought to shed light on the work-life experiences of Hispanic entrepreneurs and it was important to try and find participants with differing perspectives. In order to find people with different perspectives I recruited participants from the locations noted below.
Research Sites

I recruited interview participants from three Southwestern states: Arizona (n=17), Colorado (n=4) and Texas (n=4). Each of these states has large numbers of Hispanics and Hispanic business owners. In fact, four of the five states with the greatest percentages of Hispanic owned businesses in the United States are located in the Southwest (Census Bureau, 2010). Both Texas and Arizona are two of these states. Moreover, current laws and factors in Arizona offer a unique situational context to collect data that lends insight into the ways in which social and political factors may influence business (e.g. SB1070 (related to immigration and racial profiling) and SB2281 (related to an ethnic studies ban). Some of the participants who currently operate their businesses in Arizona, have also had previous businesses in New Mexico and/or California which are the other two Southwestern states with large numbers of Hispanic businesses. Therefore, an effort was made to recruit interview participants from more than one Southwestern state while recognizing the importance of highlighting Arizona business perspectives and this sample is representative of those efforts. All participant observation was conducted in Arizona. While the states give a broad context for where the participants were recruited from, the actual sites of data collection varied.

Participant observations took place at the following locations: a convention center in Phoenix for a Hispanic entrepreneurial showcase; a Hispanic small business symposium located at a business conference center in Mesa, Arizona; a business entrepreneurial showcase located in a conference room at a
business in Tempe, Arizona; and five meetings of a Hispanic business association which took place at restaurants in Tempe, Mesa and Chandler, Arizona. These sites were selected for observations in order to observe the ways in which Hispanic entrepreneurs interacted with one another, the types of information they receive from various organizations to which they are members, to hear the speakers and topics covered at their meetings, and to see how these entrepreneurs network and communicate about themselves and their businesses in relationship to their work-life experiences. Therefore, rather than shadow an individual entrepreneur at his/her workplace I specifically selected sites for observation where I could see other types of interaction. I did take field notes during interviews at participants’ workplaces about the context, people I met, and interactions I saw, but those notes were included with the interview rather than as participant observation since I did not complete observations at every interview site and not all interviews took place at people’s workplaces.

The majority of interviews (n=16) took place in person at a variety of places in the Phoenix/metropolitan area including participants’ offices or places of business, homes, coffee shops, a local library, and restaurants. Nine participants were interviewed over the phone and those calls were audio-recorded and transcribed. The participants interviewed over the phone included all of the participants from Colorado, three of the participants from Texas and two participants from Arizona who could not meet in person due to their strict schedules.

*Time in the Field*
A total of 14 hours were spent in the field observing interactions and an additional 15 hours were spent filling in, typing and printing the field notes, and traveling to the various research locations. Ethnographic interviews were conducted at the sites where I observed participants and the data and any quotes derived from those interviews were logged into my field journal.

Scheduled formal interviews were often accompanied by discussions before and/or after the interview. I audio-recorded the full interviews and wrote detailed notes on discussion topics that were not recorded after the interviews ended while I sat in my car. I logged 117 hours of interviews and discussions with the average interview/discussion time being 2 hours 20 minutes. Audio-recorded interview times ranged from 43 minutes to 2 hours 32 minutes with an average audio-recording time of 1 hour 43 minutes. Through these interviews, discussions, and observations I was able to get to know the participants described below.

Participants

Twenty-five participants were formally interviewed (see Tables 1 and 3). Roughly 210 participants were observed during the course of observations. Because I did not formally interview and ask people about their ethnic background during participant observation and in ethnographic interviews I cannot make claims about their ethnic or racial heritage. However, they were participants at events for Hispanic entrepreneurs, and the people I met and interacted with had Spanish surnames which leads to the assumption that at least many of participants observed were Hispanic.
Table 1.

*Entrepreneur Demographics*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name*</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Self-Identified Ethnic Label</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bernadette</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Floral</td>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>HS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cece</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Restaurant</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>Jr. High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conchita</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Travel</td>
<td>Hisp/Mex</td>
<td>HS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eva</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>MBA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucy</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Fitness</td>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>HS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubina</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Art</td>
<td>Mex-Am/Lat</td>
<td>BA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanessa</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Fashion</td>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>HS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlos</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Consulting</td>
<td>Mex-Am</td>
<td>PhD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Auto &amp; Hydraulics</td>
<td>Chicano</td>
<td>Jr. High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jose</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Welding/Auto/Fabrication</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>Jr. High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jr.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Gaming/Landscaping</td>
<td>Hisp/Itln</td>
<td>HS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leonidas</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Insurance/Financial Serv/Medical Transport</td>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>BA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mike</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Renewable Energy/Medical/Oil &amp; Gas</td>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>BS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valdo</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Telecommunications</td>
<td>Hisp/Mex</td>
<td>HS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ginger</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Catering</td>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>BA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Video/Radio</td>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>HS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. Names used in table and throughout the text are pseudonyms to protect participants’ identities.*

In addition to demographic information I also collected information about the number of years participants worked and about their business (see Table 2).
Table 2.

Entrepreneurs’ Experience & Number of Employees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name*</th>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Years in Industry</th>
<th>Years as Owner</th>
<th>Number of Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bernadette</td>
<td>Floral</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cece</td>
<td>Restaurant</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conchita</td>
<td>Travel</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eva</td>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucy</td>
<td>Fitness</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubina</td>
<td>Art</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanessa</td>
<td>Fashion</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlos</td>
<td>Consulting</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe</td>
<td>Auto &amp; Hydraulics</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jose</td>
<td>Welding/Auto/Fabrication</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jr.</td>
<td>Gaming/Landscaping</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leonidas</td>
<td>Insurance/Financial Serv/Medical Transport</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mike</td>
<td>Renewable Energy/Medical/Oil &amp; Gas</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valdo</td>
<td>Telecommunications</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ginger</td>
<td>Catering</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard</td>
<td>Video/Radio</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. Names used in table and throughout the text are pseudonyms to protect participants’ identities.

The demographic breakdown for interview participants is as follows: 7 Hispanic female entrepreneurs (average age 50; range: 37-55); 7 Hispanic male entrepreneurs (average age 53; range: 30-76); 2 Caucasian entrepreneurs (Male & Female) (average age 50; range: 45-54); and 9 Hispanic family members of entrepreneurs (average age 37; range: 23-58). I kept the label Hispanic to reference participants based on the majority of labels that entrepreneurs gave and in order to have clarity within the written document. However, as mentioned in
the introduction different labels can have different connotations so I feel it is important to highlight specific ways entrepreneurs labeled themselves.

Of the Hispanic entrepreneurs interviewed six labeled themselves Hispanic, two labeled themselves Hispanic/Mexican, one labeled himself Hispanic/Italian, one labeled herself Mexican-American/Latina, one labeled himself Mexican American, one labeled himself Chicano, and two participants labeled themselves Mexican. Ethnicity of children of entrepreneurs was based on their parents’ labels, all but one the significant others and spouses in this study happened to label themselves as did their entrepreneurial partner, in one case the entrepreneur labeled herself Hispanic and her husband labels himself Mexican.

During discussions before and after interviews many of the participants indicated that labels were not important to them and said that they fall under more than one category. Participants were not asked about their citizenship, but based on conversations all participants in this study were legally able to work and operate businesses in the U.S. In addition to differences with labels, the actual size of the businesses varied as well.

At the time of the interviews the participants owned their own business and 11 of the 14 had owned previous businesses and/or done entrepreneurial side jobs while working in previous occupations. As noted in the review of literature the majority of small businesses in the U.S. employ fewer than 20 employees (U.S. Census Bureau, 2007). Therefore, I sought out small business owners who employed less than 20 employees. The number of people owners employed ranged from zero full time employees (contract employees only) to 12 at peak
season and 8 on a regular basis. The average number of employees during non-peak business times was three, though in the past some of the entrepreneurs had more employees. Participants worked in these businesses and in other occupations over several years.

Entrepreneurs in this study worked for pay between 16 and 68 years with the average number of years worked being 38. Ownership ranged from 1 year to 30 years with an average ownership time of 12.5 years. Education level ranged from middle school to a Ph.D. Three participants finished middle school before leaving to work; 7 participants completed high school; 4 participants completed Bachelor’s degrees and 2 participants earned graduate degrees.

Although the amount of business revenue generated was not specifically asked, the monetary profits of the businesses emerged in several of the interviews. Based on this information the financial status of the businesses ranged from being slightly “in the red” due to economic challenges to multi-million dollar enterprises. Participants discussed having millions, losing everything and starting over, beginning a brand new business and not yet seeing profits, to having multiple businesses and successfully growing and earning large amounts of revenue. Education level did not seem to have a negative effect on financial profits and growth as one of the entrepreneurs whose highest level of education was middle school also happened to be one of the three millionaires and the participant with a Ph.D. indicated that the majority of his earnings come from retirement from previous government employment versus his entrepreneurial venture.
All but one of the entrepreneurs has children and the range is 0-8 children with an average of 3 children. To better understand work-life challenges faced by these entrepreneurs I interviewed children and other family members as well since entrepreneurs suggested I talk to them to get their perspective on entrepreneurialism.

More specifically, I interviewed two spouses; one significant other; three daughters; two sons and one cousin (who was referred to as and considered a sister). Children and other family members interviewed ranged from ages 23-58 with an average age of 37. Their education level ranged from 12th grade to a Master’s Degree. Four participants were working on their Bachelor’s degrees; 3 have Bachelor’s degrees; 1 has a Master’s degree and the one person who left school to work a couple of months prior to graduating from high school is considering going back to school to complete her general educational development tests. Additional information about family members desire to take over was also noted (see Table 3).
Table 3.

*Family Member Demographics*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name*</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Time working in Family Bus</th>
<th>Desire Take Over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dora</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>BA In Progress</td>
<td>Full time</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dulce</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>BS In Progress</td>
<td>Part time</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elle</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>BA In Progress</td>
<td>Full time</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epifanio</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>BA In Progress</td>
<td>Fills In</td>
<td>Yes/No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jane</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>BS</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luis</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>BA</td>
<td>Fills In</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luz</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>MA</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>12th Grade</td>
<td>Fills In</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umberto</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>BA</td>
<td>Fills In</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. Names used in table and throughout the text are pseudonyms to protect participants’ identities.

While this study was conducted to understand the work-life experiences of Hispanic entrepreneurs, two Caucasian participants were also interviewed in an effort to determine if there were similar trends with regard to socialization and work-life experiences of entrepreneurs. The inclusion of two Caucasian participants was not meant to be a comparison or a control group, but to instead allow me to see the main set of data with a contrasting sliver of data.

It is also important to note that while I recruited people for a particular category such as entrepreneur or family member I soon found that these categories overlapped. There were family members that also owned their own businesses currently or in the past; children who were entrepreneurs; entrepreneurs who were married to other entrepreneurs or are the children of entrepreneurs. Therefore, the participants were able to speak from multiple
vantage points. Additionally, the participants who were interviewed and observed work in roughly 41 different job sectors as detailed below (see Tables 4 and 5).

Table 4.

*Industries Represented in Interviews*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Art</th>
<th>Gaming</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auto/Hydraulics</td>
<td>Insurance/Financial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catering</td>
<td>Services/Medical Transport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consulting</td>
<td>Restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy/Medical/Oil/Gas</td>
<td>Telecommunications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fashion/Design</td>
<td>Travel &amp; Tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitness</td>
<td>Video/Radio Production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floral</td>
<td>Welding/Auto/Fabrication</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 5.

*Industries Represented During Participant Observation*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adoption Non-Profit</th>
<th>Electric</th>
<th>Govt. Labor Equity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auto Repair</td>
<td>Fashion/Design</td>
<td>Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banking/Financial</td>
<td>Financial Services</td>
<td>Real Estate/Housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbershop</td>
<td>Floral</td>
<td>Journalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>Food/Restaurant</td>
<td>Tech./Production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>Health/Wellness</td>
<td>Title Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consulting</td>
<td>Home Health</td>
<td>Tourism &amp; Travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmetic</td>
<td>Hospice</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customer Service</td>
<td>Intl. Development</td>
<td>Salon/Spa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Industries represented during participant observation are based on participant introductions, business cards, and conversations. There were likely other industries represented, but the ones noted below are based on specific communication of the industry.

Interviewing and observing participants from different states, at multiple locations, with different demographic characteristics, and from various work sectors adds to the breadth of this study versus focusing on entrepreneurs in one specific sector. In order to make sense of and better understand the data collected I embarked upon the analysis process discussed below.

Data Analysis

Throughout and during the collection process data were analyzed in a variety of ways. My analysis was guided by an iterative approach first introduced by Glaser & Strauss (1967) and most recently elaborated by Tracy (in press). Tracy describes an iterative approach as one that involves using emergent data as the primary means of analysis, but also “encourages reflection upon the active interests, current literature, granted priorities and various theories the researcher brings to the data.” Tracy also notes that an iterative approach involves reading through the data, making notes and beginning analysis during and throughout the data collection phase as well as once data collection has ended and determining if data collected offer new insights into questions that may not have originally been posed and adjusting the parameters of the study accordingly in order to follow the trail led by data. For example, I began this study interested in Hispanic
entrepreneurs’ socialization and how that might relate to engagement as is evidence in my original semi-structured interview guide (see Appendix B).

As I began to follow the trail led by the data in initial interviews I had to adjust my parameters when it became clear that there were questions I had not thought to ask and before discussing engagement in current businesses it was first important to understand what participants reported about their anticipatory socialization experiences, how they narrated the ways in which their socialization impacted their current experiences and what they reported in terms of the relationship between work and family. While participants did discuss engagement it was directly related to how they narrated their socialization experiences and their relationships with family and work. Therefore, I followed the trail led by the data versus my own agenda and reported on the primary data that came through in the interviews. Below I discuss the amount of and how the data were organized, the specific procedures for analysis, validity of the analysis, and ethical considerations that guided the analysis.

Organization of data

Once data were collected I began organizing that which was collected through participant observation. As noted in the data collection section after recording detailed notes in the field I went in and filled in additional details in my field journal. I then typed the detailed notes within two days of having been in the field. I added headers to each set of notes including the date, time, description and location of the observations, number of hours spent observing, and the date field notes were typed. Once I typed all of the notes I printed and arranged the
sets of notes chronologically from first data collection to last. Organizing data in a way that is convenient to access and follows a specific schema is helpful in terms of analysis (Tracy, in press). Data collected through participant observations yielded 48 single-spaced pages of data.

The process for organizing data collected through formal interviews was as follows. All field notes taken during, before and/or after interviews were typed and attached to each interview transcript. All audio-recorded interviews were transcribed. I personally transcribed 6 interviews, an undergrad research assistant transcribed 3, and I submitted the remaining 16 to a professional transcription service. Data from the transcriptions and notes yielded 764 single-spaced pages of data.

Once all transcriptions were completed I developed summary sheets for each participant including demographic information, work and entrepreneurial background and added headers to each transcript including date, time, and location of the interview, and audio time versus time spent talking and uniformly formatted transcripts completed by the different transcriptionists mentioned above adding in extra spaces for coding and printed each transcript. I then arranged the interviews based on demographic categories and date. I grouped Hispanic female entrepreneurs together, Hispanic male entrepreneurs together, Caucasian entrepreneurs together and all family members together. The transcripts were then organized based on the date they were conducted from first to last. Once the data were organized I began the analysis.

*Analysis Process*
As noted above with an iterative approach to analysis researchers begin analyzing the data once the data collection process began. After my very first interview I began noting things that emerged in ways I had not expected. During the subsequent interviews I was able to note spaces and places where there were consistencies or inconsistencies in terms of how people talked about aspects of being an entrepreneur. I made note of these consistencies and preliminary themes and early on developed theoretical memos that were adapted as the first phase of the analysis process continued. While this iterative process of going back and forth between the data, literature, and research questions took place throughout the collection phase, there was a specific point at which all data were collected and there was a more specific way I began to then analyze the transcripts.

This second phase of analysis began by listening to all audio interviews without taking notes or reading transcripts. I then listened to half of the interviews a second time to re-familiarize myself with the voices of participants in early interviews. The third phase of listening to audio recordings took place while reading through completed transcripts in order to verify accuracy. As I listened to the audio recordings and read transcripts I filled in any missing parts of the transcript, corrected errors that were made with words, names or places, took out specific names of people, businesses and other identifying information and made sure words that were emphasized by participants were emphasized in transcripts. In the transcriptions I captured the participants' words, where participants paused, when they used utterances such as "uh" or "um," when they dragged out certain words, where they repeated words or phrases, and used italics to highlight words
they emphasized. I captured these specific details so that during analysis I could visually see what things participants highlighted, what they struggled to convey, or took extra time to answer.

I also took notes on codes, themes, and quotes while verifying each transcript. Codes can be defined as "labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study" and can be attached to words, sentences, phrases or full paragraphs (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 56). I then made lists of things that began to recur such as side jobs mentioned; lists of skills entrepreneurs said they learned; people that entrepreneurs interact with; and when participants started working. During this time I began developing new theoretical memos and adding to existing memos and drawing basic cognitive maps. I then reviewed my personal journal to note particular thoughts, feelings, and observations before and after interviews. Re-reading my journal entries helped refresh my memory with regard to topics that were present during observations and resurfaced during interviews.

I noted the similarities in both my field journal and interview transcripts, and coded similar occurrences accordingly. I began with line-by-line open coding in which I identified data in each line that could help me conceptualize ideas. I coded 20 percent of the transcripts using line-by-line open coding to develop my initial code book then used focused coding on the remaining transcripts to synthesize entire pages of data. I used action codes, descriptive codes, and in vivo codes which are special terms that participants use and can help preserve participants’ meanings, as well as serve as symbolic markers of participants'
speech (Charmaz, 2006). I then defined, refined, and identified examples of the
codes to develop an updated codebook with axial codes and theoretical codes (see
Appendix C). Once axial and theoretical codes were in place I also began to look
at the data in relationship to the questions it answered and applied codes and
updated the codebook accordingly.

The main purpose of a codebook is to list and describe all of the
categories, list code names for each category, provide examples of each category,
list the number of incidents coded, and where the codes are located in the data
(Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). After listing the categories, I provided a definition or
explanation for each category. Finally I went in and provided examples for each
category. Once I finished the first full draft of my codebook in Microsoft Word I
entered all of the codes into NVivo.

NVivo is a software program that allows researchers to find words or
phrases in one or several databases; apply codes to units of text of varying length
and retrieve these codes; use hypertext to link parts of a data set; attach memos to
larch chunks of text and code and categorize memos; and is graphic based
allowing for multimedia files (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). While coding data in
NVivo, in instances when I came across a section of text could not be coded using
the codes developed early on I added emergent codes to the codebook.

I continued to develop theoretical memos (Charmaz, 2006) to make sense
of what was being coded. For example I took the term “generating revenue” from
the data and began to break it down and see how it was associated with other
codes such as money, pay, side jobs and multiple businesses and begin to unpack
what people meant when they talked about generating revenue versus having a job or earning a paycheck. I listed out examples of generating revenue (e.g. through side jobs) and differentiated it from steady pay at a full time job. It was through this unpacking that I began to see the importance of side jobs and multiple jobs not only in terms of generating revenue, but as I made these codes and concepts into their own memo I found multiple examples of how side and multiple jobs were more often discussed in relationship to pursuing passions and helping people grow and develop professionally than for generating revenue. I also updated cognitive maps to see how theoretical ideas fit together and used NVivo to identify which codes were most robust or central to the study, as well as which needed additional data to support claims (Miles & Huberman, 1994). It was through identifying these robust areas of data that led me in the direction that I followed with regard to focusing on vocational anticipatory socialization.

*Validity of Analysis*

A number of opinions exist with regard to whether the term validity should even apply to qualitative research. While I prefer to conceptualize completing a high quality study versus a valid study, I understand the need for accountability and rigor. I chose to use qualitative methods because I believe in letting participants speak for themselves. I see myself as a channel to help communicate their messages. As such I frequently conducted member checks and sought feedback from participants at networking luncheons where I completed observations.
While qualitative data are often represented in many forms, it is important to highlight how the information presented addresses the questions being asked. Therefore, the researcher has the responsibility of showing how a study and the conclusions therein are valid. Validity can be thought of as "the truth of an inference . . . that emerges from the study" (Smith, 2009, personal communication). Several types of validity and different interpretations of what type or types of validity count in relationship to qualitative versus quantitative methods exist. Despite differences in methods and expectations, the importance of outlining how one makes the inferences she does is an important aspect of a high quality study. As such, this section highlights aspects of validity with respect to qualitative studies which I used to address validity in this dissertation.

Numerous suggestions have been made with regard to what constitutes validity and a high quality qualitative study. For this project I aim to use the criteria outlined by Altheide & Johnson (1994) who suggest that qualitative researchers must communicate the process through which they acquire information. This interactive process should be made clear to the reader so he or she can assess the degree to which the claims that are being made were derived from the data. They contend that in order to evaluate ethnographic research the interactions related to context, the researcher, methods, settings, and various actors must be clearly spelled out (Altheide & Johnson, 1994). Additionally, they highlight four general criteria that help determine quality including: plausibility; credibility; relevance of the study; and the importance of the overall topic. If a study is not plausible, sources and data are not credible and the research does not
add to the existing body of literature it is unlikely to be deemed valid. In addition to meeting the criteria listed above I aimed to advance a coherent central claim and complete a study that was fruitful for ongoing idea development which Tracy (1995) identifies as important aspects of a high quality study.

One of the ways to make sure the data collected were credible was to engage in member checking. Member checking involves "taking findings back to the field and determining whether the participants recognize them as true or accurate" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 242) and can enhance rigor in qualitative studies (Morrow & Smith, 2000). If participants do not agree that their ideas, experiences, or stories are being correctly interpreted then the researcher must strive to understand what participants are trying to convey and represent those things as accurately as possible. One of the primary ways to obtain this information is to ask participants if they believe the researcher is fair, if the researcher got things wrong, and so on (St. Pierre, 1999). I often interacted with former interview participants at events where I conducted participant observation and had phone conversations after the interviews during which time I engaged in member-checking.

Another way to include representative stories is by incorporating the concept of verstehen. Verstehen can be thought of as gaining an empathic insight into others' attitudes and requires researchers to provide a thick description of actors' performances and their local significance in order to interpret meaning (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). Using thick description can help establish interpretive validity and context for readers which may guide readers to understanding why
the researcher made the decisions he or she made. Throughout my discussion and results chapters I use direct quotations directly from the participants in order to gain insight into their attitudes from their perspectives. In addition to incorporating self-reflection and members checking into the research process in an effort to establish validity, it is also necessary to adhere to ethics.

**Ethical Considerations**

“We must consider the rightness or wrongness of our actions as qualitative researchers in relation to the people whose lives we are studying, to our colleagues, and to those who sponsor our work” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 288). Miles & Huberman recognize dilemmas that can put ethics and validity in contention, yet acknowledge that adopting the most ethical approach possible can help increase validity and/or criteria by which it is judged. Ellis (2007) also recognizes that researchers should continually reflect on ethical decisions and suggests that a major criterion for qualitative research involves relational ethics. “Relational ethics recognizes and values the mutual respect, dignity, and connectedness between the researcher and the researched, and between researchers and communities in which they live and work” (p. 4). For example, many participants mentioned things “off the record” that could have informed this study even further. While the information was quite interesting, I was careful to make sure nothing was included that they did not want made public and even after participants had verbalized something that was recorded when they asked me to take it out I did. These examples are small representations of ethical considerations.
In order to make these considerations it is important to reflect on the researcher's motives for conducting the research, as well as the practical and ethical ramifications for violating participants' traditional ways or rules (González, 2000). Respecting and valuing study participants is an important part of qualitative research. Additionally, it is of utmost importance that the data gathered are representative of the participants' experiences and researchers are able to describe how and why they made particular choices or analyzed data in particular ways.

The participants in this study are part of an underrepresented population and I believe that adds an additional task of being responsible and ethical. Smith (1999) notes that research is considered a dirty word in Native American cultures because of the ways in which stories have been appropriated with little value going to the participants themselves. Like Native Americans, Mexican Americans and other Hispanics have been victims of colonization. Therefore, it is important for me to go beyond institutional review board responsibilities (Ellis, 2007) and examine the ways in which my research impacts/benefits my participants and me.

Additionally, maintaining confidentiality of participants was a primary ethical consideration for this study. In an effort to protect participants, they had the option of selecting a pseudonym and only two asked me to select a pseudonym for them. Pseudonyms were used when providing direct quotations in the analysis and discussion that follow in later chapters.
Summary

Data collected through formal and ethnographic interviews, and participant observation with multiple people at various sites served as the basis for this study. Using an iterative approach I analyzed the data as they were collected and once collection was completed. As noted in the analysis section, when preliminary themes led me in different directions I completed member checks during the data collection process in an effort to ensure I was understanding what participants were communicating and had data-driven rationale for moving in the directions I did. The following chapters discuss the results of the analysis based on the research questions posed in chapter one.
Chapter 4

RESULTS

This chapter reports results for the research questions listed below:

RQ1: What vocational anticipatory socialization experiences do Hispanic entrepreneurs report?

RQ2: How do Hispanic entrepreneurs narrate the effect of socialization on their current work-life experiences?

RQ3: What do Hispanic entrepreneurs report about the relationship between work and family? This chapter concludes with a summary of what was reported.

Developing Expectations

Vocational anticipatory socialization is an important aspect of orientation into various work positions. This type of socialization involves both direct and indirect messages people receive about work prior to entering various occupations. The participants in this study reported several skills that they learned via early experiences that impacted the way they currently view work-life dynamics. In order to answer RQ1: “What vocational anticipatory socialization experiences do Hispanic entrepreneurs report?” this section highlights narratives related to participants’ work histories, how helping out and working for pay were important in terms of skill acquisition, and the skills entrepreneurs and their family members learned prior to ever starting their own businesses.

Many of the participants in this study, both entrepreneurs and their family members, indicated beginning their work lives performing agricultural labor. This fact is not too surprising considering that historically Hispanics in the U.S.
were land owners, ranchers, and have had a long presence in the agricultural industry (Mirandé, 1985). More recently, a 2001-2002 survey indicated that 82% of crop workers identified as being Hispanic including Mexican, Mexican-American, Chicano, or other Hispanic (U.S. Department of Labor, 2010). Although child labor laws exist, the agricultural industry has provisions which allow children as young as 10 to work legally outside of school hours, for limited amounts of time, with parents, and any child of any age can work on family owned land (U.S. Department of Labor, 2008). Additionally, despite legal age limits children younger than age 12 often work in fields and parents are allowed to bring children to the field to work alongside of them without the children being paid (National Center for Farmworker Health, Inc., 2009). Participants indicated working alongside parents and other family members in company owned and family owned fields as well as family owned businesses and for a variety of organizations from childhood through their teenage years.

*Work Age.* Most participants in this study indicated working prior to their teenage years and throughout their lives and a few began working as teenagers. Descriptions of these experiences are noted below. As Jose3, who is an entrepreneur, son of entrepreneurs and a father to children who work in the business recalled,

> When I was two years old. . . . See when my daddy worked in the fields I wanted to work with him, to stay with him, to hang out with him. Okay

3 I used verbatim quotes as often as possible throughout this manuscript. However, there were occasional dysfluencies, stammering, sentences were cut off, and the specific questions asked were not always listed so the answers were not entirely clear. In those situations I used brackets to provide context and fluency and deleted repeated words or stuttering.
when my daddy sat down to rest he’d say, “Son go bring me the water,”
from the shade you know under the tree, “Go get me the water, mijo.” And
I’d run and go get the water so it’s work, right? So I started probably about
two or three years old. Kept on going, kept on going, helping my daddy.

. . . [Then] when I was five or six years old I’d help on the fields planting
(Jose, personal communication, January 16, 2011).

Carlos, is currently a self-employed entrepreneur, but was once in business
with his brother and father who are also entrepreneurs. He remembered, “As
children, I can recall, as far as I can recall, as a child, six years old, probably,
picking prunes, picking walnuts, picking spinach, chabacano-apricot, almonds,
hops.” (Carlos, personal communication, January 14, 2011). Dora, on the other
hand, is not an entrepreneur, but her brother and parents are entrepreneurs and she
currently works in a family business and used to work alongside her parents and
multiple siblings when she was younger.

My first memory comes from working in the fields. I think I was four or
five when we started working, that I started working like where they’d
actually strap on the bucket and say, “Start picking,” that was about four.
I think I was 13 when I quit, when I said I didn’t want to work in the fields
any more, and I didn’t have to. I said I would baby-sit, any cousins, I
didn’t care. I was just not gonna go pick cherries any more. (Dora,
personal communication, February 11, 2011).
In addition to working in agricultural labor, participants helped with and worked in family businesses or with family members as well. Eva, who currently owns her second startup, is also the daughter of an entrepreneur. As she recalled,

My dad did have a western wear clothing store back in the 60’s in Tolleson and I was still young so we’d go on Saturdays we’d fold clothes and we’d kinda play around in the store and we would take cash and you know stuff like that. (Eva, personal communication, January 5, 2011).

While some participants worked alongside family members in family run businesses others like Joe, who is an entrepreneur and whose children and grandchildren now work for his business, helped at his own grandfather’s workplaces.

I didn’t have parents, you know. My grandma, my mom left me when I was like 5. My grandma raised me in Las Vegas, New Mexico. And my grandpa used to work in a bar. I used to sit at the bar and shine shoes all day long to make money. I even started making money when I was like 6. Shining shoes, and doing like you know how else can I get money? (Joe, personal communication, December 22, 2010).

Luz, who has run her own business, currently directs a large organization, and is the significant other of an entrepreneur, began working at an early age in both family businesses and in outside organizations. She said,

I was fortunate that I had family with businesses in Anchorage, Alaska and they were in the business of chartering airplanes so that was one thing
I did for at least three summers of my teen-age years in high school. (Luz, personal communication, January, 19, 2011).

Thirteen of the 16 entrepreneurs interviewed mentioned working with a family business or “helping out” parents or grandparents at their worksites prior to becoming teenagers, as did 6 of the 9 family members of entrepreneurs. The other 3 entrepreneurs and 3 family members recalled working as teenagers into adulthood. All participants who began doing work in childhood continued through their teenage years into adulthood.

Despite working with and/or for family members, these participants were still expected to manage intense work schedules just like other employees. There were no major differences with regard to biological sex in terms of exposure to work in that both the young men and young women in this study worked from early childhood doing physical labor as well as working in a variety of businesses in other capacities. Additionally, both young boys and girls were taught early on to work long days. Bernadette, whose father and brothers are entrepreneurs and whose son currently works for the family business, recalled her early work experiences,

Being Hispanic coming from a long line, on my father’s side, of female entrepreneurs who have restaurants I started waitressing at eleven [years old]. [I would go in] after school from 4:00 to 8:00 and then on weekends from 6:00 on Friday nights until 3:00 in the morning on Saturdays from 6:00 ‘til 3:00 in the morning and then on Sunday from 11:00 to 7:00. (Bernadette, personal communication, February 25, 2011).
In some instances participants were paid for their work and in other cases they worked just to help the family. Helping out was different from completing chores, which they also did, as it often involved working alongside parents at various workplaces and is defined in multiple ways. When participants mentioned helping out I asked them to describe what they meant by that term.

*Helping out.* The various quotes below illustrate the multiple ways in which “helping out” was described and defined with a summary at the end of this section. Luis is the son of entrepreneurs and noted that one of his brothers is also an entrepreneur. While he does not consider himself an entrepreneur, he has always helped with the family business and multiple ventures.

Wow, I would say to actually like really help my dad with whatever he was trying to do, it was probably around then, as a seventh grader I would say. Before then it was just growing up when we all went to just go pick fruit in the fields, but that wasn’t [working]—they weren’t depending on me to help pay the bills. (Luis, personal communication, February 15, 2011).

Umberto is an entrepreneur, is married to an entrepreneur, and hopes to begin a new venture with his brother soon. He conceptualizes helping out in the following way, “If you’re helping out, you get no pay. You’re just there to help out the family, helping out my stepdad. In a job, you’re actually getting paid, and you get to keep the money” (Umberto, personal communication, January 17, 2011). Bernadette described another form of “helping out,”
Through high school I wanted to go to a prep school, an all-girl prep school so the tuition was quite high. So by working I could help out with my real costly tuition and our uniforms were really costly also and so I got to help out. Then I got help my mom buy her clothes or help her get her hair done on the weekend or just kinda help out with that and help out with my little brothers with clothes or toys or whatever they needed. I’ve had my own money since I was 11. (Bernadette)

Joe described the ways in which he and his brothers helped their grandfather.

[My grandpa] became a janitor for a school and me and my brothers used to go every afternoon after school to help him clean the rooms and clean the school and my grandpa would get paid and would buy us stuff and keep us supported, you know.” (Joe)

Finally, Epifanio, who worked for years in his family owned business and is following in his dad’s and grandfather’s footsteps by starting his own entrepreneurial venture, highlighted another aspect of what it means to help out.

Having a job is when you’re getting paid and you have to be there at a certain time. Having a job is more likely a long-term—like a long-term career. Helping out is like . . . they [my cousins] didn’t have a job so they would go to the shop and help out. . . . If he [my dad] needed material to be cut, or something like that, or helping out with—well, also like they didn’t have a job so they would go help my dad out at the shop,
and my dad would gratitude them with some money for their time in helping out. (Epifanio, personal communication, February 16, 2011).

In many cases these individuals were not paid to help out, they just worked in order to help the family. In the instances where they were paid they did not necessarily have regular schedules, or get paid a set salary. Participants also used the term “helped out” to refer to monetarily helping the family whenever possible knowing their income was not what sustained the family, but helped with expenses. Finally, there was a reciprocal relationship acknowledged where a family member who owned a business needed help and would temporarily bring in other family members to help when needed and both parties benefitted. Twenty-four of the 25 participants formally interviewed (entrepreneurs and their family members) mentioned helping out their family members by working with or for them in some capacity. Regardless of whether these individuals were paid or not they did learn a variety of skills during their early exposure to work.

Skill Acquisition

Participants reported learning a variety of skills related to work long before owning a business. The skills listed below are skills that the majority of participants highlighted during interviews (see Table 6). There were other skills discussed, but not by the majority of participants so those are not reported. To illustrate how these skills were discussed I selected a couple of quotations for each category. The skills listed are presented in random order versus order of importance or most frequently cited.
Table 6.

*Skills Acquired through VAS*^4^  

- Self-starting & Decision Making  
- Confidence  
- Organizational Skills  
- Self-Educating & Asking for Help  
- People Skills & Relationship Building  
- Sales & Negotiation  
- Customer Service & Emotional Labor  
- Employee Relations  
- Leadership & Responsibility

---

*Being a Self-Starter & Decision-Maker.* Through engaging in work experiences participants learned to focus on the various aspects of the job, determine what needed to be done and to do it. Additionally, it was through taking part in actual work since an early age that participants learned they had the ability to make decisions about how to move forward. When I asked participants to tell me about previous jobs as they told stories about various work places they gave specific examples. For example Luz noted, “At that time it was typing, there were no computers, and I think that’s where I started to learn organizational skills and being a self-starter and not waiting for other people to teach you how to do things.” As noted below, Carlos too became confident in his abilities.

Later on, when I was much older, about eight years old, eight, nine or ten, I worked with my father who was a cement finisher, a cement mason. He was working on the Bay Bridge in San Francisco, the road race that led to the Bay Bridge, and I went on to work with him. Most of the time

---

^4^ Skills were coded from transcripts under the theoretical code “skill acquisition” a list of theoretical codes used is listed (see Appendix C).
cleaning the tools, handing them the tools, and after they poured the concrete, he was finishing the concrete, so I’d be running back and forth, getting buckets of water, washing the tools, preparing the tools for him, having them ready for him, and that was quite an experience because it’s right next to the Bay Bridge. . . . That’s when I started seeing that the employment I was able to think a little bit because I knew which was the next tool that was ready. When one was ready, I knew I could wash and I could decide, so I didn’t have to be told step-by-step what had to be done. Taking initiative to complete tasks and realizing they had the abilities to know what to do next helped participants developed further confidence in their abilities.

Confidence. Participants discussed the importance of knowing they could get a job done. Dulce, whose father was an entrepreneur, and who has worked for different family businesses, acknowledged that she did not always get paid a lot of money for the work she did as a child, but said she got more out of it than money, “I realized then that hey ‘I am capable of doing things’ (Dulce, personal communication, January 24, 2011). She mentioned that this confidence not only helped her with the work she did for the family business, but also prompted her to start her own venture on the side. In addition to developing a confidence in one’s ability to accomplish tasks, participants also used what they learned as children to have a positive view with regard to competition. Jr., who is an entrepreneur and who has employed family members in his business notes,
I pride myself in being the best. Outworking anyone else out there.

That’s what separates me from where I feel most other people. Am I the biggest and the baddest and the best? (Laughs) Probably not there’s a lot of, of wonderful, wonderful folks and outfits out there. But I’m darn sure gonna stay in the mix. And I feel that I can compete with anybody in the field right alongside of anyone (Jr., personal communication, January 6, 2011).

Participants reported a confidence in knowing that despite difficulties they could accomplish their goal if they put in the effort. They had a history of getting things done and could rely on those past experiences to push them toward accomplishing new goals. As Joe said,

Try to do it one time. Learn to do it one time. Don’t spend all your time doing [it] two, three times. If you can’t do it one time, walk away from it and come back and do it later on. It always comes back, you know. Anything you do, it’ll always come back. If somebody else did it, you can do it.

Participants pointed out that confidence and self-worth were essential components of running a business and allowed people to push through fear. As Vanessa, who is an entrepreneur, whose grandfather was an entrepreneur and whose spouse is an entrepreneur, stated,

I think a lot of people really are scared. I think being scared has a lot to do with it or they don’t have the confidence in themselves. . . . I think that’s the key. You have to give it 150 percent I think right from the get

This confidence and self-worth propelled these participants into a range of new endeavors. As participants worked in various positions and moved into new territory they learned to be organized and in charge of what they were doing.

*Organizational Skills.* When participants talked about their work histories they reflected on things they learned. Family, military, and work socialization pushed participants toward developing their organizational skills. As Joe reflected on thing he learned in the military he said, “I would learn to be a fanatic. . . . Like in my house everything’s straight, you know but, I just don’t like nothing crooked. I’m a perfectionist.” As Luz notes, developed organizational skills led to new opportunities.

I basically organized their personnel files. They didn’t have really a hiring practice in place or anything, I mean, very, very disorganized so I brought the skills that I had learned working in cosmetics, working with Clinique. We had to keep all kinds of records, and we had to be very organized. I brought that and kind of into this business and helped that office get organized. After that I just moved into different positions that they had open, office manager.

Good organizational skills not only helped the organization run smoothly, but they also helped participants stay focused which reduced stress. Lucy, an
entrepreneur as well as the wife and daughter of entrepreneurs, gave the example below which illustrates this practice,

One of the things I do, that we really do is we are very, very organized and prepared for our day. Our clients have files. We do workouts for them. We have them all ready to go. I make sure that that is done the day before so that when I come in the morning, I’m not rushed. I’m not making it happen on the fly. It’s all prepared and ready to go. That I think is really, really helpful to staying in the moment and being prepared helps me to be motivational. I’m not just walking around, like what are we going to do next? Even if my brain is on something else, if it’s in front of me, I can stay on task (Lucy, personal communication, January 22, 2011).

Many participants were also quick to acknowledge that being organized for them did not necessarily mean only having a couple of things on their desk, or everything neatly arranged. As Mike, who has run nine businesses and is currently operating three different businesses put it, “If you were to see my desk, you’d say, ‘What in the world is that?’ But you could ask me where things are and I’d say, ‘Well, it’s right there. It’s right there’ (Mike, personal communication, June 10, 2011). Finally, participants talked about the importance of being organized so that they could keep track of what they were doing and learning. Because much of the education about owning a business came from being self-taught, organization was important and was seeking assistance.
Self Educating & Asking for Help. All of the entrepreneurs in this study acknowledged that they did not know everything there was to know about their business before beginning it, but knew they had what it took to learn. Not only did they do research on their own and learn through hands on experience, but they also took the initiative to ask for help in order to master whatever they needed to do in order to run their business. Rubina, who is an entrepreneur and the wife, daughter and mother of entrepreneurs, provides an example of this type of education and skill acquisition.

Now once the internet came around, we had our first website in 1995 and I just took it to a bigger level, where I built us a website and I knew I didn’t know html and I didn’t have money to spend on the website. So I found an affordable, I researched, found an affordable company that was kind of like a drag and drop kind of program. And I worked that into my lifestyle and my work and you know, I learned how to take my own pictures, how to upload them, how to write the description. I just empowered myself to research and learn how to do all of these things that most people would think that they would have to hire someone for. And what I didn’t realize at the time was that I was preparing myself to being an expert in this area (Rubina, personal communication, January 11, 2011).

Participants often took on work not knowing exactly what to do, but were honest with clients and were willing to try. Valdo, began a business 20 years ago in which he hired family members to work for him. After a few years he dismantled his business, worked for a large corporation for several years and
recently rekindled his old business with new parameters. He recalled a situation early in his first business.

I went out to a job and I had no clue what I doing, but I had tech support and I would say to myself, I’ve got to figure this out. How does this work? And by calling tech support, and working with them, they were able to explain it to me and I was able to grasp onto it (Valdo, personal communication, January 14, 2011)

Not only did entrepreneurs take the initiative to learn, but they shared their learning experiences with children to a point that children began to understand what went into owning and operating a business. Luis, the son of entrepreneurial parents observed,

So I think I admire that about it—about them, too, or anybody that can go for their own business because it’s like it’s “sink or swim.” You’re not just putting in your 40 and punching out and doing the same thing every day. You’re like you’re trying to figure shit out, you know? There’s a high learning curve. You’re just going with the punches and figuring it out. It takes a certain person, I think, to do that.

The skills entrepreneurs learned through various jobs and experiences not only benefitted them, but were passed along to family members and employees. As Umberto recalled,

What I was teaching my guys that I was hiring was what I had learned personally. It wasn’t like I was trained by my own manager or like I was
sent out to some school. It’s just what I had learned from my own experience.

Participants indicated that it was not only important to be willing and able to learn, even if that meant struggling through something, but also to be willing to ask for help. As is illustrated in the examples above people often asked experts or customer service representative from other companies for help, but participants called on other people as well. Whenever Leonidas, who is an entrepreneur and whose grandfather was an entrepreneur, had questions or needed assistance he turned to people he knew.

I just asked mentors. I asked other people that were in the business, friends of mine that had been in the business for many years. I also just did a lot of research on my own. You can go on other people’s websites. Why recreate the wheel? . . . These are friends of mine and I ask for their assistance in helping to put together an RFP or for more complicated cases (Leonidas, personal communication, January 15, 2011).

Maria, on the other hand, did not have mentors or customer service agents to help her but instead sought help from government employees to get her family business off the ground. Her husband and brother-in-law own a business that employs her sons.

I did not know nothing. . . . My husband would say, “well, we need to do this…” and. . I said “okay let me look, see what I can do and that’s when I just started and I’d just go, I’d tell them at work I’ll be here in two
hours . . . and my manager she was real nice about it. She said, “okay Maria.”

So I would go downtown and I went into the planning department and all that and I just talked to them. I would talk to all those people there and I would tell them what I wanted . . . and I wanted to know how I could go about doing this and they would tell me, “well, you need this paper, you need these papers and you need these papers.”

I said, “okay, let me see if I can get all of that and I’ll come back up here.” So, for now I go back up there and I have everything that they would tell me and I don’t remember right now because it’s been all these years, but you know all the papers that they would tell me to get I would take it up there . . . and I said “excuse me because I do not know what these codes are called, but I know you know but I don’t, so I think you can understand what I’m trying to say here.” . . . Sometimes people at the office would say, “yes ma’am we know what you’re trying to say.” I said okay. So when they let us start they would come over there and they would check it and they would see it and then they would say, “okay, go for it” (Maria, personal communication, January 20, 2011).

Maria, as well as all of the other participants, mentioned that it was crucial to have good people skills and build relationships. Over the course of their work-lives participants developed and continued to cultivate these skills. This type of information is important because it provides insight into the sources from which participants learned about work, the degree to which these skills translate to their
current occupations as entrepreneurs, and what they reported about the relationship between family and work.

**People Skills & Relationship Building.** Participants noted that strong communication skills were critical to working with others, developing and sustaining relationships. People skills were learned through on the job experiences, formal training, and by watching their parents and how they dealt with others. As Luz notes, it was through actual interactions that she began to learn people skills.

I learned a lot there, answering phones. I did a lot of the clerical stuff, answering the phones. I was a driver person, you know, getting and picking up people at the airport and putting them in a van, taking their luggage and making sure it goes to the next airplane. I learned a lot there about customer service, and meeting different people. There were people from all over the world that came to charter airplanes, very wealthy people, so I learned at a very young age.

Dora was taught specific ways to deal with people. As she remembered, “They [trainers at a company she worked for] trained us in customer service. I mean, you name it, they did it.” When asked what some of the specific things she learned were she mentioned professionalism, respect, and being friendly and courteous.

In addition to being told what to do, participants watched the behaviors of their parents and grandparents and learned how to deal with people. As Carlos recalled,
[My dad] knew his own psychology, how to apply psychology, how to deal with people. We would do a lot of private homes work, and when you do work at private homes, people next door sometimes don’t want you standing on their side of their property. Sometimes you have to work right on the property line. Someone would come out like they were busy doing some work outside just to keep an eye on us. He would go up to them and say, “Oh, you’ve got a lot of rubbish there. Let me take that away for you as long as we’re taking all this out.” And they’d say, “Okay,” so he’d know how to get on their right, good side and most of the time we had no problems because he would do something, offer to do something for them.

[Working with people requires] Thinking, different types of thinking, creative thinking, critical thinking, constructive thinking and I think psychology, reading people is probably one of the most important. . . when you have a lot of people working you have to understand what their needs are. Besides your own needs, you have your own objectives, but in order to get people to produce you have to understand what their needs are and try to meet those needs. Knowing the operations of structures and systems, understanding the psychology of individuals which means understanding their needs and wants, decision-making and communication. That’s probably the key areas.

In addition to understanding and communicating based on psychology, participants also mentioned the importance of trying to connect with others. Jr. said, “You’ve gotta have that good interpersonal communication with people.
Where you are a people person and can get along with everyone and I personally feel that’s what makes the total package.” In addition to interpersonal communication skills Leonidas mentioned the importance of following up with people.

If you say you’re going to do something, do it. I’ve been so amazed where people have sent me an email, and I have a personal goal to respond to every email or phone call within 24 hours. I can honestly say I do that. I’ve been shocked to see that people have been so appreciative that “oh, thanks for getting back to me so quick.” It’s natural.

Participants also acknowledged that their communication with others was not solely for business purposes, but was instead something they enjoyed.

I think I’ve always been into people like whether I worked in a snack bar selling donuts or clothing or lipstick I’m a people person. I really enjoy meeting people and the interaction and communication. Party planning. Special events. I love all that. . . . I say the best part of my whole life is meeting people all the time. I just love that. In my travels of people I’ve met, that to me is the best thing about my job. (Vanessa)

This connection with others is important especially for Hispanics as well as other people who come act as members of *collectivist cultures* that value the group or community (see Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005). The love of people and willingness to make an effort to communicate effectively with others is also useful in maintaining good work environments and for building relationships. As Elle, who is an entrepreneur and also works for a family business noted,
The biggest thing in a small business is to just kind of nip it [conflict] in the bud from the beginning. You can’t just let it build up, okay? So because we are a small family, right, business, we have just maybe four employees a day. If there’s a problem, they know and they trust us enough to come to us and say hey you know what? This was said and I don’t want it to escalate, so let’s just—can we talk about it? We will. We will sit down and we will have a meeting, and we will talk about. We will address it, and we will just forget about it after that. We learn (Elle, personal communication, January 21, 2011).

It is through communication that these learning moments are possible and they build trust as well as relationships. Building relationships is a central component of being a successful entrepreneur. Participants said they call on people they have relationships with for social support, advice, to help with the business, for client referrals, and they reciprocate with a willingness to be there for others. Additionally, they mentioned that relationships were not built overnight, but instead through sustained contact. As Eva said,

I have generations of not just . . . connections, but relationships that I have here in the state of Arizona. I honestly didn’t realize how good I was at relationship building. You take those things for granted. You meet women over the years . . .but I think over the years I’ve been a pretty genuine person and I’m a good person at heart you know so I know that has helped people come on over and send business my way.
She mentioned that the “generations” of relationships included knowing family members of people from their parents to their grandchildren. When asked what the difference between connections and relationships are, Eva shared her thoughts,

Connections are you know pass a business card you meet people, you’ll see them once or twice per year yeah and I might call you. Something might come up and I might call you, but a relationship is where you’ve really been able to deepen that deepen, it’s a deeper connection that you, you have with people that takes time to nurture and it’s over the years of repetitive contacts helping somebody out over the years, somebody helping you out a mutual understanding. That deep level of trust so when somebody sees you out in the community for 20-30 years and you’ve done good that some of that good’ll come back to you.

These communication and relationship building skills were incredibly important as participants moved throughout numerous organizations and are increasingly more important in their own businesses. While these skills help in multiple areas of business one of the greatest translations is in terms of sales.

Sales/Negotiation. Participants learned sales and negotiation skills with customers at an early age by bidding for jobs, selling products or food in the neighborhood and in family stores, and selling services such as mowing lawns or cleaning homes. The sales experience discussed above primarily took place during childhood and for some participants went into teenage years. However, most participants moved into different areas of sales for larger corporations,
banks, and in various retail positions through their teen years. As their careers progressed they continued to develop sales skills increasingly working in more professional and competitive industries. All of the entrepreneurs talked about the importance of being able to sell and/or market the products or services in their own companies. In the excerpt below Vanessa recalls her sales trajectory which ultimately led to her designing and selling her own fashion line.

I was seven, eight or nine because I mentioned my tata [grandfather] had a farm, a ranch in Tolleson, and we would pick the fruits and vegetables and then we’d go sell door to door in the neighborhood in the little red wagon. I’d be pushing around with my sister watermelon, lettuce and onions. My mom always made us work and we always had a Kool-Aid stand at the end of our driveway selling back then for 10 or 15 cents a cone. In the summer when I was in high school I used to work at the snack bar. I don’t know. I’ve always made money whether selling vegetables or – I don’t know how young I was, but young. Eventually it all went to retail as time went on.

Participants learned valuable sales skills through directly interacting with customers, but could also turn to their parents and grandparents for guidance with regard to how to negotiate prices. As Epifanio said,

[I] learned how to negotiate the prices. Now at the shop, yeah I would negotiate, and I am a good sales person. Real good sales person, and he [my dad] would just give me advice on the business. “Hey Epifanio, I think you charged him a little bit too much.” Or, “hey I think Epifanio, I
think you didn’t charge him enough. Because you were there more than so long, and he did all this, and you just charged him this.” He said, “You need to charge him—I think you need to start charging a little bit more for that.”

It was through these communication centered interactions that entrepreneurs and their family members not only learned how to effectively communicate with clients, but also how to determine value for their work. While participants learned several negotiate skills that they used with customers, none of the participants, neither entrepreneurs nor their family members, were willing to negotiate pay with their parents or family members. For example, in the narrative below Epifanio, whose dad taught him numerous things about negotiating with and selling to customers, had very different interactions in terms of negotiating his own pay. Other participants had almost identical experiences.

I started working there where at the end of the week, on Saturdays, he would pay us. Him and my uncle would go back in the office. They would sit down and I guess count whatever they made and then he would—we would be there waiting . . . for my dad to come and talk to us, and so we’ll be there just hanging out in the front, but later then he would call us.

Like my dad would call us like one-by-one, and then he would tell us—well, like the workers there and my brother, he would call them first. He would call them first because that’s their job, right? They had families and he had to pay them. So he would pay them. He would tell them,
“Well, we did this,” or, “We did that, and this is how much you’re going to get this week.” Or if the week was slow he would say, “Well, I’m going to give you this much but during the week I’m going to give you more, but we haven’t turned in this work. We haven’t turned in this big job. We invested a lot of time on it. We invested a lot of material, but we need to finish it and turn it in, or we need to turn it in so that we can get paid for it,” so then that’s what would work.


So he gives me $50 when I worked the whole week after school, when I worked the whole week. He would give me $50, but then he would get home and he’d go, “Well, Epifanio how much do you need, is that going to be enough for you?” I said “Well,” I never wanted to tell him,
“Well, no, Dad, you paid everybody else the check and of course I’m not going to get their amount. I’m not going to get their salary,” and I never wanted to tell him that. I never felt like telling him that because I lived with him. I lived with him and plus during the week, if I needed something, I would always tell him, “Hey, Dad, can I borrow $20? Hey, Dad, can I borrow $50?” or, “Hey, Dad, my truck needs a tire,” or “my truck needs this, or stuff like that” or, “Dad, I need it for school clothes.” He said, “Okay, well this week you buy a couple of this, or you buy the shoes and the next week you buy this, and the next week you buy that.” I said, “All right, I will do that whenever I have school clothes.”

Not every participant described negotiating for pay with their parents or family members, but all of those who did expressed discomfort in negotiating for pay or engaging in disagreements over pay. While in some cases participants were paid less than what they felt was fair, others had different issues. Dulce had alluded to other employees getting paid before she did so I asked if that was sometimes the case. She said, “They always do. It’s not a question of sometimes. They always do.” Whereas some family employees got paid less or after other employees not all people were paid. As Mike recalled,

[After college] there I was working the finance department at a very good pay, and my dad bought some land and it was an abandoned farm, and he basically asked but pretty much put his look on—he says, “I just got through paying for your school, and it’s something you can do to help pay it back,” so I said, “alright if that’s what you want me to do.” I turned the
job down, I came back and didn’t work for any salary, I wasn’t being paid anything, and I had a job to take this torn down worthless farm and build it to a position where we could sell it and make a profit out of it, and that took 18 to 20 hour days.

Similarly, Bernadette remembered the effort it took to help her dad and brother get the family business off the ground, “For the first 6 years I worked for free, 7 days a week, 11 months out of the year. That was kinda difficult, yeah.” When asked why these participants worked for less pay than they could get in other positions, in jobs where they were not paid on a timely basis, or for free they pointed to family being more important than money and knowing they would be okay. Dora summarized what multiple participants discussed,

We know, ideally, that if we wanted more money my parents would give it to us. I mean, it’s my parents. They’re not gonna say no, but it is what it is. I see it this way. I’m young. I’m trying to go to school. It’s not gonna kill me to make what I make now. If it gives my parents a little extra in the bank account, that’s fine. I can worry about my bank account later.

It’s okay, but I think it all just—since it is a family business you kinda see where everybody is at. My parents are always, “Do you guys have enough money, is everything—” and [my brothers, sisters and I just say] “Oh, no we’re fine. We’re fine.”

Their vocalization of being “fine” even when they were not fine is one example of the emotional labor in which participants engaged. 
Customer Service & Emotional Labor. The participants in this study discussed the fact that they have engaged in emotional work and emotional labor since early work experiences through the present. Emotional labor involves masking one’s own feelings and displaying an emotion that they do not feel (Hochschild, 1983). The primary reason provided for engaging in emotional labor was to offer good customer service and that is why these two areas are discussed together. Participants were taught since they were young to be grateful for business and cater to customers often by controlling their emotions. They adopted corporate discourses that prompted them to manage their emotions even when they did not have a manager or any person telling them to do so. However, in a few cases participants also adopted cultural discourses that privileged family and equality over the corporation. This section first introduces examples of how customer service and managing emotions was taught/learned and ends with a discussion of resistance. Vanessa’s example below echoes what most participants said about customer service,

You just have to really listen and be patient and I guess I’m from old school that the customer or whoever is standing in front of you is always correct and you just have to give them their time to listen and hear. A lot of patience and biting your tongue and saying yes ma’am.

Participants did not just observe, recognize, or indirectly adopt this type of philosophy. Direct communication with family members emphasized the same agenda.
Well as a boss, he’s [my dad’s] telling me . . . You need to work with customer service. When a customer comes in you need to appreciate that he’s coming to you. You need to welcome them and talk to them right . . . learn how to treat the customers. Epifanio

Part of treating customers “right” involved making sure they were made to feel important and prioritizing their needs and emotions over one’s own. As Elle, an employee of a family flower shop, acknowledges,

You’re dealing with people’s emotions; everything from birth to death. You have to learn to be able to accept that; that people aren’t coming here for you to judge them, but more like you’re just there to service them and to help them go through their transition. We get people that come in that are very angry that their loved one just passed away, and you have to make sure that you’re setting that aside. That you know that you can’t take that personal.

Participants learned to suppress emotions since childhood and were told they should do it when dealing with customers. Bernadette mentioned that she often had to manage her emotions. When asked how she did it she gave the example below.

You just have to turn it off and turn it on and that was my job. I was 100% in front of the customers. It was hard. There were times that I would have a breakdown but there again knowing our customers. I mean you really do get close to your customers. Your customers kinda know
you on a more personal level so they kinda are more sympathetic and I
was in the front 100% of the time so I practically knew everybody. It was
hard. You just have to do it. There was no choice. You just had to
suppress those feelings.

It was like I’d cry on my way to work and get all my anxiety out.
The minute I’d get to work, I’d dry my eyes and start going to work. The
minute I’d get in the car, I would break down again and I’d have that
release. That’s how I kind of coped with it ‘cause I would have those
releases like before or after. Being in front of customers all day you can’t
have that. So you just learn to suppress everything. You don’t deal with
it.

While most of the time emotional labor was discussed in relationship to
managing emotions for customers’ benefits, participants also recalled situations in
which emotions were managed for parents’, supervisors’ or employees’ sakes.
For example Jr. discussed the emotions that owners/mangers go through, but do
not discuss with employees.

I hardly slept this year. I mean for example I probably paid out about
$90,000 in leases this year. . . and that wasn’t my complete overhead. I
didn’t sleep. I couldn’t sleep I laid awake in bed at night . . . just trying
to wonder how I was going to be great for everyone.

Worrying about the staff that I had because they’re depending on
good solid work and I had people canceling right and left this year. . . I
had a whole entire week fall out . . . and a full crew sitting around. I
worked ‘em, I found a way but as the owner one of the biggest things no matter how far or how buried I was I never let my crew see me desperate. You know they, as a good boss, good owner, good lead man you have to lead everyone into treacherous terrain with confidence and that’s what I did.

Therefore, despite his financial worries and not knowing what he was going to do Jr. managed his real emotions when interacting with employees. He put on a brave face and pretended that everything was okay in order to keep stability in his company even though he felt unstable and worried. When asked who he went to for support Jr. mentioned a couple of close family members, but noted, “for the most part I’ve kept a lot of what I was going through to myself.” Similarly in order to keep peace Jose said, “If I get mad, I get mad to myself. I don’t show people I’m mad. If I get mad at the boys, I get mad at myself. So to this minute right here, we never had a disagreement.” It was not just owners who kept things to themselves or managed their emotions, children and other family members did that as well.

It’s that frustration when you’re picking prunes, you’re picking them off the ground, off the floor, and you’re on your hands and knees. It’s summertime, usually 105 degrees or so, and as you start picking on a row you put your bucket down in front of you, you get down on your knees, and you look down the row of trees. It looks like it extends mile and miles long, and you know that you have to work around that tree, picking prunes, putting them in the bucket, taking it from the bucket, maybe 100
feet to a box, dumping them in a box, coming back, start over again. As you look down that row, you know that whatever time it takes you to have to complete that entire row, and the only thing you’re going to face when that row is finished is jump over to the next row and come back.

When asked if he ever expressed that frustration or his other emotions about doing arduous work to his parents, bosses, or anyone else Carlos said, “No, you just deal with it.” For the most part participants found the strength to “deal with it”, “suck it up” and “bear down and get it done” with regard to managing emotions in an effort to satisfy customers, supervisors and family members.

However, in a few cases, specifically those dealing with race and family members, participants recalled situations when they back rounded customer service, the business, and professional decorum and let out their emotions while at work. These narratives are lengthy in an effort to contextualize the entire setting which gave rise to participants resisting the management of their emotions, as well as how others responded.

Dora typically manages her emotions every day at work when engaging in customer service. She continually deals with people talking down to her, talking negatively about Mexicans and using derogatory terms to describe Mexicans. When asked how she does it she said, “I have to drink coffee to be able to be like, “Oh, good Lord, help me, just help me today,” . . . as long as I have coffee I can bite my tongue pretty well.” However, after numerous interactions she felt were racist and inappropriate she unleashed her emotions while working for the family restaurant as she details in the narrative below.
Local [customers]$^5$ when they did come back they were just so insulting. It was like day in, day out, day in. It was—I would say that the first two hours of every morning I was in a bad mood just because it would put me in a bad mood because of the comments and the smirks and the sneers and the, “Oh, them wetbacks,” hitting their spoon on their coffee cups, “Are you deaf?”

I mean just stuff that makes like your blood boil and you’re just like, “Ahhh!” you know, and see I’m getting all pissed off, and I would tell my parents [crying with long pause], “There’s no reason for us to have to put up with that,” and my mom and my dad are a lot more mellow than I am. They’d be like, “Oh, just leave them alone, they’re old people; they’re ignorant,” [pause] but I would say that would be—and every morning I swear I would think, “Oh, God, just give me patience,” ‘cause I just wanna tell them exactly what I think.

I would tell my mom, “One day, they’re gonna just push me to the end where I’m just not gonna be professional,” because for so long, working at the bank, and all these offices, you learn how to be extremely professional, but they would just push buttons that you forget about being professional. It would be like—and laughing and antagonizing every morning, and make comments so they knew that you could hear them like, “Oh, those damn wetbacks, and how are they gonna get on their busses and go the hell home,” or they would bring articles about immigration

$^5$ In this instance I used brackets to generalize who the “actors” in the scene were in order to protect their names and identities.
debates and being total assholes and talking about it just because they knew that we were going to be professional and that we weren’t gonna reply. We were gonna try and be as courteous as possible. So I think that they would do it even more.

Then it came to a point where one customer just had pushed way too many buttons. Some days he liked Mexicans and some days he would come in here talking about roping them all up and putting them all on the bus and “these damn wetbacks.” One day I had just had enough. I was just like enough is enough. I had told my parents “that’s it, this one in particular, he’s going to catch me on a bad day and I’m gonna forget what it is to be professional.”

I did, I forgot that day. He walked in and he was like, “Oh, this fucking wetback.” I remember that day clear as day. He was like, “This fuckin’ wetback, he just fuckin’ hit my car and didn’t even have insurance. God, those damn wetbacks, what the fuck are they doing here? I’m so sick and tired of their shit. Get them all the fuck out of here.”

I was just like, as I was talking to one of the customers here who . . . is married to a Mexican lady from Mexico. She speaks very little English, and he doesn’t speak Spanish. So I was talking to them when he came in. He [the customer who came in hollering] knew the [other customer] so he sat there and was telling us all this story in front of her [knowing] that she’s from Mexico, in front of me who my parents own the restaurant, who are from Mexico.
I was just like, “You know what, you are such a damn ignorant asshole. I am so sick and tired of your shit, coming in here thinking you can disrespect my parents, my family, this place of business.” I said, “I don’t go to your house to disrespect you, or anybody. Don’t come in here thinking you can disrespect my parents or me.”

He’s like, “What the hell are you talking about, are you stupid?”

I said, “No, are you fuckin’ stupid? You always seem to have fuckin’ problems with those ‘damn wetbacks’ as you so fuckin’ call ‘em when it’s an inconvenience to you, but I don’t see you complaining about those ‘wetbacks’ as you call ‘em when you’re out there nickel and diming them.” I said, “When you’re out there havin’ them do your piece of shit work, payin’ cents, you’re not complaining then, are you? So why don’t you fuckin’ make up your mind?” I said, “Why don’t you pay them what they’re worth because your ignorant ass can’t afford that, right?” I said, “Get the fuck out of this restaurant, right now,” and I mean I was pissed off, and I was like, “Get the fuck out of my restaurant!” I said, “You know what, the owners are ‘wetbacks’ as you so call them, so get the fuck out of here.”

He’s like, “Are you talking to me that way?”

I said, “Are you fuckin’ deaf?” I mean, I was—the gloves were off and I was like let’s go. My parents were here of course and I mean I was snapping fingers and screaming at the top of my lungs by this point and I mean I could of sworn I was like some crazy woman. He got up all pissed
off and went to my parents, “Her, you guys are good people, but her, I
don’t know what happened to her!”

My dad was like, and I was like, “Get the hell out of here.” He
ended up leaving. He never came back, but I think that was the day that I
probably lost my cool. There was other people here at the restaurant but I
was just at a point where you can only take so much where it just—so I
think that has been the hardest part.

In addition to sticking up for themselves and people of their same race in
relationship to non-Hispanics, participants also recalled displaying their true
emotions when it came to what they deemed racist communication from their own
race and others. My research questions sought the reports of Hispanics in
relationship to what they learned during their anticipatory socialization
experiences as well as how they narrate the ways in which their socialization
impacts their current work lives. From the narratives and reports participants
learned to manage their emotions over and over, but at some point they had to
speak up especially when defending others. They were taught to respect others, to
take care of others and to stand up for others. In the examples given here while
the participants may have very well benefitted from enacting their own emotions,
they held back until they felt others were at risk or in jeopardy. This focus on the
collective may be cultural, but future studies would be needed to determine if this
occurs for people from individualistic cultures. When asked how being Hispanic
influences business Dulce began discussing racism and then told stories about
situations in which she stuck up for people of her own race as well as others even
when management did not step in to address the situations. These stories illustrate work experiences of Hispanics that may not be experienced by non-minorities.

I’ve had, clearly had situations where I’ve felt that heat being Latino and everything. I’ve had situations where I’m really uncomfortable, really over the top where I’ve dealt with them. I’ve had situations where I’ve had customers say racist things and while I’m right there I’m, to kind of give a description I have dark eyes, dark hair, but I have light skin. So I don’t know that people would always feel that they could they wouldn’t know what I was or even if they did maybe they didn’t care. And that’s [racism] one thing I could say I’ve never hesitated to speak up about. Because I feel that if I don’t speak up and somebody who might not be as vocal as myself wouldn’t speak up and would be hurt internally.

I could give you a specific example, I was working in sales . . . and I had a gentleman come into the store who was clearly a Hispanic cop. He was looking at some equipment then he starts talking with my boss, who was the owner, he was white, blue hair, I mean blue eyes, blonde hair and he you know clearly a white guy, and they were talking and the cop made a comment at the register regarding Mexicans, “you know how they are” and, basically made comments degrading Mexican people. Basically everything from that they commit crimes to that they don’t work hard, to they aren’t educated people, and the list goes on. I mean he just really was
bagging on Mexican people and I was just sitting there like literally my heart was sinking into my stomach as he spoke.

And when he looked over at me and said, “you know what I mean?” That made me know okay he knows that I’m Hispanic but he doesn’t care. And he saying things assuming because I work for a white man that I’m white washed so to speak and that I don’t care about who I am or where my people come from.

I snapped, immediately I snapped, that’s just me I really didn’t care if I got fired, I didn’t care if I got arrested, he was a cop, I didn’t really care about the consequences. I cared about this is wrong! I told him I thought it was disgusting and disheartening that a Hispanic cop could talk about his own people like that. I told him that it was because of cops like him that our own people continually got degraded and put down and regarded as something they’re not. I let him have it pretty much in every way I could possibly think of and I didn’t hold back. And the only thing that kept me from crying was allowing my tears to turn into vocal anger. I was hurt! I was hurt and saddened to think that wow it’s our own people are putting us down. Not a stranger, not a different race, it’s not any politician it’s our own people.

And what bothered me was that he was in civil service! This is a cop, someone who is supposed to be a pillar in the community. Somebody who’s supposed to be a role model. And I told him that. I told him “you know what, you’re supposed to be a role model for every Latino kid. To
say hey you know what I could grow up and be a cop. That’s a good thing. I would not want either of my kids my daughter, anyone in my family looking up to you.”

My boss was pretty much ready to vomit as I’m sure you could imagine. Because he’s sitting there thinking now did I sell a treadmill or did I not? Number one because that’s all he cared about, and number two who on earth have we hired, bear in mind I had only started there two weeks prior. So I was very fresh faced, very new and I had only worked with him three days because the other owner had trained me the week before. So, here’s this gentleman staring at me, with a look of ready to vomit on his face, appalled, shocked not knowing which direction to go, and not knowing how to handle the situation when clearly he was just nodding right along with the cop. So now he knew that my feelings towards the cop were obviously very angry and disheartened and he knew that I felt the same way about him because he was sitting there letting this man talk like this.

It was an ugly situation and what I took from that is, I needed to do that, I needed to do that for myself and my people. Things blew over with the owners, I talked to the other owner about the situation and I told him, “I’m not down to work for racists. You know, period. I’m not going to come here every day and bust my butt for someone who doesn’t even think that I deserve equality.”
I was very vocal of my feelings actually it turned out great the other owner came to me with his wife and his kids and made a sincere apology and I accepted it and he said that situation he had never been in a situation like that, he was blown away with me attacking the situation the way I did. He was happy that I did and he supported that I stuck up for what I believed in and I ended up working there another year or so.

I had another incident in a work setting where I had another sales person tell me that he, just what I mentioned to you a while ago if I felt right’s right, wrong is wrong I’m the type of person to say something. He said that he thought black people shouldn’t be firefighters and that the only reason they did was because of equal opportunity employment and he was top notch and the only reason he was stuck in stupid sales is because he couldn’t be a fire fighter because of all the black people who had taken his job.

And believe me when I say the heat came again. If people didn’t know I wasn’t black they would have probably thought I was. Because I was so appalled by him saying these things right out in the open with no remorse and believing it, convincing himself that there was no black guys in Phoenix worth being fire fighters and that they had taken his job. Because of equal opportunity employment and quotas that had to be met.

I’ve been in work settings to have to hear this kind of stuff and it makes you want to vomit. Really it does. [If I had been the owner] I’ll tell you right now there would be zero tolerance for that. There would be
zero tolerance for racism. It doesn’t matter what ethnicity comes into the job. I would not allow for any intolerance. If you say a comment like that to me, you’re out. Number one, okay there was no black employees that worked with us at that point, okay? But, it was offensive. . .

He [the person who made the initial comment about black people not being qualified to be firefighters] had the audacity to say, “you’re not black why do you care so much?” After I began the discussion of, “how could you say that? That’s not right.”

And I didn’t attack him in the mode of you this that and the other. The way I dealt with it I said, “how could you say that that’s so far from the truth?”

[He said] “How would you know? No it’s not, you didn’t go to the fire academy and you’re not black, what do you care?”

“I said no I am not black, I get that, I think we all know that I’m not, but I said the problem is what you’re saying is that there aren’t black people out there that have a high intellect, and that are athletic and that could be fit enough to be good fire fighters. You’re saying they’re not smart, and they’re not fit, which I said those two things combined are just, they’re wrong! They’re wrong! There are incredibly smart African American people. Incredibly smart! And fit! But you’re telling me they only get their job based on a quota and that’s just ignorant” I said, “you’re ignorant right now. You’re not even hearing yourself” and we argued and argued and debated and debated and we went in circles and got nowhere.
I told him “this is unacceptable, I said at this point I feel like you’re not even listening you’re not even trying to understand, you’re ignorant, you’re a racist, the tone that you’re using is hate, and that’s racism and I can’t talk to you anymore and quite honestly I don’t want to talk to you anymore. I don’t want to be around you and it sounds like I’m like wow this person’s really high-strung. Which I am to a degree, I’m high strung, but the bottom line is that I would say I’m passionate and caring and have a good work ethic and I do have things that I care about which is like equality for people.”

I just feel like that was wrong and he actually brought it up to the owner and the owner had a discussion with us and he did say that obviously that was a very ignorant comment for him to say, but that’s it. That’s it. He basically told him what I told him that it was ignorant and wrong and that he shouldn’t talk like that at work and keep his opinions to himself. That’s all it was and to me that’s nothing that’s not a slap on the hand. He didn’t get written up, he didn’t get tapped home from work for two days, he didn’t basically get anything. He wasn’t reprimanded at all for that.

And the reason I would have fired him is because how could, if he truly felt the way he did, and he was very adamant about sticking to his side of the story and he thought that he was 100% clear and he was right and I was wrong to me he’s racist and how could he treat all our clients with equality when they walk through the door? If he thought that way
let’s face it. How could he actually treat all our clients with respect? If they were white yes if they were black he wouldn’t. So why would we want someone like that on board?

In addition to having strong feelings about how racism should be dealt with and how all people should be treated, participants also learned and developed ideas about how employees in specific should be treated in the workplace.

Employee Relations. Over the course of their lifetimes the participants in this study worked doing numerous jobs and in a variety of industries. Their experiences whether they were “helping out” or working in paid positions, helped them develop ideas about how employees should be treated. They also learned quite a bit about the treatment of employees from previous managers and their parents. Luz shares an experience,

I remember working for companies and saying to myself, “Someday, I’m going to have my own company and I’m not going to do that. I’m going to treat people differently.” And I think for the most part I have managed to do that. . . . I have social workers and nurses that worked for me . . . that say, “that was the best place that I ever worked.”

I wanted them to have a place where they could come and feel comfortable and not worry about their jobs, still know that they have a job to do, that they have deadlines, that they have paperwork that they have to submit, and it has to be done a certain way, but know that they can always come to me and they can talk to me, they –not to be afraid to admit of making a mistake, making an error, and I think that’s something that I
stress a lot with my staff, no matter what environment I’ve managed, is that you’re going to make mistakes, and I’m—hopefully, I’m giving you the tools that you need to do the job that you’re doing, that you have to do to do it right, but you have to come to me right away. And, you know, and advise me. Let me know that this is what’s happened, this is what’s going on, and yeah this has still happened . . . people are human.

In addition to making sure employees felt comfortable telling their supervisors about mistakes, participants also learned the importance of paying employees what they were worth. As Mike put it,

I’ve always had exceptional sales people, highly motivated, driven, where I pay them on performance. Rarely do I hire a salesman and pay ’em a salary in a comfort factor. I am always out there moving and making things happen. There’s never been a ceiling, never put a ceiling on any of my sales reps, and I had many instances where my sales reps made two or three times more than I have. I would consider that to be extremely successful, and that is exactly where—I had always asked that my employers would expect of me. Just don’t set any limits on me, let me go, but what I learned was you basically have to be fair, you have to be honest, allow the person to excel.

Finally, participants discussed the importance of modeling behaviors. Lucy said that she remembered her parents ingraining into her the importance of, “Treating your coworkers with respect. Treating your employees with respect.” Part of treating people with respect meant knowing the job and what was expected
of employees as well as having the skill set to do the job. When thinking about one of his best supervisors Jose remembered, “He worked with us like a worker, not an owner, like a worker.” Recognizing the importance of treating employees with respect and being fair to them helped to make the participants good leaders.

Leadership & Responsibility. The participants in this study had years of management experience prior to ever owning their own businesses. As Eva and Luz note respectively, “I managed large call centers, and so you know my teams were over a thousand large in terms of my direct responsibility and for direct reports, team leaders, zone leaders, and I was in charge of the group”; “I’ve been in charge of a 140-unit facility and that was a very –it was a challenging but very rewarding experience.”

Even when participants started out in lower level positions, because of their work ethic and leadership abilities they were quickly promoted. Joe remembered, “I had jobs in and out. I’d go into a job and work, and it would be, before you know it they would make me a foreman or a manager. Right away, right away. Cause, I was like a leader.” Similarly, Jose, when referring to a job he had long before starting his company, said “After a year, they made me lead man.”

In addition to previous managers or employers recognizing participants’ leadership skills they too not only recognized their leadership skills, but have a desire to take on leadership roles.

Mike recalled taking part in an exercise related to political leadership,
We’re sitting there and one of the drills was to blindfold the very front person and then to take direction from two people and lead your entire—you had five people behind you—lead them through a maze. They blindfolded me ‘cause I was at the front of the line, and I had to listen to two people walk me through a maze, and you’re leading a group through this thing, and as we go through there—we start going through there and I missed and I just stopped. I stopped and I said, “All right, stop it. You over here, listen to me. Do this. You over here, listen to me, good. You got it? The other person, do that,” and they did it, and they let us do it and we won.

And at the end of the deal, the person comes up and goes, “All right, so we know who the entrepreneur is in this group,” and they used us as an example. “Well, why did you do that?” I said, “Why have one path to—why are we just walking off the edge of the cliff? I don’t want to. Right? You’re wasting my time. I don’t wanna go off the edge of the cliff.” If you wanted leadership, then we’ll take leadership. And the whole deal was how to lead your group correctly, effectively and that you do have to take the leadership. When you do get with a group of leaders, then you are able to allow somebody to lead you, but you lead in at an accelerated level. It’s very difficult for entrepreneurs to be followers, we just can't. It’s very difficult for us because they [other people who try to lead] end up not meeting our expectations, and then it just becomes just a painful process.
Because other people as well as entrepreneurs saw their leadership potential they took on numerous leadership roles. One of the primarily things mentioned by every person who talked about leadership was to lead by example. Leading by example is something participants do in their current businesses, but that they learned to do in previous jobs on their way to owning their own businesses. Both Jr. and Umberto respectively reflect this willingness to do any type of job regardless of their managerial position in order to model for their employees the importance of working hard.

There’s nothing that I would ever ask anyone to do that I would not be willing to stand beside them and do myself. So let’s take it back to country and a little bit of country terms. If I was to ask you to stand there and let’s go shovel some good ol’ horse shit I’d be right there with a shovel right next to ya and I’d be the first one in the pen and the last one to leave. And in that strategy in that type of way of trying to be a decent leader I feel that’s all you can do. (Jr.)

I tried to lead by example, cause I would get out there and when it would get busy at the car wash, for example, I’d be there scrubbing the cars, prepping the cars. I would be there stocking the shelves if it got really busy. The gas pumps I would be out there pumping gas. I would try to lead by example. (Umberto)

As illustrated above the participants in this study acquired numerous skills through their jobs and exposure to work. These skills along with other aspects of socialization affected their current work-life experiences. The next section
specifically addresses RQ2: “How do Hispanic entrepreneurs narrate the effect of socialization on their current work-life experiences?”

Development of Ventures

The data in this study suggest that parents and family members had a large influence on participants’ decisions to become business owners/entrepreneurs. Every participant in the study had family members who were entrepreneurial role models. Not every person’s family member owned their own business, but they did take part in entrepreneurial ventures. While participants pointed to aunts, uncles, mothers and siblings being entrepreneurial role models, the majority overwhelmingly looked to their fathers and grandfathers as their entrepreneurial role models. For a short list of the factors that participants narrated influenced their current work-lives (see Table 7) these influences were coded using axial codes (see Appendix C). A more detailed description of each of these influences will be discussed below.

Table 7.

*Influences on the Development of Ventures*

- Entrepreneurial Role Models
- Side Jobs
- Multiple Occupations
- Surviving Hardships
- Positive Self Talk
- Faith
- Flexibility
Entrepreneurial Role Models. Of the 14 Hispanic entrepreneurs interviewed 13 of the participants acknowledged having an entrepreneurial role model who was also a family member. Fathers and grandfathers were the most frequently mentioned entrepreneurial role models. As I noted in Chapter Three, my father was also an entrepreneur and he had a profound influence on me and I frequently hung out and worked with my grandpas so I could relate to participants as they talked about working with, helping and learning from their dads and grandpas. Four participants in this study referenced licensed family businesses. Four other participants recognized that their fathers and grandfathers were “self-employed” most of whom owned and operated their own ranches or unlicensed businesses, one participants had an aunt who ran a store in Mexico out of her home, and the others pointed to entrepreneurial ventures which they termed “side jobs”. Although one participant could not recall any entrepreneurial role models during his interview, when his family member was interviewed she identified several entrepreneurial role models in their family who owned both licensed businesses and who did numerous side jobs and were self-employed.

It was through these interactions with entrepreneurial family members that the participants in this study began to learn the benefits and hardships of self-employment, as well as long term engagement in the venture. Jose, when talking about his 92 year old father said, “My dad owned a grocery store [when I was growing up] and runs a ranch and a little store still to this day”. Participants learned a variety of lessons from watching their parents and family members. Rubina remembered learning about self-reliance from her father.
I think I get the innate ability from my dad. Because you know, he was always somebody who would say, oh you know I love that tool I can’t afford it, I can find a way to make it. You know, just that empowering skill saying hey I can do this on my own and make my own version of it instead of sitting and longing for it. So I already had that built into me just the way that I was raised.

Many of the participants said they developed their work ethic from their parents. As Lucy puts it,

The fact is I learned a lot of my work ethic from my dad. Both my parents are little work horses. Then being in that constant environment with somebody who was equally if not more driven constantly every day. We were working super hard. If you’re around a bunch of people who aren’t working, you kinda get into that laziness and if you’re around people that are driven, you’re motivated too.

Carlos also pointed to the fact that his dad not only taught him how to work hard, but how to do quality work to be proud of.

[My dad] said when he first came from Mexico he got a job as a laborer, a concrete laborer, pushing a wheelbarrow with concrete, and they would tell him, “Carlos slow down, slow down,” because he was working too fast and he thought they were saying, “Hurry up, hurry up.” So he’d rush; he’d go faster.” . . . My dad got a license, a contractor’s license. So he started working full-time in concrete and we were, as teenagers, working in concrete and that was very difficult labor because we had to use sledge
hammers and breaking concrete and pouring concrete, mixing concrete. I later became a cement mason, a licensed craftsman. Some of the work that we designed and completed came out in *Better Homes and Gardens*. It was published.

In addition to developing their work ethics, seeing their family members participate in entrepreneurial ventures taught them about financial empowerment. Bernadette said,

> Seeing my aunts who were also motivated and then me being the only girl my mother was a stay-at-home mom and seeing the difference between my mother and my aunts and kinda the financial freedom they had. My mother never drove. She still doesn’t at this age. Just seeing my cousins, the financial freedom that they had and kinda just being pretty independent at a very young age just given a lot of responsibility being the oldest of the family.

Participants also learned that if you were passionate and interested in your business you would continue to cultivate your skills beyond what came naturally or was learned on the job. Elle gave an example of cultivating a passion through education.

> My uncle owns a landscape company, but he’s not just any landscaper. He’s always continued his education ‘til date. He’s always traveled to learn new things, and he’s in—I can’t remember his title to be honest, but he has—he’s got a master’s in some kind of tree information thing. I’m not exactly sure. He’s some type of arborist. I can’t remember his title,
but he also is certified in doing like pesticides and things for greens and
people that actually own land that have crops. He can go in there and help
them take care of the soil and things like that.

Not only did the participants see parents and other family members engage
in entrepreneurial ventures they also saw them work in a variety of occupations.
When I asked what types of work participants remember seeing parents or family
members engage in, most of the entrepreneurs acknowledged that their dads and
grandpas also had “side jobs,” multiple jobs at the same time, and came up with
multiple ways to generate revenue. This factor heavily influenced their
approaches to ownership, as well.

*Side jobs.* Nearly every participant in the study referenced side jobs.
While many gave examples of side jobs (e.g. mechanic work, putting in
sidewalks, running cables, personal training, and so on), Dulce’s definition
encompassed what others described.

The way I would describe the side job is anything that you’re like good at
or you know about or you could make extra money doing. The kinda stuff
like mowing the neighbor’s lawn, or babysitting for a friend one night, or
washing cars, or filling in bartending one night at a club you know the
owner. Just something on the side where you can earn a little extra cash.
Rubina provides examples of how her dad engaged in numerous side jobs.
He worked full time in the civil engineering department for the city of
Phoenix, but on nights and on weekends he did all kinds of odd jobs like
he fixed cars, he made jewelry he designed things, he built model
airplanes. Just all anything and everything he turned it into a little enterprise and that was what he used to help contribute to the family. So what that taught me was that you can have a day time steady job, and you have a steady paycheck, you know exactly how much it’s going to be every paycheck. But if you look into your enterprising type of skills you can go above that and you can set your own amount of money that you want to get. That can, depending how hard you work, bring in more than sometimes your steady paycheck.

So I just, I love that kind of mentality and it didn’t click in until after I got married and we started our art business. Because at the time when I was younger I was like, “gosh Dad you’re always working” and I mean he was always happy and fun and joking, but I was like he’s always doing something productive like you know fixing watches or working on computers or working on the car. And it was half he enjoyed it and half that he could get income from it. So it’s just that thing of sticking with what you love to do and making, turning it into where you can get money from it.

Participants reported seeing family members, primarily fathers and grandfathers do side jobs and they too began to adopt this practice. Not only did they do side jobs, but they took on multiple jobs and roles.

Multiple jobs. Participants watched family members work a variety of jobs at once. For example, Vanessa recalled, “My dad was always in sales as well [as I was]. He was a parole officer and he sold insurance. My dad always had
two or three jobs.” Some of the jobs overlapped and were the same, but in most instances the jobs were different as in Vanessa’s example detailed above. Participants recalled their parents or grandparents having a regular full-time job as well as other jobs.

My dad and uncle, they opened a shop, and they started making—they started getting a lot of business on the ironwork because they had a full-time job. They were managers in companies. They had a full-time job but after work that’s when they would go to the garage and be there ‘til about 10:00 or 11:00 at night working on like side jobs.

While many of the participants remembered parents and grandparents working multiple jobs and side jobs while they were fully employed, this type of behavior continued on after they officially retired.

What really stands out is my tata, he was a cement truck driver. He retired, he did that all his life but he was always doing side jobs ‘cause he was so good with his hands and a mechanic, just a natural mechanic without any formal training so he was always fixing cars or helping out family, helping out friends, doing side jobs. Neighbors, people coming to him and just offering jobs and I just thought that was the neatest thing. That was just because of his skill set and his relationships.

While all of the participants interviewed mentioned being exposed to family members working multiple jobs, having multiple businesses, and watching and/or engaging in side jobs I also observed evidence of this phenomenon during
field observations. Below are excerpts from field notes taken at entrepreneurial networking meetings.

After we all shared greetings I asked [Willie] about what he does and he said, “I have two different businesses” and proceeded to give Phil and me one of his cards. One business is a website through which people can purchase items by searching via any search engines, but finding the best prices. . . . The second business is a non-profit organization that targets at-risk and incarcerated youth. I asked how he got interested in these different areas and how he keeps up with it all. He said, “I just work hard and love what I do. It’s important to me to help other people, especially kids who made a mistake, but have the potential to reform.” . . . [Before we parted ways] he said, “Actually let me give you my other business card too so you can visit my different websites.” He then proceeded to give me a different business card for the non-profit company. (F.N. December 8, 2010).

In a separate observation I noted the following in my field journal,

During the introductions, Enrique introduced himself and his background the same, but instead of mentioning his real estate business (that he gave me a card for at the previous meeting) he instead introduced his production company. [After the meeting ended and I was talking with a friend outside] Enrique came up to us to ask if we needed anything and to say goodbye. I said, “oh, we’re fine, but I have a question for you.” I

---

6 Names of businesses and people recorded during field observations have been changed to protect the anonymity of participants.
said, “I thought you were in real estate, but heard you mention that you run a production company, tell me more about that.”

He laughed and said, “Actually I have three businesses going right now. I am an independent realtor even though I work for a larger company, I have my production company and produce videos, documentaries, commercials—whatever people need. My third business is just getting off the ground and it’s basically a technology based business in which I go in and teach people how to develop an online profile for their business, use different types of software, and bring people up to date on all of the technological services available to grow your business.”

I said, “wow, how do you do all three?”

He said, “Well, I don’t sleep a lot, I’m always busy and I’m just trying to see which one takes off the best. For right now I’m just going to try and do a little bit with each of them and see what gets traction. As a matter of fact I have to get to the bank before it closes.” (F.N., January 12, 2011)

In addition to observing people promote multiple businesses and talk about their various jobs during field observations, the majority of participants also brought this up in their interviews. When describing his businesses Mike said, “I’m currently engaged in multiple businesses. There are three different areas that I’m actually in. I’m in renewable energy, in the medical field, and as well as oil and gas. Similarly, Rubina has multiple areas for her business though they are housed under the same general category.
I run a creative enterprises type of company so I have everything from original artwork that I sell locally and on a national level. I have craft design, where I take products from manufactures in the craft industry and create designs out of them and share them with other people in the community in the craft and online to inspire them and motivate them to make crafts. And I also am a writer, so I write a series of craft books as well as novels. And it even goes a little bit further to where I, my husband is a musician and he has a band so, I help him book his band at different events. We have a cruise that we do every year, an art cruise to promote um, Latino crafts and so it’s very much all in the creative arts.

As he reflected on past experience Valdo said, “I’d work all day at my regular job and then Friday, Saturday and Sunday nights until 2 am” [as a musician]. Several of the other participants shared similar narratives which included people like Rubina whose work fell into one category as well as people like Mike who worked in very different industries.

Not only did watching grandparents, parents, and family members engage in entrepreneurial activities influence the entrepreneurs in this study, but it also impacted their family members.

For example, Epifanio, the son of an entrepreneur, who watched his dad work multiple jobs decided to start doing side jobs to earn extra income while working and going to college.

I think about it and it’s true because he [my dad] taught me a trade, and if he would have just helped me out financially and given me money like
thinking that’s what I wanted, well, then I wouldn’t have learned anything. I wouldn’t have achieved, and I wouldn’t have got so motivated and business motivated and working. Learning the value of money, learning the value of working and appreciating what you have because now that I’m going to school, I work part time. Well, I don’t have time to get a full-time job. I work as many hours as I can, but still it’s not the same as having a full-time job. This is what I’ve chosen, so I think that I do side jobs, and I think that’s where the trade’s coming in. See if I didn’t know how to work on cars then I wouldn’t be able to get these side jobs.

The family members of entrepreneurs learned to use their skills and knowledge to generate side work and looked to their parents and grandparents as role models. When asked what motivates her to work hard, Jane, who works full time in accounting, handles the paper work for her & her husband’s business, and prepares tax returns on the side, said, “seeing my parents as always working three jobs and working hard. I guess that’s just been ingrained in me to work hard” (Jane, March 5, 2011). It was through this socialization that participants learned that having multiple jobs, full-time jobs with jobs on the side, and multiple businesses was a good thing.

**Benefits of Multiples.** Participants indicated there were benefits of working multiple jobs, full-time jobs with side jobs, and having multiple businesses. These benefits are illustrated in the narratives below. One of the major benefits of working multiple jobs and side jobs is that it brings in revenue. Jr. described why he works multiple jobs during his off-season.
I dumped everything into it, invested every dime that I could earn somewhere else into this outfitting business that I’ve got going now. So it’s just really imperative to have that supplemental income because you’re not gonna make money off the get go. You’re not gonna be rockin’ and rollin’.

Another benefit of having multiple jobs and/or businesses is that it allows participants to cultivate their passion even if that one job may not generate enough money to cover all of the bills and may help alleviate stress. Dulce noted, I guess that’s been my most recent release has been a great addition for stress release to me. I am a certified personal trainer I have been for over 10 years and I’ve managed to increase my certifications, increase the level at which I train and that’s something I love to do that’s probably what I’m most passionate about. . . . That’s what I do for my side work and I feel like that’s been great, real invigorating because it gives me a chance to earn money doing what I love and helping someone in the process to reach a personal goal and not only on the exterior but inside to helping someone’s confidence increase. It’s always been a winning situation for me. I’ve always loved that.

Several participants also talked about the fact that multiple jobs, side jobs, and multiple businesses helped thwart boredom which was consistently discussed as a negative thing (e.g. “the kiss of death”). Participants indicated that they were far more likely to leave a job due to boredom than from being burnt out due to demanding work. In a couple of cases they noted that burnout was a result of
boredom. When talking about new opportunities Lucy said, “that’s the challenge for me. Being challenged keeps me motivated. If I’m bored it is over.” Other entrepreneurs talked about the importance of not being bored as well. As Mike noted,

That would probably be the number one reason that an entrepreneur won’t stay at a job, he gets bored. That’d probably be number one reason. That’s the death of an entrepreneur; he’s gone. He will not stay there. Now, entrepreneurs don’t get bored. If we’re boxed in, that’ll bore us because we’re—if you leave us out but give us a fence line, but just don’t box us in. Let us run any of the fences to kind of keep us in line, but let us go. But boredom is the worst thing for us. We get locked into a boring job, we’ll be outta there so fast.

As noted in the previous section, the participants in this study have years of working experience in jobs that have been physically and emotionally draining since childhood, but those aspects of the job are not what seem to prompt their exit or what they feel leads to burnout. Instead Umberto describes what drives people to get burnt out.

In the past couple of years where the economy has been down, you become burned out pretty quickly. With the new job and with my job, it becomes boring, cause it’s doing the same thing over and over again, making phone calls, meeting with people. Most anything, making phone calls, phone calls, trying to convince people to meet with you to talk about whatever it is they might need.
I came close to burnout. In fact, that’s why I’m making some changes. That’s why I started this business. It’s going to really kind of kick start me again into getting back up on my feet. Cause doing one thing over and over again and not seeing any major results is frustrating. That’s when you hit a wall.

Finally participants learned that having multiple businesses or ventures going is a good idea in case one thing does not work out. Luis discussed the fact that due to safety concerns and lower profits than expected his dad decided to end their venture as “the ice cream man,” but they were not worried about what to do. So I remember we moved on from that, but just as quickly always thinking of the next way to make a dollar, they started talking about this idea of a restaurant. So before this full-on restaurant that we have right now, we had the lunch truck, the taceria, una lonchera.

It was through working hands on with his parents in multiple businesses that Luis and others not only learned about developing ventures and what to do if things did not go according to plan. The participants in this study learned coping and survival skills during their early socialization.

Surviving Hardships and Thriving

Participants mentioned that they learned coping skills and how to handle rough situations from both their family socialization and through their early work experiences often by dealing with difficult situations. While more participants looked to their fathers and grandfathers when it came to having entrepreneurial role models, more participants mentioned their mothers as the people who
handled whatever came their way. My own mother, Marilyn, and my grandma Lucy were examples of women who dealt with a variety of tumultuous situations, but handled them with care and dignity in order to keep the family unit intact. When participants told stories about their own mothers doing the same thing without being put out or overwhelmed I could relate. Dora recalled that despite numerous difficult situations when it comes to handling things, “my mom doesn’t complain. It’s rare when she complains.” Vanessa describes her thoughts about the benefits of having faced and dealt with hardships since childhood.

I think you need to get the dysfunction out right from the get go. That doesn’t sound very good but I think it really helps you handle things as you’re an adult. Now when certain things come my way I think what’s that? That’s no big deal. Does that make sense? I hate to say that out loud because that doesn’t sound right, especially people who are going through a bad time or young kids are like – I think cause it makes you stronger, appreciate and I think it really shows you how to handle reality good, bad or indifferent.

Sometimes I see my husband or people freaking out over something and I think, oh wow, what’s the big deal? They’re upset over that? Oh my God. We grew up. My mother was raising us by herself and all these things so I thought this is nothing. I think some people are just meant to handle things and a lot of people no.

My husband, his parents never raised their voices. He never saw his mother mistreated. He knew his father was coming home every night.
He never saw that. Other kids even if they had some kind of childhood like I did some people just can’t cope.

I was telling my girlfriend, I said sometimes even with the dysfunction coming in and I think it helps you later, maybe we shouldn’t be as strong. Maybe we should let other people worry a little or sometimes play the part. Oh, I can’t do that. I don’t know. I guess cause I always did everything and as long as I’m capable I figure why not? Then like I said my ex-husband goes and even my husband now has said that I figured you can handle it because you can do everything.

An example of a hardship that participants have faced which taught them coping skills and helped to contextualize what types of thing warrant concern is illustrated through Jose’s narrative about his journey migrating to the U.S. as a teenager.

My daddy take me and he give me a little money for my pocket and then my mom she give me her blessing and a t-shirt and put it in my backpack . . . and that’s it. I walked for seven days. . . . In ciudad Acuña I got a little job at a motel. The motel owner was you know needed cleaning or stuff to make it back into the United States. I’m still in ciudad Acuña and I know these two people from Aguascalientes and another boy from Vicente Guerrero Durango in Durango and those two people from Aguascalientes they say I know what way we can go to get into Texas through San Angelo. We can stay six days walking. [I said] Okay let’s go. . . .
Okay we stop and make a like a pace to keep going [developed a steady walking pace], keep on walking. And the two guys they knew the road. They say they say all the time I keep my eyes open because all of a sudden they say we can go to these light towers. There’s a line. This line can, the river takes us to San Angelo which will take us into Texas. It’s a long towers a long way. . . [Eventually] the other two guys decided they wanted to separate. They wanted to separate because the fact was that that other guy was already slowing them down because of his blisters. Because immigration at a certain time they were going to be around and they didn’t want to get caught all four of us together. So that’s why they decided to ahead and go on in front. In their back packs when we were walking, they had a can of beans for two of them and a can of like spaghetti . . . They had a lot of cans you know, food and they took it since they went in front. They took and they did not leave nothing. They just left us with the water because we were the ones that were carrying the water and those other ones were carrying the food.

In the night when we crossed Sonora, Texas we didn’t have no more water. We stopped at the swimming pool where these white people lived and got water from there. Okay, for the next two days we didn’t eat nothing. We saw an armadillo and we killed it. We were cooking it in the fire when a crop plane was flying around. That was a rancher thinking that . . . it was on fire. But it was us cooking the armadillo so we couldn’t finish cooking it. We cooked it, but not, not well done. It was
rare. Raw. Because we had to leave. Yeah. We ate two times out of it but on the third time we threw it away because it didn’t taste good. Because it was raw. Okay the next day, on the sixth day we got to this ranch where this guy was gonna be able to take us to El Dorado. When we stopped walking I had this other guy on his arm because he couldn’t walk no more and the jug in the other hand. The jug of water. Okay, there was some tall trees _alamos_ maybe and _piños_. We stopped there. We stopped there and just went to sleep and we just knocked out. . . .

Jose went on to tell about the rest of his journey and work trajectory, but acknowledged that because of all the things he’s gone through in his life he does not let little things like money or complaints get to him. He’s been through far tougher things in his life.

Several participants agreed that going through tough times during childhood, whether it was enduring poverty, racism, immigrating to the U.S., seeing substance or physical abuse in their families, or national unrest, helped them learn to deal with trauma and move forward. As Conchita said,

_Hispanic or Latin people come from countries where there is a lot of turmoil, politically, geographically and with violence. So when we face hardships we’re less likely to freak out or think it’s the end of things. We’re able to handle a lot of stress and figure out ways to do what we need to do_ (Conchita, personal communication, February 3, 2011).
In addition to learning how to handle stress and cope with hardships through family socialization, participants also bolstered their coping skills through work experiences. As Rubina notes,

I was a shift leader at a [fast food restaurant] so I was like 16, 17 years old managing a crew of people when a lot of times people would call in sick or it would be a coupon would come out and we would run out of the you know, the hamburgers that go with the coupon what those things taught me was survival methods.

I just learned how to be creative and just always think no matter what, tomorrow’s a new day and we’ll get through this. This is not a huge thing. What’s the worst that can happen? And just you know, do my best to push through it. And it never hurts to try all they can tell you is no or you did it wrong and you learn the right way how to it.

Participants noted that these type of coping skills and abilities to handle hardships have been especially useful with regard to ownership in that they have helped them cope with the economic recession, have allowed them to take risks with regard to their dreams, and have confidence that things would ultimately work out. Luis describes an example of how the recession has not deterred his family from pressing forward.

When they just got the restaurant, I mean it was super busy all the time. You know, every single day of the week. Right now, the economy is not as good so it’s kind of like a coin toss, every day. We don’t know if we’re
going to be slow. We don’t know if we’re going to be busy. So that does affect the budget, but I guess something is better than nothing right now.

We’re kind of—since my dad is now with the other business with my other brother I’ve had to take on little bit more responsibilities here managing I guess finances. So we’re in the process of looking at all the numbers and figuring everything out. So we’ll see, we’ll figure it out.

Like Luis’s family some of the entrepreneurs facing hardships coped with the rough economy by beginning another business, other had to let employees go and cut back services, while others changed their fee structures to continue to generate business. A Hispanic attorney, who was a keynote speaker during my field observations, discussed how attorneys like him are dealing with the economic downturn.

The upside of the poor economy is that as a business or individual you can go to a lawyer and get deals. The good news is there is always opportunity in the midst of crisis. Legal services by quality professionals are now more accessible. Lawyers are flexible and can be creative to make things work. Business owners should find lawyers who are willing to work with them based on their needs and finances. Because of low demand for legal services there are more options such as “fixed flat fees” versus an “hourly rate”. You can negotiate on ANY matter though primarily on small issues. Check “hybrid fees” such as an hourly rate for a percentage of the work and a percentage of the settlement for the rest of the work. “Limited scope representation” means a lawyer will only
represent you on part of a case. A “traditional retainer” is when you give a lawyer some money and that lawyer will be available to you at all times. You can ask for a “hybrid flat fee/billable rate” in which you pay for some services at a flat rate and get a reduced hourly rate for anything else. Take advantage of these opportunities while you can. (F.N., January 12, 2011).

While the economy was the most talked about hardship facing owners and the majority of examples of coping had to do with the economy, participants also recognized that hardships often led to reinventing oneself, as opportunities to pursue new goals, and as important learning experiences. Carlos provides an example of how enduring a hardship turned into a wonderful hobby.

In 1965 I remembered that during my prune picking days in the 40s, I would see squadrons of airplanes flying over, and when I had those frustrating days of thinking, “One of these days, if I have any control, I’m going to be up there, and I’ll be flying.”

Well, in 1965 I decided to fulfill that and I went and got some money from the bank, went to the flying school, put in the hours, three months in ground school, passed the FAA written test, and as soon as I got my minimum flying time in at 42 hours, and it requires 40 hours, I passed the flight test and I became a pilot, a licensed pilot. So I used to take friends and relatives flying.

In addition to using hardships to start side businesses or pursue hobbies, participants also developed new ventures. Cece, who owns businesses with her
husband and employs a couple of her children, talked about the fact that their experiences have not been easy, but they press forward.

We’ve been learning like the saying goes ‘with bumps you create bruises.’ That’s how we’ve been doing it. It’s kind of like you have to. You’re forced to learn. When I was talking to my husband about having another business I said, “well let’s try it out and if that’s the case hopefully we can employ the ones [children] that don’t have jobs right now and just help each other out and… we’ll see” (Cece, February 11, 2011).

My husband would ask, “how are we going to start this business without any experience” and I said, “let’s not worry about that we didn’t have any experience in the restaurant business and we did it anyway.” Additionally, participants recognized that even if they lost their entire business they still gained something in the process. As Mike put it,

It’s a complete risk, as this company I just finished with three years ago, I took over office, lost pretty much anything I had in retirement, savings, everything, so it’s just rebuild it and start going in another direction. . . . What you don’t lose, is you don’t lose your experience.

While their attitudes about starting over and getting through hardships definitely helped these participants move forward, they also pointed to positive self-talk as being an important factor in terms of pursing and sustaining their businesses.

Positive Self-Talk. Participants in this story consistently discussed the importance of engaging in positive thinking and positive self-talk. They both
learned this behavior from parents and developed it on their own and by engaging with others. Several participants remembered their family members having a “you can do it” attitude. Umberto reflects this attitude as he discusses a new business.

I see more benefits than challenges. My brother he is very well organized, really smart. Like I said, he’s a school principal. He already has the idea in mind, and we already know that this is gonna work. We’re not even saying what if we fail, or what if this happens? We already know. We have it in our mind that this is gonna go forward, and we’re gonna have several stores in a few years.

Even when participants face challenging situations they use the power of positive thinking to help ground them and refocus. When asked how she handles rough times Eva said,

For example like when my bills, I think about my business bills and I think oh my gosh it’s gonna be tight this month or whatever. Well I have an affirmation statement for abundance so if I focus my energies on what I don’t have like oh my God you know my debt is increasing with this business and I know you have to invest in this business and that, that in itself can like bring you down.

So I have this affirmation statement it’s pretty simple it’s “I live in abundance to enjoy and to share with others.” It’s really simple, but reading that “I live in abundance to enjoy and to share with others” that takes my mind into a whole different realm and so I can get off of the bills
and you know what, things happen. Don’t ask me how, it’s like that. What’s that called that law of attraction or whatever, but when, when I think positive I put that out there and I’ll see next thing I know, “hey Eva I want to open up a policy with you.” I’m like, “oh my God this is awesome, thank you.” So that’s one way.

In addition to just thinking positive thoughts and communicating those thoughts to themselves and God, participants also recognized the importance of verbalizing these positive messages. Elle recalled hearing a motivational speaker at one of her networking meetings and shared his advice about the power of intention,

> You have to say your goals out loud. As crazy as it sounds, the silliest they sound, and the one you put out there that you know people are going to laugh at, and that perhaps you might fail, that’s the one you want to put out into the world.

This year I stood up at one of my networking groups, and I said.

> “All right, so this year I’m going to graduate from college, buy the [business] and I’m going to become an American citizen so I can vote.”

And I just said [to myself], “Okay it’s out there. I’m going to do these things.” At first people were just looking at me like are you insane?

Then the more I like said it, because I’m going to all these different networking groups, and I’m just standing up and saying this. The more you start to believe it, really, and you’re like, “oh I’m doing it. Yeah I’m doing it.” I’m working towards getting my degree in September . . .
Then I’m studying to get my citizenship. I’ve been a permanent resident for a while now, and I thought I’m just going to do my citizenship because I want to make a difference. I want to be able to vote, and so I’m studying to do that, so I have tapes in the car that read me all the governmental terms and stuff, and so I’m studying that. I’m going to do the acquisition hopefully after I graduate.

Finally, although participants were not asked about God or spiritual beliefs nearly every participant interviewed on their own mentioned having faith and spiritual beliefs that guide them. They often brought up God in relationship to questions about how they got through hard times with their business, what motivated them, who did they go to for support, and what kept them going.

*Faith.* Participants called upon their faith during hard times, were thankful during good times and were connected to God in their everyday lives. As Jose put it, “I have God for strength, and for health, because I don’t plan on leaving my work.” Luis remembered his parents constantly saying, “Thank God this business has given us enough to pay the bills.” Maria when reflecting on the start of their business, recalled, “I prayed to God that everything would come out okay from the minute that they started building that building, ’til the minute they finished.” Beyond praying for guidance participants recognized that they were agents of God. As Leonidas put it,

I know my mom tells me she’ll be praying for me and just having that faith that we’re instruments of God’s, that I’m an instrument of God and that I feel that being an entrepreneur allows me the best opportunities to
help fulfill his mission. In that giving back, volunteering, helping out families, being a positive role model, being a good role model.

Vanessa’s words summarize this section,

Have a lot of faith and have a friend, a spouse you can go to and talk and share and like the little red caboose and Cesar Chavez said, “yes you can.” Know you can! Even if you have to remind yourself every day throughout the day. I can do this. I can do this. . . . Perseverance I think is a big thing too. That all goes along with that. I think confidence, perseverance, yes you can. I think it’s . . . it, really is healthy to talk to yourself and answer. Sometimes you have to ask yourself the question and have the answer for it.

While faith was an important connection between family members and work, participants in this study also learned other things. In the last section of this chapter I address the following research question: RQ3: “What do Hispanic entrepreneurs report about the relationship between work and family?”

Work Ethic. From a young age, participants in this study learned the importance of working. Many participants described work as being inevitable and as an expectation. As Luis put it, “It was kind of hard to be a huevón and just be lazy—that just wasn’t going to cut it in the family.” As Cece said, “We have to work.” For her and others staying home or being unemployed was not an option. Conchita, who owns her own business and has employed her mother and siblings among others, recalled, “I was the oldest of the family of nine so we were always
working.” Both men and women in this study worked for pay and for free to help their families. As Maria noted,

Since he [my dad] brought us up and we were his kids, we had to work.

There was no nonsense of us being girls and staying at home and being cute at the house and watching TV and what not. He didn’t go for that.

We had to work.

The ways in which work was framed are highlighted below (see Table 8) and discussed in more depth in the following section. These conceptualizations were derived directly from the data. For example “work as care” came from the code “care-giving” which housed references to caring for others, needing care, what counts as care, or care-giving (see Appendix C). Work/ing was discussed as a form of care for loved ones and multiple people in families performed care/worked.

Table 8.

*Conceptualizations of Work in Relationship to Family*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work Ethic</th>
<th>Working hard and to the best of one’s ability is an expectation of all family members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Work as Part of Life</td>
<td>Work is not separate from life, but a function of life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work is a Family Affair</td>
<td>Working for pay does not necessarily mean you have to be away from family members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work as Care</td>
<td>Working is conceptualized as a way to take care of loved ones in the present and future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work as Priority</td>
<td>Work takes precedence over extra-curricular or non-essential activities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It was not just children working for their parents, but children working alongside parents, spouses and siblings working with one another, and extended family members working together for family businesses and outside companies. Joe, when talking about his wife and business partner of nearly 50 years, said, “We worked every day together. Even ‘til the day she died, she worked.”

Work was viewed as a necessary part of life and a way to honor God. As Mike has taught his children,

I’ve given the children, as an example of every time you do any job, you do it to the best of your ability. Give it your best, okay, and in doing that, you’re honoring God by doing your best, and he appreciates the work you’ve done, and he’ll bring you, I think, additional opportunity to expand upon that. If you’re lazy and you don’t make the effort, and you do a sloppy job, you’re not only embarrassing yourself, you’re embarrassing everybody that gave you that opportunity.

In a similar vein, Jose said, “I hope God helps me and gives me the opportunity to work as much as I can. While you feel fine and healthy you’re supposed to work.” Cece had a similar thought process, “They’re very wrong [people who do not work] Something’s wrong. I’ve always thought that if people can work why don’t they work? You have to work.” Having a strong work ethic was very important to the participants and was passed down through generations. Participants talked about giving their all to work and having pride in whatever is done as is summarized in Dulce and Lucy’s respective comments.
I was taught when you show up, don’t just walk in. Be there, be present in your job. Meaning, work hard. Don’t be the last one to finish. Be the first one to finish. Show up early, don’t be late. If you need to stay late, don’t complain. Get the job done and be happy doing it—take pride in what you do regardless of whether you are sweeping the floor or restructuring a building. Take pride in what you do, and do a good job at it. To me that’s kind of a good work ethic. Even when you’re a little bit sick drink some orange juice, have a little bit of coffee and go in to work. Don’t miss days ‘just because.’ Those types of things are good work ethic and I was kind of raised believing if you follow that, those ideals, you’ll get, advanced, or you’ll get other opportunities or you’ll get promoted (Dulce).

To me it’s about putting in—when you’re at work, you are working. You’re driven to be productive while you’re at work. You’re not just getting it done to get it done but you’re also taking pride in your work. In order to have pride in your work, you have to do a good job. You have to rise to the occasion, do 100% of the work when you're at work (Lucy).

*Work is part of life.* As participants discussed the importance of having a great work ethic they also recognized that work since childhood work has been part of their lives and not a separate thing. Participants discuss the ways in which working was part of their entire family’s life. Maria said, “when I was growing up we used to go out into the fields and my parents and my siblings there was
nine of us and we would all go out to pick crops in Colorado, and we’d pick vegetables.” Similarly Carlos remembered, “We—it was a growing part of our life, part of the family. . . . There’s so many different types of fruits and vegetables that we picked, that we were involved in, and that was part of our lifestyle.”

In addition to working with parents who worked for others, children also worked with their parents in family businesses. Joe described what a typical day would be like at his business.

I had my kid Chris, the one that is over here now, he used to run the shop in the back where I had the body shop going, the paint and all the painters. Then I had a guy that’d run the detail shop, doing detail. Adelida [my wife] would do upstairs. We had an office upstairs for the office and her and office personnel would work upstairs. I would work the store, my daughter and me would work the store, and shhh people’d come all day long. Every day.

As is evidenced in the data participants did not just talk about their parents working and watching. Instead they emphasized the *we*, acknowledging that working was something all family members took part in. Having family members at work with the participants provided social support, made work enjoyable, and was a way they spent time together.

*Working was spending time.* Participants indicated that working or being at the place of business together was a way to bond and spend time with the family. As Eva remembered,
[Working at a family store] was more fun cause I was so young and it really wasn’t work, but you know we got paid a quarter a day or whatever it was just to go hang out and I had an aunt and uncle that had a barber shop there too so it was, it was a fun time you know going either to the barber shop or to the western wear store in Tolleson just hanging out with the kids and cousins.

Participants also did not separate work from holidays or various celebrations and did not see work as something that completely took employees away from their family members. As Joe recalled,

We’re a family that was together you know all of us were together. If we had a party, a birthday party it would be at my store. My workers would all eat, my kids would all eat, my grandchildren would all eat. I got 39 grandchildren and when they come this house gets full. You know that’s what we just learned. We were always together.

Participants also learned since an early age and taught their children that work was a priority regardless of what else was happening. As Bernadette recalled,

If my children want to see me on Mother’s Day they have to be at the business. They have to actually go work at the business or sit around and be there. There is no “Mother’s Day.” We have a saying in our family that if you get married, have a baby or even die, it’d better be the month of January because [otherwise] we can’t attend [January is the one month of the year the business is not in full operation].
Luis, who is the child of entrepreneurs, summarized what all of the children interviewed talked about with regard to hanging out or going to the family business.

I don’t even go there to get paid. That’s like the last thing on my mind. I like to go there to work because it’s spending time with my parents, my family. That’s the way I see it, that it’s hard to find time to spend time with each other given that we’re always working or that we’re always doing something. So I do it as a way to kind of just spend time with them.

All participants discussed the importance of spending time with family both immediate family and extended family and felt that owning a business provided flexibility to meet family demands.

*Entrepreneurialism provides flexibility.* Participants talked about the importance of being able to work for pay while still valuing family and having/perceiving flexibility.

The benefit of owning your business, you don't have to be here at 7:30 sharp. I get up and I help my daughter get ready for school. She’s only 13. She gets ready to school. I drop her off at school. We prepare breakfast. I make sure that she is taken care of first. I mean that’s my priority. I have very good people in my office and I know they’re going to open on time and they’re going to be here. I mean, I have an employee that’s been with me, who is my assistant for 11 years. Thank God. I drop my daughter off. I get back. I get ready. I take my breakfast and I get to the office and work on my pendings [pending accounts] and talk to my
employees and see what’s going on. Check the news. What do we need to know? This airline is changing fees on luggage. We have a new contract. We have a little group that’s going here. We have to ticket this. Then in the afternoon, my daughter calls and we have to pick her up and go back to school and take her to her classes, talk with other moms that have the same involvement or their daughters and one picks them up first and one drops them off. We just have to know how to find people that can help you too.

Eva discusses flexibility of entrepreneurialism along with self-regulation of time recognizing that putting in the necessary work is necessary to be successful in business.

It’s funny as an entrepreneur you know they say oh I’ve got control of my time, and I do. Tomorrow if I wanted to say, “mom I’m gonna spend the day with you.” I could do that and I know my office will be well taken care of. I can do that and that’s, that in itself just to have the opportunity to do that is, is so well worth what I do every day. I don’t do that very often. I work 12, 14 hours a day so it’s not like I’m out gallivanting all over but if I do [want to do so] I can take a long weekend whenever I want. I can work from home. So it’s nice to have that kind of flexibility that’s kind of self-imposed.

Even when participants did not own their own businesses they learned the importance of being able to bring children to the work site. Cece remembered, “In the fields . . . I was always with my kids. I would take my kids, stick them in
a box, one I would fill one with my kids and the other one with fruit.” When doing side jobs, which were often done on weekends, evenings or holidays, participants also took their children along as referenced in that section. Participants took their children along on jobs, brought their children to work, and taught their children to work as a way to care for them.

*Work is a form of care.* Participants framed their work experiences and the engagement with work and their families as a form of care. As Jose said, I started working real young in the fields. It wasn’t that my parents were poor or anything. I just didn’t want my father to, all this is going to just that I wanted to take care of my daddy. Which to the day I still am taking care of him. ‘Til right now.

Even though his father lives in Mexico and he lives in Texas, Jose still “takes care” of his father by working, being there for his children, and sending money home to his parents to help them out. Participants indicated that part of the way to care for their children and that their parents cared for them was to teach them how to work because it taught them to be self-sufficient, various skills and the ability to do well in the future even when their parents were no longer around. After going through various health problems at a young age Joe said, “I started thinking, what if something happens to me? I bought the building for cash. I put all that stuff in that store and put ‘em [his kids] there to learn. Let ‘em learn.” He said, “At least I won’t leave them be on the streets. I brought them into this world and helped them out a little bit” [by giving them a successful business and teaching them how to work]. When Luis was doing side jobs with
his dad he remembered the times he would get distracted his dad would tell him to pay attention otherwise, “You’re not going to know how to do this when you get old.” He said his dad was always trying to teach him things he could use later in life. Other participants discussed the importance of teaching their children to work because they were concerned about their ability to care for themselves and what happens when people do not learn to work. As Vanessa said,

My ex-husband grew up that his mother – not even his mother. It was his grandmother. His mother’s mother that lived with them. So his nana was always there. She was, “oh mio don’t empty the garbage before school. I can do it. I’m here all day. You guys are all working.” He got used to oh I can’t do anything because my Nana’s gonna take care of it. My mother always made us do chores and do things like that. She was a beautician. Later on we had to take the brushes and combs and pull all the hair out. We used to wash them. I used to say oh all these, we’re cleaning all these old lady’s hair . . . give me something else to do I used to tell her. Every morning we had to make our beds. We had to vacuum on the weekends. Clean the bathroom. We always had chores. I tried to instill that in my grandkids and my daughter’s like, “oh mom I can do that.” You can do that. I can do that. I have cleaning people that can do that. You know what? We’re not going to be here forever. Don’t you want to know that your kids are going to make good husbands, good wives, good girlfriends or God forbid they go on their own to college or they don’t live in a tent. They can make their bed and scramble an egg.
Participants recalled being proud of the fact that they learned to work and realized their parents taught them the value of work in order to care for them. As Jose said,

I’m seeing life, living life, my daddy never told me, but I learned it from him. This is the inheritance my daddy gave me. He showed me how to work, showed me how to respect people, and not to throw away your job and your earnings. That’s probably how I learned to be independent. Epifanio also learned that his dad worked in order to benefit him and his brother now and in the future.

He [my dad] was making me understand things about life. Now that he—we’re already grown up and everything, and he’s still—I still talk to him on the phone. I said, “Dad why don’t you like take it easy instead of getting so much jobs to do?” Well he says that he’s only reason he’s working for is for me and my brother, for us. He said, “That’s the only reason I’m working for.” I said, “But we’re okay. I mean we’re okay dad. I mean like we’re okay.” He says, “No that’s the only reason I’m working for, because when I leave, I’m not going to take nothing with me.” When he leaves, meaning when he, you know, he passes that he’s not going to take anything with him. He goes, “Everything is going to stay here, and I want y’all to be okay. I don’t want y’all to be struggling or anything.”

This knowledge about why parents worked, why they expected children to work and that work was central to caring for the family helped family members deal with the absence of parents at extracurricular activities or in always being
around children just hanging out or having fun. Parents indicated that they could not always be at children’s events.

*Work vs. Extra-Curricular Activities.* When it came to participants leaving work and attending children’s’ extracurricular activities participants noted that work often took priority. While some supervisors were moderately flexible, others were not (even when it was a family business).

Well I think because I was a hard worker in everything that I did if I needed to leave a little early every once in a while not a big deal. My bosses, they were understanding. I didn’t do that very often, but my daughters all played softball. They played high school softball. Their games were at 3:00 in the afternoon. I missed a lot of games, but I made some of them too. Because my bosses understood. I typically was at a higher level of management in all my jobs so I had a little bit of control so I’d come back to work in the evenings or I’d work on weekends just to make sure that I got all my work done. My husband works full time also. . . so he too had some flexibility, but we missed a lot of activities and that’s just the way it was. We just knew and our kids understood. They understood and so we would do everything we could to try to participate in as many activities as possible.

Bernadette on the other hand was someone who was expected to always prioritize work, even in a family owned business. She remembered,

The older brother and I—we never, never, never, never took time off.

Never. When my younger brother came into the business and a few years
after that when he got married, I’m so proud that now he does take time off and he goes with his young family to their doings, to see his children for their sporting events and recitals and things like that. My brother, the older brother and I, no. We never took any time off to do anything with the kids. It was very rare that we took time off for anything.

As far as my brother under me, he’s never attended anything of his children or my father when my father was in the business. He never attended anything. It was only when the younger brother when things started changing a little bit more with when the younger brother came in. He was not willing to do what we did and it was pretty acceptable when he came in and made those changes, when he implemented a lot of changes. My brother and I the older two we could never even think of taking time off to attend a recital or a field day or anything like that. No. It was never an option. Never. We were there seven days a week.

I asked participants if they ever felt guilty for not attending children’s’ events or for having to at times prioritize work over spending time with family. The majority of participants did not express guilt or shame. As Conchita put it, No. No. Because I think I do as much as I can. I couldn’t do more. I couldn’t do more. No. No. Sometimes you just—guilty no. I guess when I leave early, but I just go home and I say no my daughter needs me more too. So no. No. . . . I don’t feel guilty.

Other participants noted that the reason they did not feel guilty is because they were working for their children so they were still the priority. However,
three of the participants did express feelings of guilt for not always being there. When Cece talked about her husband and his prioritization of work she said, “He likes to work. He works for his kids because everything he works for is for his kids.” However, when she talked about working herself she said, “Yes, I do feel bad. I wish I had more time to dedicate to my kids, to relax, to talk, but I can’t.”

Bernadette too felt bad for not being able to always prioritize her family. Upon recalling an extremely hectic time at work she remembered how it affected her family,

“I told my daughter, “we’ve got to go to your Christmas program” and she said, “no mom, it was last night.” I said, “no it’s tonight.” She said, “no I told you it was last night.” I completely missed that one at Christmas time ‘cause it’s a busy season for us.

Jr. also lamented having missed many important things due to work and that he felt bad for not being around,

Special moments, special things. Baby’s first steps, first football game, first basketball game just all the standard typical standard memories you know in society today. You miss a lot of them. I mean I dumped so much into it [my business] I pretty near missed the first five years of my son’s life. The whole time that I’m out there doing it, it’s for him and it’s for my family. But looking back now look at how much time I spent away, how many things I missed, how many nights I missed getting to tuck him into bed. It’s tough, it’s tough to be gone, it’s tough to be away.
For two of the participants who did express feelings of guilt they mentioned that even though they knew why they were prioritizing work and that it was for their family members their guilt was bolstered by people telling them they did not do enough. Jr.’s ex-wife told him he was never doing enough and Bernadette’s mother, who was a stay-at-home wife/mother, often made her feel as though she was not meeting expectations at home. Hearing how the participants felt about often having to prioritize the work was one thing, but I wanted to know if children echoed their parents’ responses or thoughts about children understanding. I asked children if they remembered their entrepreneurial parents showing up at extra-curricular activities. Jane noted that she did not take part in too many extra-curricular activities because she was often caring for her brothers, but remembered her mom “always being there” (even though her mom said she often missed events). Whereas the other participants remembered differently. Luis said,

I would say not as much, not as much just because they were working, that’s just the reality of it. I mean they don’t get off at 5:00 to come and watch their kid’s game at 7:00. I mean showing up to our games and things like that, that just wasn’t normal. For me, if anything my mom—my mom would come to more of my games. Even when I was younger, and I played soccer more in Washington, I remember my grandma would come a lot to watch my games because my mom really liked soccer, so but like her and my grandma would come and they would come to my games
whenever they could, but as I got older—I mean my mom never understood basketball and that’s what I ended up playing the most.

I asked the children of entrepreneurs if they ever felt bitter or angry that their parents were always working and they did not indicate any animosity. Epifanio said, “No never. Never. Never because—no cause I knew. I understood—I understood that he had to be at the shop, and if he took time to go to my sporting events, he would get behind on his work.” Luis had a similar attitude,

I mean you had that “oh it would be nice,” but it was never—to be quite honest, it was never like, “Ohhhh,” or that I’d be looking up in the stands like all dramatic. Because I knew that my parents were working, they had other things to do. So I would always just tell them how the game—they’d always ask and my mom would always ask, “Did you win,” or—but I mean . . . it didn’t really bother me all that much, I guess.

Children of entrepreneurs learned early on the importance of work as did their parents. The participants in this study learned these things through their own work experiences as well as from their parents, grandparents and other family members. This section brought to light the anticipatory socialization experiences of Hispanic entrepreneurs and their family members, identified ways in which those experiences influenced current work-life situations, and detailed what Hispanic entrepreneurs learned about the relationship between family and work through their socialization. The following section discusses how these results
broaden current theoretical understanding, apply to practical situations, as well as limits of the study and areas for future research.
Chapter 5

DISCUSSION, LIMITATIONS, & FUTURE RESEARCH

Introduction

Based on the findings reported in the previous section these data offer new insights into current conceptualizations about the ways in which vocational anticipatory socialization impacts the work lives of Hispanic entrepreneurs. The following section highlights the ways in which these findings answer the following questions:

RQ1: What vocational anticipatory socialization experiences do Hispanic entrepreneurs report?

RQ2: How do Hispanic entrepreneurs narrate the effect of socialization on their current work-life experiences?

RQ3: What do Hispanic entrepreneurs report about the relationship between work and family?

The answers to these questions overlap and intersect and will therefore be presented topically versus in relationship to each question. I begin with a discussion of how the data presented intersect with and extend existing theory weaving in areas for future research. After describing the theoretical significance and some areas for future research I discuss practical contributions, limitations, some additional areas for research.

The review of literature began with a discussion of small business owners and entrepreneurialism, more specifically Hispanic entrepreneurs. This study extends current research on entrepreneurs by providing concrete examples of
entrepreneurial ventures that are not necessarily licensed businesses. In this study I did not just focus on participants who created new organizations which is one way entrepreneurship has been studied (Gartner, 1988). Instead I adopted the viewpoint that entrepreneurship relates to ways in which people seek and exploit various economic opportunities through both licensed businesses and in other ways (McKenzi, Ugbah, & Smothers, 2007). As such the entrepreneurs in this study both owned businesses, but also engaged in other entrepreneurial ventures which resulted in additional work. While the participants in this study both owned their own businesses and started other ventures, their paths to success were not easy.

Discussion

Research on Hispanic entrepreneurialism had identified several factors related to success or barriers of successful ownership. One of the primary barriers to owning and operating a small business over a long term period of time for Hispanics involves the lack of financial resources or access to capital (Fairlie, 2007; Robles, & Cordero-Guzmán, 2007; Zarrugh, 2007). Many participants in this study recognized the importance of overcoming this barrier. In addition to saving money participants indicated overcoming this barrier through the use of “side jobs”, and taking on multiple jobs.

Side Jobs and Multiple Jobs. Side jobs are specific examples of entrepreneurial activities and are ways participants utilized their skills and talents to earn extra money. This money is used to provide capital to their main businesses and to contribute to their families. Participants reported being
socialized about the development of side jobs. They looked to entrepreneurial role models, especially fathers and grandfathers, for examples of what type of work they should perform. Participants’ parents and grandparents often worked full-time jobs as well as multiple side jobs in addition to working at home doing chores. The fact that participants often worked multiple jobs is not a new finding as research has provided numerous instances of people working full-time jobs while having part-time jobs, multiple part-time jobs, and putting in extra overtime hours (see Ehrenreich, 2001; Shipler, 2004). However, this factor is noteworthy in that it complicates conceptualizations of shift work and provides new rationale for why participants work extra jobs.

Scholars have discussed a first shift of work being work that people complete for pay, a second shift which involves completing housework and caring for children (Hochschild, 1989) and a psychological third shift that can take place in our minds anytime during the day, throughout the day or often after the other shifts have been completed in which we review events of the day and how we feel about them (Bolton, 2000) or a third shift in which parents come home after engaging in paid work and in addition to completing household chores they also have to deal with children’s emotions, frustrations, protests and so on from being absent (Hochschild, 1997).

On the surface level the first shift could technically include any full-time, part time or side jobs that are done for pay. However, having multiple first shifts would likely impact both second and third shifts. Studies have shown that when people spend more time at work they devote less time to work at home which
often negatively impacts their partner and children (Hochschild, 1989). Given that these shifts intersect and influence one another if anyone of the shifts is taken away or magnified the consequences to the individuals or the families are affected.

Therefore, if people are engaging in multiple full-time jobs and/or side jobs this further complicates “shift” theories. For example if an individual completes a second shift of doing housework for themselves and then goes and cleans their parents’ home and their spouse’s parents’ home that would be three “second shifts.” In this particular study participants worked multiple first shifts even though they were not always full 40 hour week shifts. As such these individuals had less time to devote to their second shift and had more fodder for their third shift. Future studies related to work-life should examine the effects of not only working three shifts, but also working multiples of any of those shifts as well as if concepts such as “shift work” is the best way to discuss various types of labor.

Participants in this study report work being part of life versus a completely separate sphere. They discuss their primary jobs, side jobs, work at home and with children overlapping and informing one another. As such their experiences showcase a more holistic integration of work and life versus a linear progression from one shift to another. The narrations of participants in this study provide examples of “crystallized” (Tracy & Trethewey, 2005) or “faceted” (Broadfoot, 1995) lives in which multiple aspects exist with regard to individuals’ beings and no one aspect is more salient or real than the other, but at various times based on
how we are looking at something, one area may be highlighted. The Hispanic entrepreneurs in this study showcased a multi-faceted or crystallized view of work-life versus a dichotomous or linear representation moving from one shift to another. They did not report that work was separate from life, but work was an integral part of their lives just like their family members, friends, and taking care of their homes are parts of their lives. They saw work as part of what facilitated other aspects of their life versus a different sphere. In addition to complicating and questioning the notions of shifts, information on multiple jobs/side jobs extends understandings even further.

The number of shifts people work along with other factors influence their work-life experiences, but not necessarily in negative ways which is another contribution derived from the discussion of side jobs. Participants note that the benefits of earning money from side jobs is great, but is not the only or necessarily primary reason they work in other jobs. Instead they engaged in side jobs in order to pursue a passion. Pursuing their passion served as a “stress reliever” and provided them with energy to engage in other work that may be considered monotonous or boring. Participants noted that boredom is a negative aspect and a factor for why entrepreneurs may exit the organization. They love pushing boundaries and want to be challenged.

Side jobs provide challenges even when their other paid work may not. Additionally, side jobs are also done in an effort to try out different ventures or ideas and see which one gains traction. Therefore long before a licensed business
is registered participants are engaged in work directly related to that business all the while earning a steady paycheck to cover bills and other necessities.

Side jobs were also reported as a way to utilize talents. Participants recalled their grandfathers and fathers were good at fixing things, measuring things, and making things and they used all of those skills. Side jobs provided participants with opportunities to utilize and cultivate skills even when other employment did not. These side jobs also required participants to learn new skills when the endeavor attempted exceeded their current level of knowledge. Participants welcomed the challenges and figured out solutions.

The majority of studies on employees who work multiple full-time and/or part-time jobs have focused on blue-collar or working-class employees who often report having to work multiple jobs just to cover expenses. However, this study shows that middle to upper-class participants, who may have more agency with regard to their time and are often in better financial situations, may choose to work multiple jobs as a means of growth and professional development. Few studies discuss engagement in multiple careers and/or simultaneous side work as a means of professional development. Therefore, additional research should explore whether this phenomenon is relevant to multiple employees or to certain demographic groups and whether organizational structures support or constrain this type of growth.

Many people are discouraged from embarking in multiple projects, taking on multiple jobs, engaging multiple strategies and/or running multiple businesses at the same time. In American culture people are often taught to focus on specific
areas and not spread themselves too thin. However, in Hispanic culture the opposite holds true. The participants in this study were encouraged to take on multiple roles and were socialized to believe it was a good thing. As a result they continued to develop professionally and personally.

The fact that participants in this study were socialized by working class parents could have an influence on why they see working multiple jobs as normal, but additional research needs to be done to further develop this area of study as middle and upper class participants were also teaching their children to work multiple jobs. Side jobs provided capital that benefitted participants’ primary business and the family, but more also cultivated employees’ passions. The degree to which these individuals were motivated by passion or other factors is discussed below.

*Pull and Push Factors.* In addition to providing information as to how participants overcome one of the primary barriers to ownership, this study also contributes to literature on Hispanic entrepreneurs in that it supports previous research (e.g. Shinnar & Young, 2008) that suggests pull factors such as always wanting a business, having relevant skills, and wanting greater flexibility were shown to have a greater effect on engaging in entrepreneurship than push factors such as lack of mobility in organizations, prejudice, or difficulties in previous jobs. In fact the majority of participants in this study fared well in outside organizations and were consistently promoted and served in leadership roles prior to owning their own businesses. The fact that most participants were pulled into entrepreneurship versus pushed has implications for sustained involvement and
engagement in their businesses. Participants conveyed passion for their work and talked about working long past retirement. Even after 30 years in the industry in relationship to working Joe said, “If I stop I’ll probably die.” Push and pull factors can be especially important with regard to organizational engagement and/or exit.

When participants engaged in entrepreneurialism in response to push factors such as not being valued or because they felt it was their only option they were not as engaged in their businesses as people who have a passion for their work. Of all the entrepreneurs interviewed only one mentioned push factors such as low educational attainment and not knowing what else she could do as the reasons for beginning her business. Cece recalled,

We moved here from another state and it was hard to find a job. With the experience that we had it was hard to find a job doing what we did in another state because we didn’t have an education. So when the business idea came up the only think I could think of that we could try is a restaurant. We could try to cook and prepare food.

Cece was one of only two entrepreneurs who reported feeling burnt out and neither of those individuals pursued a business based on their passion. While a couple of instances are not representative of the majority of participants, these cases are very important because they provide disconfirming evidence to counter the claim that business owners are necessarily passionate about their own businesses and fully engaged, which is true for the majority of participants in this study. Although two entrepreneurs interviewed pursued businesses they were not
necessarily passionate about, they worked incredibly hard, enjoyed helping people and were successful as business owners.

Therefore, while push and pull factors may not necessarily predict business success or failure based on this study they do have an impact on engagement and duration of ownership. Push and pull factors are not only related to entrepreneurs, but could be adapted to focus on engagement with all employees. One way to study these concepts would be to determine if job choices are or were based on push or pull factors and the relationship those have with engagement and burnout as well as other areas of work-life. In addition to pull factors such as wanting to own a business other factors influenced participants’ entrepreneurialism.

This study also supports previous research indicating Hispanics entrepreneurs are often motivated to begin ventures as a way to balance work and life by being able to leave work to care for or bring children to work (Zarrugh, 2007); and a greater sense of independence and a flexible schedule to handle family needs (Zuiker Solis, 1998). Entrepreneurialism served as way to help balance multiple constraints.

Flexibility. The practice of having flexibility to bring children to work was socialized into the participants at a very early age when working in fields picking various fruits and vegetables as well as working at family owned businesses. Participants learned early on the importance of having a position that allows and directly or indirectly encourages children to be present and helping at a parent’s workplace. As participants developed greater social capital, education, and
experience they were no longer working doing agricultural labor, yet still felt it was important to be able to care for children even while working. Participants mentioned the importance of being able to have flexibility with regard to children and elderly parents.

Based on the reports of how many hours participants worked and how often, entrepreneurs do not necessarily have any more flexibility in terms of time spent working than employees who work for outside organizations. In fact many entrepreneurs and their family members confirmed that these individuals often work weekends, holidays, evenings and are “always thinking about the business.” Participants found it difficult to disengage, yet reported that they loved the flexibility ownership provided. Their perceived flexibility is critical to the ways in which they conceptualize work-life wellness.

This factor is important because previous work-life research has found that both flexibility and the perception of flexibility can help lead to work-life balance (Cowan & Hoffman, 2007). This research also extends the definition of flexibility to not only include leaving work, taking leave, policies which allow for things such as telecommuting or job sharing, but could also include bringing children to the workplace. Entrepreneurs have flexibility in that they are able to take children with them to their workplace which is not always allowed in other organizations. Not only do the parents benefit by not having to seek outside day care, but children also benefit by learning skills and contributing to the family. Research has shown that in public corporations employees weight the risks of asking for flexibility and frame requests in ways that do not privilege life over
work (Hoffman & Cowan, 2010) whereas participants in this study framed work as part of their life and children as part of their work.

If children, since early childhood, are socialized to believe that bringing children to work is normal yet they do not want to engage in agricultural labor their opportunities for outside employment are extremely limited. Many, if not most, organizations would not allow children at the place of business or at various worksites for a number of reasons including safety, distractions, physical space and so on. Therefore, people who were used to family and work being cohesive would likely gravitate toward ownership given that may be the only avenue that would appease a lifestyle where children were allowed and encouraged to be at the workplace where they can spend time with their parents and learn a variety of skills. Throughout their childhoods the participants in this study worked with their parents and those experiences were a very important part of their vocational anticipatory socialization experiences.

This information is very important in that it provides a new avenue for thinking about how organizations, systems and structures can play a vital role in helping employees manage various constraints. If employees, managers, directors and so on were encouraged to bring children to work for some employees there would not be a need to exit the organization. For example, studies suggest that many highly educated and talented women leave the work place or “off-ramp” from paid work (citing family care as the primary reason they leave) which negatively impacts the women financially and the organizations by not retaining skilled employees (Hewlett & Luce, 2005). If it became normative to have
children at parents’ workplaces, as it was for entrepreneurs in this study, perhaps fewer women would leave paid positions benefitting them financially and professionally, the organization in terms of retention and institutional knowledge, and children in terms of skill acquisition. It is important to acknowledge that it would likely be very different having children at a workplace in which the parents are the owners and/or operators of the business versus when the parents work for outside employers. However, while this option may not often be thought of or considered by organizational leaders or employees as a workplace option, the participants in this study were able to make it work. As such entrepreneurs and their family members reported that this aspect of their socialization impacted their current work lives.

In addition to families and previous job experiences, scholars have noted that educational institutions, peers, and media could influence VAS (Jablin, 1987, 2001). Participants in this study did not report that peers or media had an impact on their socialization or current work-lives and education was mentioned and valued, but not as a primary factor impacting their work or career choices as noted below.

Education. Educational institutions have been shown to be an important source for vocational information (Jablin, 2001). Participants in this study emphasized the importance of education and recalled their parents were large proponents of education. Statements related to school were all similar and showed a high value placed on education reiterated by both children and parents. As Dora said, “They [my parents] always—the whole time my mom, especially
my mom, “Go to school. You gotta finish school. . . . We’ll help you, but finish school.” Similarly Epifanio noted, “he [my dad] always wanted me to be focused on school.” When asked if he wanted his children to work in his family business, Umberto said, “I’d rather them go to school first. Go to school, get your education, at least your Bachelor’s, and then we’ll see.” The reason that education was not specifically discussed in the results section is outlined below.

Although participants vocalized that formal education was incredibly important none of the participants pointed to educational experiences as being how they learned to do their jobs or as a primary factor in selecting their careers. Instead they pointed to previous work experiences as where and how they acquired the necessary skills to do their jobs. Many participants referenced their degrees and educational attainment, but not in terms of preparing them to be entrepreneurs. As Dulce put it, “I’m finishing my college degree. [Though] I feel that higher education doesn’t guarantee me jobs . . . but it just opens more doors and more options.”

Participants pointed to the skills they have acquired over the years, work ethic, and passion as the driving factors for being successful business owners versus their formal education. While this research does not refute studies that suggest education and educational institutions play a large role in anticipatory socialization, it does shift the focus to work experiences. In many cases people might assume that aspects of educational attainment are central to determining whether or not someone is qualified for a job. Things such as degrees, grade point averages, and quality of institutions from which one graduates may all be
factors the employers consider. However, it could be useful to ask more questions about work experiences and or how the skills or knowledge learned in educational settings relates to what employees faced in previous jobs. Previous work experiences were cited as the most important aspects of their VAS and will be discussed in more detail below.

Scholars have called for research to further examine what constitutes work (Wieland, 2011). Based on the data in this study, working since early childhood impacts the ways in which participants conceptualize the connection between work and life. Work and life are not seen as two separate spheres or domains, but instead work is seen as inextricable and as a part of life. Participants did not talk about their family lives and then working. Instead they talked about working as a family, both in family businesses and in agricultural labor, and said work was “part of their lifestyle.” Work became normative just as play, family time, or anything else.

Additionally, work was thought of as a way to spend time with family members. Previous research has shown that when adolescents engage in part-time work time with their family members is diminished (Manning, 1990). While this may be true for many employees, participants in this study had greater engagement with family members as a result of working. Children often hung out and helped out at family businesses just to spend time with their parents and since early childhood participants worked with their parents in various occupations, thus spending time with them.
Recognizing that time spent with family members can include working is significant in that it constructs new meanings for what constitutes quality family time. Current constructions involve family members relaxing together, talking, or parents playing with young children. However, as these data demonstrate quality family time can also include working together to advance the interests of the family. Working was not only seen as advancing the family financially, but was also viewed as a way to care for family members.

Work as Care. Participants framed their work experiences and the engagement with work and their families as a form of care. Participants talked about wanting to work with parents so that they could look out for them, make sure they were not working too hard, to show parents that they were self-sufficient and to leave a legacy for children so they would be taken care of long after a parent’s death. These data are important in that they extend conceptualization of care and caregiving.

Caregiving is often conceptualized as one-on-one consistent and constant interaction in order to meet another’s needs as described versus explicitly defined in numerous studies (e.g. England & Folbre, 1999; Krouse & Afifi, 2007; Medved, 2007). However, this construction can lead to negative emotions when employees have to work outside of the home for pay. For example, if employees believe that the only or preferred way to care for their child is by being at home playing with or catering to the child’s every need then it makes sense that leaving the home to work or working from home and therefore taking time/attention away from the child would result in guilt associated with not caring for the child.
Bolton (2000) describes a third shift in which people experience emotions associated with being away from or not meeting family members’ needs. These emotions can manifest as anger, guilt, frustration, and sadness. If women and/or men believe that the only way to care for their family members or friends is through one-on-one interaction and attention then it is not surprising that people feel frustrated, guilty, sad and so on when they cannot or do not meet these expectations. However, when work is also seen as a form of caring for others then people may not feel the same emotions or the same emotions to the degree that others who have a more narrow conception of caregiving feel.

This study reveals that conceptualizing work as a form of caregiving is not happenstance or taken for granted, but instead occurs as a result of communication. More specifically it is through conversations and interactions between parents, children, siblings and family members that parents are able to narrate their rationale and purposes for working and their hopes of how their own work will benefit their children. While these conversations can and should take place with any parent who does paid or unpaid labor, it was ownership that prompted these conversations. Ownership led to discussions of legacy and future goals which provided a vision for both parents and children. Additionally, by working at family businesses or alongside parents as they did side jobs children were able to see how hard their parents work, how they performed emotional labor, and sacrificed free time to work for their children’s benefit. If business owners and employees alike can narrate their life and work visions to and through
their children then children will likely see the care involved in parents’ work as illustrated by participants.

Reducing the emotional work associated with being a parent/child/friend/employee is important because not only does it lessen the negative emotions and energy felt, but it also frees up the mind, body and soul to engage in other more rewarding activities. When employees not only recognize, but verbalize work as a form of care and explicitly narrate their reasons for working and how it benefits their children not only do they benefit, but children and significant others begin to view things differently too.

This study revealed that entrepreneurialism provides a unique space and rationale for narrating work related motivations and outcomes and helps children understand that work is a form of care-giving. While many of the entrepreneurs worked in previous jobs and for other companies, it was during conversations with their children about their own businesses that children began to understand work as care.

Many people who work know they are working to provide their children with food, shelter, clothing and so on, but may not have explicit conversations with their children about their work and commitment. Likewise children may have a basic understanding of the fact that their parents work to support them, but may view work as a choice or may not think parents need to work as much. Even when children recognize their parents work for their benefit they believe their parents should work less because they can care for themselves.
It is through conversations about work, why parents are working, and discussions about leaving behind a legacy that help children to understand work as a form of caring for them. Therefore, these conversations are imperative in terms of helping parents assuage guilt associated with potentially being away from children and for children who may think parents’ absence indicates a lack of care. Caregiving has been conceptualized as one-on-one interaction in which one person is constantly and consistently meeting the immediate needs of another. However, that is only one form of caregiving and employees can care for parents, children, friends and others by working to provide them with basic needs, medications, or other goods and services that enhance their lives or to teach them skills so they can be self-sufficient later in life.

Even when children work it can be a form of caregiving to their parents in that by working the children are able to care for themselves therefore taking the burden away from parents. Therefore, a child who is not able to take time off work through the Family Medical Leave Act (FMLA) or stays working rather than taking a leave of absence to “care for” an aging relative may very well be engaging in a different type of caregiving. Re-conceptualizing what it means to care for family members is one way participants dealt with having to work and be involved in their family members’ lives and brings value to “care” which is often de-valued or marginalized. Therefore, it is important for work-life researchers to focus on the way in which people frame different work-life construct.

Most of the studies related to work-life (wellness, conflict, balance, and so on) are based on the ways in which employees currently balance constraints of
paid work and family obligations. For example, studies have focused on how organizational policies enable or constrain employees’ work-life balance; how various groups such as single mothers or stay-at-home dads balance tensions; and how discourses contribute to whether employees are able to balance personal and professional needs. All of these studies are valuable and important in terms of advancing our knowledge of how employees deal with demands of work and life. However, this study shows that VAS is incredibly important to the ways in which employees develop work-life strategies and conceptualize the relationship between work and life. Additionally, the young ages at which participants were exposed to work sites and work have played an important role in their current occupations.

**Work Age.** Early socialization literature related to employment with adolescents focused on teenage workers, yet more recent studies have acknowledged that pre-kindergarten and young children also work (Gabor, 2009; Morelli, Rogoff, & Angelillo, 2003). Additionally researchers also recognize that social, political, and cultural factors may also influence the age and work experiences of children (Buzzanell, Berkelaar, & Kisselburgh, 2011; Myers, Jahn, Gailliard, & Stoltfus, 2009).

Since early childhood the participants in this study were exposed to work in which an employer paid one or both of their parents to do a task for the company’s benefit or were exposed to work in family businesses. They helped at their parents’ workplaces in addition to completing chores at home for free. It is important to note that significant differences exist when children work in parents’
businesses versus working alongside their parents who have outside employers. In family businesses parents are able to control what their children do, children are less likely to exposed to extreme outside temperatures, parents allow for flexibility for children to do homework, not come into work if they are busy or need time off, and they have time to teach children how to do tasks and jobs on their own schedules. Whereas, when children work in built environments such as fieldwork the parameters are set by foremen and supervisors outside of the family including hours worked, access to resources such as bathrooms or shade, and quotas or expectations in terms of outcomes (e.g. boxes of fruit picked) and so on.

Additionally, I feel it is important to recognize that while the results of this study focused on positive aspects of early work ages such as skill acquisition and developing strong work ethics there have been studies documenting the negative health effects of fieldwork (Arcury, Grzywacz, Davis, Barr & Quandt, 2006) and exploitation of child workers (Horrell & Humphries, 1995). While a full discussion of the negative impacts of child labor are beyond the scope of this project it is worthy of recognition and future studies could explore the benefits versus risks of child labor especially since many people begin working at early ages especially the participants in this study.

Entry into workplace environments began as young as age 2-3 for some participants in this study and elementary age for most other participants. Both Hispanic girls and boys were socialized to work hard from very young ages. They worked doing physical labor and in a variety of capacities for their family businesses and outside businesses. This is important because it extends current
understandings of gender socialization with regard to work since both male and female participants engaged in arduous, physical labor.

Given that girls and boys both worked alongside one another and their parents, these individuals learned to see themselves as equally capable. This confidence was bolstered by a number of other skills acquired through work experiences. While recent socialization studies have acknowledged early work ages of participants, many do not outline specific skills learned and how those skills transfer into their chosen occupations. One study on musicians, that did discuss specific skills, found that not only were children trained, often by parents, since early childhood, but the skills these children learned directly translated to their occupations as musicians (Gabor, 2009). This study also confirms that the skills learned in early childhood are directly related to their current occupations as entrepreneurs.

*Skill Acquisition.* Participants learned a variety of skills during childhood that are useful as business owners. This fact is significant because previous research contended that although adolescents learned skills in part-time jobs, there was no evidence to suggest that those skills transferred to their chosen long-term careers (see Jablin, 2001). Additionally, the fact that participants’ skill acquisition began at a very early age is important because they reported that it gave them confidence in their abilities, which led to their willingness to take risks. When people do not develop early confidence in their work abilities, they may wait for recognition from their supervisors, professors, or family members and may be less likely to begin their own ventures due to fear of failing. Participants
reported that what they learned in previous jobs and through various experiences
gave them the confidence to take risks in terms of ownership and entrepreneurial
ventures such as side jobs.

When embarking upon new ventures participants often reported not
knowing everything about the industry, how to do every task, or even what papers
needed to be filled out. However, their early work experiences gave them the
confidence to know they could educate themselves and effectively seek assistance
when needed. On occasion people may ask for help because they do not know
how to do something or due to lack of confidence based on past failures. That
was not the case for these participants. Instead they asked for help because they
had the confidence in themselves that they could learn and master new concepts
and they did so. They also had confidence in their abilities to make decisions,
motivate themselves to work and develop relationships. The participants in this
study attributed many of their current abilities to their childhood experiences.

Socialization research has shown that information acquisition mediates the
relationship between organizational socialization tactics and outcomes such as
attitude (Cooper-Thomas & Anderson, 2002). Hispanic entrepreneurs learned the
importance of seeking information related to their jobs such as how to complete
tasks, what paper-work is required, and who should be contacted early in life and
continued to perfect these skills. As a result participants in this study recalled
being quickly promoted, serving in numerous management or supervisory roles
and continually advancing in their organizations and having positive attitudes
about these responsibilities. These results suggest that the earlier participants
begin to adopt information acquisition skills, the more likely they will advance. Participants learned these skills indirectly from watching people around them and through explicit messages and modeled behaviors.

*Entrepreneurial Parents.* Previous literature suggests that the children of business owners are much more likely to become self-employed than those whose parents are not business owners (Fairlie, & Robb, 2007). The data in this study support that research in that nearly all of the participants had entrepreneurial parents. Though not all of the participants’ parents were business owners, instead they were often self-employed (e.g. ranchers) or did side jobs to generate revenue which require skills that business owners use as well. This distinction is important because if people focus on role models who were “business owners” only, which implies a licensed business, an entire segment of people would be eliminated from the pool despite working and operating in similar ways and for similar purposes. I am not arguing that doing side jobs or being self-employed are the same as owning a small business because differences exist. However, similarities should also be acknowledged.

Participants in this study primarily identified their fathers and grandfathers as their entrepreneurial role models and often worked with their fathers and grandfathers by helping out, working for pay in their dad’s or grandfather’s business or by accompanying them on side jobs. Organizational research has shown that fathers communicate in very direct ways and interrupt more often than mothers (Bellinger & Gleason, 1982), yet this type of communication is beneficial in that it helps children develop communication skills that benefit them in outside
settings (Mannie & Tomasello, 1987). The participants in this study discussed the importance of having good communication skills and felt confident in their abilities to connect with a variety of people. As noted in the results section participants not only recalled watching their parents interact with clients, supervisors, and employees, but their parents also had discussions with them about work related matters such as how to interact with clients, how much to charge for various services, and about the importance of doing quality work among other things.

The fact that participants were able to gather both direct and indirect messages about work as well as ask questions and seek advice is especially important. Socialization research has shown that time is an important yet often scare resource when participants are orienting into organizations (Gómez, 2009). Namely there is not always enough time to thoroughly train people. Supervisors, human resources professionals, and/or co-workers who are technically supposed to orient or train newcomers may feel pressured for time and unable to give participants all they need as studies suggest time affects both the design and implementation of socialization (Ballard & Seibold, 2003). However, when parents in this study were in charge of socializing their children into work and ownership they took extra care and time to make sure their children/employees were trained well.

Participants said they often expected more from their children than they did from other employees and made them do work alongside other employees so they could develop their skills. As Mike put it, “I’m much harder on ‘em [my
children. I expect them to do it right. What I would suggest is give ‘em a specific job task and pay ‘em for that task and then—you care about how you judge ‘em.” He mentioned it was important to tell them why they were expected to know things. When the person or people in charge of socializing newcomers care about the long term futures of the people they are training, they are more likely to invest the time necessary to make sure participants learn what they need to know. Therefore, these data suggests it is important that trainers and trainees explicitly discuss the expectation of a long term, reciprocal work relationship and how certain things will impact them which may improve the socialization process for both parties. In addition to socialization other factors such as emotional labor impact the work environment.

Good customer service often requires participants to focus on clients’ or customers’ needs regardless of what they think or feel. Masking one’s own emotions for the benefit of others has been termed “emotional labor” (Hochschild, 1983).

**Emotional Labor.** Participants in this study reported engaging in emotional labor. Hochschild (1983) contends that emotional labor and emotional work are enacted through either/or surface acting in which employees pretend to feel a certain way even though they do not or through deep acting in which employees draw on a past experiences in an effort to display a true feeling. Critiques to Hochschild’s research exist such as emotional work not being able to account for work that is done for altruistic reasons (Bolton, 2000); and the challenging of a true or real self as opposed to a crystallized self (Tracy & Trethewey, 2005).
However, Hochschild’s work is instrumental in setting forth a research agenda on emotions and organizations. By labeling, describing, and providing examples of emotional labor Hochschild opened the door for emotions to be seen as a legitimate and necessary part of organizations.

Most of the research on emotional labor focuses on employees who are often encouraged or forced to perform emotional labor by their supervisors. This study extends emotional labor literature by adding the experiences of owners. Despite owning the company and being in charge, entrepreneurs perform emotional labor for customers and for their employees. Therefore, being in control or a decision maker does not prevent emotional labor from occurring. Employees who engage in emotional labor cite organizations or organizational leaders as directing them to serve others even if it means masking their own feelings (e.g. Scott & Myers, 2005; Tracy, 2005). In this study the owners do not have bosses or boards of directors and do not have to answer to anyone. However, entrepreneurs reported that they feel accountable to their clients or customers and their employees. Additionally, research has shown that various discourses enable and constrain identity (Tracy, 2005).

Accountability to these stakeholders as well a desire to be successful in their business led entrepreneurs to adopt the corporate discourse that “the customer is always right.” If owners believe or approach business based on the idea that the customer is always right and their needs should be met it is not surprising that they mask their own feelings and emotions in order to
accommodate those of the client. Additionally, they encourage their own employees, who are often family members, to do the same. As Vanessa said,

Get up every day and put your best foot forward. We all have days where I don’t want to. It’s Monday. Yuck. Enjoy every minute that you’re working. I think my mother always said too once you go to work she goes, “those people don’t know if you got in a fight with your husband, you hate today because it’s Monday but they don’t need to see it. They don’t need to know it and you have to give them the best I guess customer service there is.” If I’m 100 percent I’m at work. I have to look good, feel good even if I don’t. These people are coming to me. They don’t need that. Everybody has a problem or story I figure.

While all participants mentioned engaging in some type of emotional labor a few noted that there were times when they resisted performing emotional labor. During instances that participants deemed racist communication from clients, family members and entrepreneurs resisted managing their emotions and displayed their real emotions even though they knew their display would likely harm their business and their relationship with the customer. Points of resistance are important because emotional labor has been shown to have many negative effects on employees such as stress, burnout, and turnover (Tracy, 2000). In this study privileging cultural discourses such as “family comes first” or “equality is important” provided participants with sense of agency that led them to resist managing their emotions. Scholars have identified the importance of documenting resistance of dominant discourses and how this could create changes
(Bullis, 1993). While numerous studies have focused on emotional labor, little research offers suggestions for how people can resist performing emotional labor. Based on these data, adopting and privileging various discourses, such as family or cultural discourses, over corporate discourses can be one way to resist performing emotional labor.

In addition to resisting emotional labor participants also indicated strength to deal with other types of hardships.

_Surviving difficult situations._ Participants discussed the importance of having great coping skills. They cited dealing with what some would call dysfunctional environments, poverty, racism, immigrating to the U.S., seeing substance or physical abuse in their families, or national unrest as challenging factors that helped them develop coping skills. Additionally, many participants referenced social and political factors such as legislation in Arizona, and anti-Hispanic sentiment, along with a poor economy as additional hardships they had to deal with. Elle noted,

It’s tough. It’s tough to be in Arizona now. You never know who’s going to be the one that’s going to point fingers, and it’s almost like when you hear something on TV and there was a crime committed, you’re going, “Oh please Lord don’t let it be a Latino,” because we’re already having the finger pointed at us. It’s almost like people are trying to stay—the Latinos are trying to stay under the radar because of all the things that are happening, but also a lot of family members of mine have moved away
just because it’s so antagonistic. They feel it and even if you speak
English, but if you look Latino at all, you’re going to be seen differently.

Carlos also discussed the impact legislation in Arizona (SB 1070) has had
on various groups, “It affects everyone, almost everyone in the state it affects one
way or the other.” . . . He went on to mention that local politicians were the only
people who benefitted from this type of legislation.

[A local politician] found out that being an anti-immigrant, which is also
anti-Hispanic, gives her more power too. She found out she went to
higher ratings because she went anti, so that motivated them and in no way
do those thoughts that they have looking towards helping people. It’s
against people, doing things against people.

The impact that’s having, according to my paper, I looked at each
different group, each person, each entity in the state. How does it affect
them? How does it affect them, the school children, police chiefs, tourists,
families, Republicans, Democrats, public service employees? Look at
each one and analyze how does it affect each one?

Almost in every case it’s negative, except for Republican
candidates. They’re able to use it to appeal to a certain group that
supports that, but economically it affects small businesses. Many small
businesses have already closed. A lot of Hispanic businesses have closed.

Seeing other small businesses close or friends negatively impacted
bothered participants, so they solicited social support in order to manager their
emotions in relationship to the social and political climate in Arizona and around the country. Luis said,

I like to talk with my family, with friends, with folks in the community. That’s a way of kind of healing from all of that hatred that you have to carry around, just understanding where these folks are coming from, understanding their mentality and understanding that it’s not even to an extent their fault. You know, they’ve—it’s very easy to think and be just like just hateful, just mean ways.

So I mean I think that’s another thing that helps me a lot when I see somebody just speaking ignorantly, it’s I just recognize that that’s how we’re supposed to end up thinking, and if you don’t have anybody to take the time to question that train of thought, a lot of folks just keep on living their lives, just thinking like that. So it’s not their fault. There’s a larger system in place that is making folks think like this.

So I mean—so you just kind of take it one day at a time, have a conversation with somebody whenever possible if they’re open enough to talk about it. I mean, that’s—that’s the work that we’re doing. In this state, with these politics, it’s tough, but I mean if you go crazy that’s exactly what they want you to do. That’s another way that we—you know, I talk to my friends and they want us to slip up and turn violent and prove them right. So I mean you’ve got to check your emotions as best as possible.
In contrast to managing negative emotions participants also discussed the importance of projecting positive thoughts and emotions.

Positive Self Talk. Participants consistently engaged in positive self talk in relationship to their businesses. In fact, they felt that having a positive attitude and confidence led to good outcomes. The fact that participants engaged in positive self talk is noteworthy in that it could add an additional dimension to positive organizational scholarship. For example, Lutgen-Sandvik, Riforgiate & Fletcher (2011) identify several discourses and types of positive experiences. While these categories were developed based on how organizational members talked about their best experiences, these categories could be expanded based on how participants talk to themselves about work. Focusing on the messages employees receive and describe to other is quite beneficial. However, it is also important for researchers to not take-for-granted the messages we tell ourselves. These messages and how we interpret them often have an impact on our lives. One additional factor that participants mentioned had an impact in their work-lives was faith.

Faith. Participants discussed the importance of having faith and looking to God for strength when difficult work situations arose. Additionally, they framed work in relationship to God by referring to themselves as “instruments of God” and believing engaging in entrepreneurial ventures and working hard allowed them to do God’s work and honor God “by doing your best.” When work is constructed as something that allows one to work for/with and honor God it adds to the notion that work is part of life versus a tension. Additionally,
participants reported that faith, which was learned during socialization, continues to impact their everyday lives. Not only is faith important in terms of socialization, but it may also be a fruitful area for studies on social support in which there is a taken for granted assumption that “people” are the ones who provide social support are they must be physically present.

This study detailed vocational anticipatory socialization experiences of Hispanic entrepreneurs, discussed the ways in which those experiences influenced current work-life experiences for this group, and highlighted what Hispanic entrepreneurs and their family members reported about the relationship between work and family. This research not only informs communication literature, but also provides opportunities to share and integrate the findings of this work in other disciplines such as management, Chicana/o and Latina/o studies, sociology, and family studies to name a few. In addition to several theoretical contributions, this research has practical applications as well.

Practical Contributions

Based on the data, participants’ early exposure to work and workplace settings (of their parents and grandparents) helped them to conceptualize work as part of life versus a completely separate dimension. As such these participants were able to effectively manage constraints within their families as well as those that came about in their businesses. This information can be especially useful to parents with young children who may be hesitant to have those children do any type of work including chores. Perhaps children who do several chores and work for free or pay early in their lives would be able to better manage work-life
challenges than those people who begin working as adults. Based on the findings in this study parents should encourage children to work in a variety of settings at an early age.

Additionally, parents should not assume that because their children are young they are incapable of thinking critically and contributing to the family through working. Participants in this study were able to realize their potential and begin making work related decisions in elementary school. Therefore, exposing children to different work environments and asking or expecting them to think about and make decisions could foster their growth and development.

Participants reported being great at negotiating with clients over products and services, but were unwilling to negotiate with parents or family members with regard to their own pay. Parents who employ children or family members should openly discuss money and teach children negotiation strategies with regard to their own pay. Although, teaching children to negotiate for a higher salary may reduce profits, there will likely be long term benefits to the child in terms of negotiating their pay in other careers and when valuing their worth in their own businesses. This research also has practical applications for various organizational stakeholders.

Narrative studies have been shown to have a positive impact on the narrators in which the very telling of their stories not only validates their experiences, but also legitimizes what they are discussing for others (Tracy, Lutgen-Sandvik, & Alberts, 2006). This study not only validates the experiences
of Hispanic entrepreneurs, but also legitimizes their work habits, practices, and contributions to workplace knowledge.

Given that Hispanic people are often socialized since childhood to work in multiple roles and believe that practice is a good approach to take with regard to business, supervisors can provide multiple opportunities for them to showcase their skills, can be understanding and supportive when they want to take on multiple projects that seem very unrelated, and can be open-minded about the idea that people should try multiple things at the same time and see which one takes off versus only trying one thing at a time. Additionally, this research has applications with regard to hiring practices.

Participants recalled selling things since they were as young as age six. Those types of sales experiences often do not make it onto employees’ resumes, yet set the ground work for being able to sell. If people are able to negotiate sales, develop a tough skin from hearing no, and develop communication and marketing skills since they are children, those adults are likely to be excellent sales people. Numerous participants mentioned being the top sales person in the company, winning awards for sales, outselling everyone, and exceeding the goals set by their companies (often to have their commission capped and not be paid what they earned). Not only could people with these long sales histories highlight that experience, but people in hiring positions could ask participants in interviews their earliest memories of selling anything regardless of what it was or how much they earned. While these data do not prove that all people who start selling when they are children will in fact be successful in sales as adults, the participants in
this study were and are. Therefore, hiring managers can consider this type of work history when granting promotions or selecting candidates for entry sales positions in industries that require proof of “professional” sales experience. This research also offers application with regard to policy.

The thought of allowing employees to bring their children to work may seem a little unorthodox. However, the participants in this study found ways to be productive, effective and successful all while having their children present in their workplaces. Given their success organizations could develop policies that allow parents to bring their children to work, not to be put in a company sponsored daycare, but to be next to parents. The realities of this may be limited where safety concerns are an issue, but may be possible in many industries. Even if formal policies are not in place employees could ask supervisors for permission to bring children to work with them which not only allows parents the opportunity to see what children are doing and avoid daycare costs, but also helps the children to learn skills. The theoretical and practical applications of this work can benefit both families and organizations. Yet, unanswered questions still exist.

Limitations

This study was designed to better understand Hispanic entrepreneurs’ narratives related to their work-life socialization. While the data collected expand current conceptualizations, this research is limited in that participants were not separated by industry, there were not equal numbers of entrepreneurs interviewed from each state or beyond the Southwest, and for this project participants were not divided by generational status which has been shown to have effects on
experiences and socialization. Not every entrepreneur’s spouse or significant other and children were interviewed which limits the degree to which the conclusions about children’s perceptions regarding their parents’ work hold true. The majority of participants in this study are Hispanic and two are Caucasian. Therefore, it is not possible to make comparisons with regard to the socialization of Hispanics versus Caucasians or any other ethnic group based on the data collected, however comparisons could be made in relationship to previous studies. These limitations provide several opportunities to further our knowledge about employee socialization in relationship to work-life.

Future Directions

As noted in the methods section of this dissertation, a couple of Caucasian participants were interviewed in order to provide a small amount of contrasting data to the main data set. Because this was not a comparison study the results were not discussed explicitly. However, both similarities and differences were found with regard to how Hispanics and Caucasians narrated their socialization and work-life experiences and relationships. For researchers interested in these types of comparisons future studies could use existing studies to make comparisons or seek equal numbers of participants from different ethnicities, but similar social classes and industries. Additional studies should examine the ways in which different cultural socialization experiences enable or constrain work-life harmony. Future studies should explore how the sources individuals draw on during vocational anticipatory socialization (e.g. actual job experiences, peers, and media) impact their present work-life experiences and work ethic.
Studies should also extend the scope to better understand the work-life socialization and experiences of a variety of Hispanics. The participants in this project were of Mexican/Mexican-American decent and other Hispanics such as Puerto Ricans, Cubans and Chileans would likely have different socialization experiences. Employing additional methods such as focus groups and ethnographic research in which family members are shadowed at home and in their workplaces would fill in gaps between what participants recall and what researchers observe. Additionally, future studies are needed to explore the ways in which individuals resist emotional labor and the degree to which adopting non-corporate discourses aids in this resistance.

CONCLUSION

This study offers a theoretical extension of organizational vocational anticipatory socialization and work-life. Concrete examples of the ways in which early work-life socialization have influenced Hispanic entrepreneurs’ present day situations furthers our knowledge about their work-life experiences. This study also contributes to conceptualization of emotional labor by highlighting the ways in which privileging cultural or familial discourses over corporate discourse leads to resistance. Furthermore this study demonstrates the importance of communication between parents and children about work and how positive self talk impacts work experiences for entrepreneurs. While this theory adds to existing theoretical knowledge it also has practical applications and serves as a springboard for future research. The saliency of concepts related to work-life need to explored from ethnically diverse perspectives.
REFERENCES


OECD. Retrieved April 13, 2011 from
www.oecd.org/els/social/indicators/SAG


218


219


APPENDIX A

INTERNAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL
To: Sarah De La Garza  
STAF

From: Mark Roosa, Chair  
Soc Beh IRB

Date: 11/18/2010

Committee Action: Exemption Granted

IRB Action Date: 11/18/2010

IRB Protocol #: 1011005731

Study Title: Exploring Engagement of Hispanic Entrepreneurs

The above-referenced protocol is considered exempt after review by the Institutional Review Board pursuant to Federal regulations, 45 CFR Part 46.101(b)(2).

This part of the federal regulations requires that the information be recorded by investigators in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects. It is necessary that the information obtained not be such that if disclosed outside the research, it could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability, or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You should retain a copy of this letter for your records.
APPENDIX B

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE
Semi-Structured Interview Protocol

We’ll begin with some background questions and then move into your present day experiences and end with some general thoughts/insights you’d like to share.

1. Growing up where did you get most of your information about jobs or work? What did you learn?
2. What types of things did you hear about owning a business when you were growing up?
3. Before becoming a business owner, what types of jobs did you have and how did they influence your decision to own your own business?
4. What were your expectations about owning your own business?
5. To what degree were your expectations about business ownership similar to your actual experiences?
6. What surprised you most about owning your own business?
7. How prepared were you to become a business owner?
8. What could have made you more prepared?
9. Can you provide examples of how friends/family members/significant others foster your success as a business owner?
10. Can you think of ways the people you spend time or socialize with potentially interfere with your success?
11. What, if any, behaviors or habits you have adopted since becoming a business owner? Why?
12. What, if any, behaviors or habits you have given up since becoming a business owner? Describe. Why?
13. Do you think you’ve changed since becoming a business owner? How so? Can you give some examples?
14. How do family members/friends/significant others react to the changes?
15. Can you describe what it is like to own and operate your own business?
16. What motivates you to run your own organization?
17. What do you love most about your job?
18. What are the most significant things you do?
19. Can you tell me about times when you wanted to quit or dismantle your business, but kept going?
20. What factors do you think lead business owners to get burnt out?
21. How have you dealt with those factors?
22. Why do you think some people burn out while others stay engaged?
23. What types of resources do you draw upon to be successful (physical, psychological, social, organizational)?
24. Who, if anyone, do you go to for social support?
25. In what ways is social support important to your work?
26. What do you do when your employees need support, but you are already overwhelmed or overworked?
27. How do you know if you are doing a good job?
28. What are the biggest demands on your time? 
29. Can you describe times or situations in which it is difficult for you to detach from your work? 
30. How do you deal with the inability to detach? 
31. Has being Hispanic affected your work? In what ways? 
32. How has being a (man or woman) affected your work? 
33. From your perspective what differences, if any, do you see between male and female business owners? 
34. How do these differences relate to whether people leave the business or stay engaged? 
35. How do things like political climates, policies, or public perceptions affect your business or work? 
36. What do you do to deal with these affects? 
37. If you had the power to change anything necessary, what would you change about your job, business, or anything you think is related? 
38. How have the U.S. and Arizona economies impacted your business? 
39. To what degree do economic factors influence business owners’ decisions to persist or leave their business? 
40. If you had to give advice to up and coming entrepreneurs what would you tell them? Why? 
41. Knowing what you know today would you start your own business again? Why or why not? 
42. Is there anything else you would like to add about why some people stay engaged in their jobs, while others leave? Or in general? 

If I need to clarify your answers to any of the questions or ensure I recorded your transcript with accuracy would it be okay if I followed up with you in the future? What is the best way to reach you, email or phone? Thank you for your time and insights!
APPENDIX C

CODE BOOK
Hispanic Entrepreneurs’ Anticipatory Work-Life Socialization Codebook – few examples open codes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Open Codes</th>
<th>Definition/Explanation</th>
<th>Examples direct quotes noted, otherwise paraphrased from transcripts/notes</th>
<th>Data Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Dad        | Reference to dad or father in any way  
Falls under axial codes: Relationships; Entrepreneurial Role Model | “It was my father who started it with myself”; “My dad asked me if I could help out”; “My dad was constantly doing side jobs” | Interviews |
| Talking    | Any reference of talking to or with someone (or oneself) at any point in time from early childhood through the present  
Falls under axial code: Communication | “My dad would tell me . . .”; I would ask myself what am I doing; “I just talked to them” | Interviews & Field Notes |
| Thanking   | Descriptions of actions when people show appreciation for something.  
Falls under theoretical code: Economy of Gratitude and can also be associated with axial code: Manners | My client thanked me; They give tips to show appreciation; They appreciate what you do for them | Interviews & Field Notes |

Hispanic Entrepreneurs’ Anticipatory Work-Life Socialization Codebook – axial codes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Axial Codes</th>
<th>Definition/Explanation</th>
<th>Examples direct quotes noted, otherwise paraphrased from transcripts/notes</th>
<th>Location in Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boredom</td>
<td>Referral to boredom in discussions about rationale for having</td>
<td>“Kiss of death”; “the number one reason that an</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Metaphors</td>
<td>Metaphors participants used to talk about their business, employees, and/or customers</td>
<td>Baby; Family; Team; Kids</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Client or Customer</td>
<td>Any reference to people who solicit goods or services from entrepreneurs.</td>
<td>100% devotion to my clients; you’ll never please every client; “taking a drink order from a customer”</td>
<td>Interviews &amp; Field Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>Examples of the types of communication entrepreneurs engage in and with whom such as talking, emailing, listening, etc.</td>
<td>I was talking with a client; I was sending emails; “Here’s my card”; “Check out my website”</td>
<td>Interviews &amp; Field Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competition</td>
<td>Discussions about industry competitors, competing with other businesses, competition among workers</td>
<td>“They would tell him [my dad] ‘Carlos slow down, slow down’ because he was working too fast”; “It wouldn’t take that long for me to do it and those other ones took longer”; “don’t poach clients from one another”</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confidence</td>
<td>References to being confident, having confidence, developing confidence</td>
<td>I became confident in my abilities; It gives you confidence knowing what you are capable of.</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross-training</td>
<td>Learning how to and doing multiple job functions and taking on multiple roles. Could be</td>
<td>I’m a waitress and recently got crossed trained in the kitchen;</td>
<td>Interviews &amp; Field Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross-coded with Role Ambiguity</td>
<td>Business people wear multiple hats even if it’s not their forte; you have to know a little of everything; In a small family business everybody is everything</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Echalé ganas</strong></td>
<td>Refers to both the actual use of the term echalé ganas or ganas as well as discussions of going above and beyond and having the desire to be better and do better or give it your best</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Con ganas”; I try to give it my best every day; Give it your best, if you don’t love it do something else</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews &amp; Field Notes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Economy</strong></td>
<td>Discussions about the U.S., local, or regional economy related to employment, business, earnings, politics Could be cross referenced with Sociopolitical</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business tanked due to the poor economy; I’ve had to change my billing structures due to the economy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews &amp; Field Notes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td>Both formal and informal education referring to things such as diplomas, degrees held, education level and certifications held</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I finished my MBA; education is about more than learning in school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Employment</strong></td>
<td>Status of whether people were employed, places of current or past employment, what it means to be employed versus working also includes self-employment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My grandfather was always self-employed; I was employed by an advertising agency before starting my own business</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Entrepreneurial Role Model</strong></td>
<td>References to other entrepreneurs that influenced the participant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I always looked up to my dad who started his own business; My aunts were role models for me because they owned their own restaurant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faith</td>
<td>Any references to faith, God, religion, or spirituality in relationship to the business or values by which an entrepreneur lives his/her life which ultimately impacts the business</td>
<td>I pray to God; I thank God; “I'm a Christian man”; “I'm not Catholic”; “I was very involved in my church”; “I'm very blessed”</td>
<td>Interviews &amp; Field Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>References to family, family members, relationships with family, things learned from family, time spent with family, work and family</td>
<td>My family is my life; If I want to spend time with my family they know to visit me at work</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flexibility</td>
<td>Recognition of the flexibility found in family run or self-run organizations, especially with regard to time and scheduling, need for flexibility, options that allow for flexibility</td>
<td>It’s flexible if I need time off to spend with my kids; My dad said we can close the restaurant if we have to study or have class; I can take a day off and spend the whole day with my mother</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom</td>
<td>References to wanting or needing freedom, autonomy, independence and to be one’s own boss</td>
<td>“Give us a fence line, but just don’t box us in”; I wanted to fly away; “My daddy always wanted me to be independent”; “I’ve always lived my life unconformed and free”</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender &amp; Sex</td>
<td>References to biological sex or gender, including differences between men and women in the workplace and entrepreneurial influences</td>
<td>“Women are more emotional”; a woman would have a more difficult time in this industry but could do it; “built like a man”</td>
<td>Interviews &amp; Field Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Example</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giving Back</td>
<td>Discussions about the importance of giving back to the community and helping others, altruism, volunteer work</td>
<td>Our sponsorship of the Si Se Puede foundation is helping youth in our community; I just want to give back; Giving back feels good</td>
<td>Interviews &amp; Field Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardships</td>
<td>References to things that were hard on individuals personally, hard on businesses, or were at times traumatic events to deal with on large scales</td>
<td>Many Latinos come from nations that are under a lot of political turmoil; It was really hard immigrating to the U.S.; Business has been bad</td>
<td>Interviews &amp; Field Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helping Out</td>
<td>References to helping family members by helping them with their business or their specific job, but not being employed on a regular basis, reciprocal help</td>
<td>I help out on the weekends; I helped out by picking in the fields; I occasionally help out, but I don’t work there on a regular basis</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loyalty</td>
<td>Discussions of the importance of having loyal employees, being loyal to one’s business, having loyal people in one’s inner circle and the importance of loyalty in terms of being able to trust others</td>
<td>I’m loyal to my mentors; You want employees who are loyal; “The biggest part . . . is her loyalty . . .she will back me to no end”</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manners</td>
<td>Participants’ references to having good manners, respect, treating other people politely. It has to do with people’s characteristics that reflect proper upbringing and education</td>
<td>“With all respect, I promise that everything I have said is all true”; “the home-grown are rude”; “they don’t have any manners”</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>Statements related to money and how it is viewed and contextualized in both the</td>
<td>“They just think you’re basically shitting money because you have</td>
<td>Interviews &amp; Field Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motivation</td>
<td>Things participants acknowledge motivate them to continue with their business, in life, or with their family</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple Businesses/jobs</td>
<td>References to owning or working in multiple businesses at the same time</td>
<td>Interviews &amp; Field Notes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multi-tasking</td>
<td>The act of doing multiple tasks at the same time numerous examples personally and in relationship to the business</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negotiation</td>
<td>Any references to negotiation or negotiating with clients, parents, family members, or outside agencies</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Networking</td>
<td>References various communication interactions people have in order to develop contacts and connections that benefit their lives or businesses formal and informal, relates to relationship development and maintenance</td>
<td>Interviews &amp; Field Notes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passion</td>
<td>Discussions of being passionate about work, having passion for what one is doing, or passion in your own business”; “Even if you have $5 try it.”; I don’t like working with money; “Latinos don’t like talking about money”</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Example</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship to jobs</td>
<td>Relationship to jobs is key</td>
<td>I tell myself you can do it, you have what it takes; I create positive affirmations; I try to be a positive person</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pay</td>
<td>Refers to money people earn whether it be a regular paycheck or salary, sporadic pay, commission; how it is determined; if people are paid for their work and whether it is timely and consistent.</td>
<td>I never get paid on time; he asks me ‘what do you need’; you mean like a paycheck, paycheck; I never got paid</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race &amp; Culture</td>
<td>References to race, including both blatant and aversive racism, as well as general comments about race or ethnicity or nationality as well as references to Hispanic culture</td>
<td>“One of them is married to a Mexican lady”; “He happened to be white”; “my family is from Mexico”; in Hispanic families we . . .</td>
<td>Interviews &amp; Field Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationships</td>
<td>Descriptions of relationships (e.g. my mother or brother), importance of building and sustaining relationships and metaphors used to describe relationships</td>
<td>“Relationships are key”; “Relationships are the gifts that keep on giving”; The relationships I have are so important, those people are like my family; I love my clients</td>
<td>Interviews &amp; Field Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resilience</td>
<td>Discussions of hanging in there even when times were tough, continuing to go forward, persistence, not giving up</td>
<td>I never let the hard times get me down; Even when no one thought I could do it I kept going</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Risk Taking</td>
<td>Willingness to take risks, try new things, put everything on the line,</td>
<td>I put my entire life savings into the business; I never</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Example</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-labels</td>
<td>Metaphors or other descriptors participants used to describe themselves, or</td>
<td>Warrior; Hustler; Sword Jumper; Risk Taker; Slave; Predator; Hunter</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>entrepreneurs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-reliant</td>
<td>References to counting on oneself, knowing one is responsible for him/herself</td>
<td>At the end of the day I’m responsible for whether or not things get done; I didn’t really have anyone else to count on so I did it</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Side job</td>
<td>Any references to a job or jobs that one does in addition to a regular full or</td>
<td>My tata was always doing side jobs; My dad always had little side jobs; I do my side job when I have time</td>
<td>Interviews &amp; Field Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>part time job to earn additional income</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociopolitical</td>
<td>References to social or political factors that impacted the business, participants’ lives or that were references in any way</td>
<td>Recent legislation has had a negative impact on a lot of businesses; Latinos are often viewed in negative ways in AZ</td>
<td>Interviews &amp; Field Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spending</td>
<td>References to entrepreneurs spending habits and lifestyle choices</td>
<td>“We’re not heavy spenders”; I can shop at the Dollar Store or Nordstrom</td>
<td>Interviews &amp; Field Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stakeholders</td>
<td>Any reference to people that have influenced the entrepreneur, are in some way affiliated with a business, who help with the business, or offer motivation for continuing the business</td>
<td>Dad, Mom, Sister, Accountant, Banker, Mentor, 1099 employee; competitor</td>
<td>Interviews &amp; Field Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Success</td>
<td>Descriptions of what participants think constitutes success, how</td>
<td>Financial growth is just a part of success; Success is</td>
<td>Interviews &amp; Field Notes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

237
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hispanic Entrepreneurs’ Anticipatory Work-Life Socialization Codebook – theoretical codes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Theoretical Codes</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Reduced) Personal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accomplishment/(In) Effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anticipatory Socialization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burnout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Care-giving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depersonalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

239
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disengagement</th>
<th>Being disengaged from work, one's job, one's business not fully engaging in one's job just getting by</th>
<th>I go through the motions, but I don't really care about what I'm doing</th>
<th>Interviews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economy of Gratitude</td>
<td>Statements that relate what participants appreciate and are grateful or thankful for. (Hochschild, 2003; Alberts, Trethewey &amp; Tracy, 2010)</td>
<td>“Yes, I would really appreciate for them to do it” (sons take over business); “Without Flor . . . we give thanks to her for that”; “Thank you for the support”</td>
<td>Interviews &amp; Field Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Exhaustion</td>
<td>Statements or stories that suggest a person has experienced emotional exhaustion or of the emotions of work being “too much” or “overwhelming” (Maslach, Schaufeli &amp; Leiter, 2001; Leiter &amp; Maslach, 2005; Maslach, 1982; Tracy, 2009; Koustelios &amp; Tsigilis, 2005)</td>
<td>“You’re on edge”; “You just start shutting down with your employees and you just become so emotionally exhausted . . .”</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Labor</td>
<td>Masking one’s true emotions and instead outwardly displaying different emotions in order to assuage customers or clients in</td>
<td>“Put on my game face”; Just suck it up and do your job; Bear down and get it done; Just smile and</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Example</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Work</td>
<td>Masking one’s true emotions and instead outwardly displaying different emotions in order to assuage others though this work is not paid (Hochschild, 1983)</td>
<td>I’d get in my car and breakdown, but I’d dry my tears before getting in the house because I couldn’t let my husband and kids see me like that</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotions</td>
<td>Words, statements or stories that reflect emotion or emotional experiences. (Fineman, 2008; Tracy, 2007; Meanwell, Wolfe &amp; Hallett, 2008; Miller, Considine &amp; Garner, 2007)</td>
<td>“Believe me when I say the heat came again!”; “I am so sick and tired of your shit”; “I was pissed off”; “stuff that makes like your blood boil”</td>
<td>Interviews &amp; Field Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engagement</td>
<td>Statements or stories that reflect engagement at work or in work duties including descriptions or references to dedication, persistence, enthusiasm, pride, involvement or fulfillment (Schaufeli &amp; Bakker, 2004; Schaufeli, Salanova, González-Romá, &amp; Bakker, 2002; Rivera, 2009; Bakker, Emmerik &amp; Euwema, 2006)</td>
<td>I love my job; you just stay committed; I wake up every day unemployed and have to make things happen; I give 100%</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneurialism</td>
<td>Any references to owning one’s own business, engaging in business ventures whether they are licensed or unlicensed, and generating revenue, as well as references to</td>
<td>I started out doing this as a side job and it turned into my current business; I’ve been an entrepreneur my whole life</td>
<td>Interviews &amp; Field Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feedback</td>
<td>Feedback has been shown to be one of the factors in terms of keeping people engaged. Even though entrepreneurs do not receive feedback from a supervisor they still do receive feedback and consider it very important. (Schaufeli &amp; Bakker, 2004)</td>
<td>Positive feedback from my clients is crucial; The feedback I get from our customers is so important. They love it.; If they’re happy they’ll tip well.</td>
<td>Interviews &amp; Field Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information Seeking Behaviors</td>
<td>Specific behaviors that participants enact to gain information that helps with the owning and operating of a business (Myers &amp; McPhee, 2006; Hart &amp; Miller, 2005)</td>
<td>“I would just call their customer service line” (for website); “I would go downtown … and I just talked to them”</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job Knowledge</td>
<td>Information about what people know about their job, tenure in the industry, education, degrees, certificates, on-the-job or hands on training (Myers, 2005; Zarrugh, 2007)</td>
<td>I was self-taught; I have a MBA in business; I worked with my dad since I was 12 and he showed me</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational Entry</td>
<td>Experiences related to previous on the job experiences or actual experiences once a participant became an owner (Jablin, 1987, 2001; Allen, 2000)</td>
<td>“I had 20 yrs. of telecom. . . I managed a large call center”; “My first year with them we did about $1.2 million; second year, I personally did $4.5 million”</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational Exit</td>
<td>Discussions concerning how people left previous jobs and the</td>
<td>“I gave a month’s notice”; “I had a notice of removal</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Method</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Exhaustion</td>
<td>Statements or stories that suggest a person has experienced physical exhaustion and it is taking a toll on their body or they physically feel it is taking a toll (Maslach, Schaufeli &amp; Leiter, 2001; Leiter &amp; Maslach, 2005; Maslach, 1982; Tracy, 2009; Koustelios &amp; Tsigilis, 2005)</td>
<td>“I just didn’t know how I was gonna stand”; “We’re always tired”; “We’re thankful we’re upright every day”</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resources</td>
<td>References to having, needing, wishing for, asking for or seeking out various resources (Fairlie, 2007; Robles &amp; Cordero-Guzmán, 2007; Zarrugh, 2007)</td>
<td>You need start up cash; It’s important to have lines of credit; I had a huge network</td>
<td>Interviews &amp; Field Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role Ambiguity</td>
<td>Learning how to and doing multiple job functions and taking on multiple roles. Uncertainty as to what role one should play or what role becomes the priority. Could be cross-coded with Cross-Training and is related to work overload (Cunningham, 1983; Tracy 2009)</td>
<td>I’m a waitress and recently got crossed trained in the kitchen; Business people wear multiple hats even if it’s not their forte; you have to know a little of everything; In a small family business everybody is everything</td>
<td>Interviews &amp; Field Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skill Acquisition</td>
<td>Descriptions of how participants learned any</td>
<td>“My dad took me out when I was</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

circumstances surrounding the exit such as left for new opportunity, decided to work for family business, pushed out. (Jablin, 1987, 2001; Allen, 2000) from federal service”; “When the goal got yanked out from underneath me, I’m done!”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Extracted Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Support &amp; Coping</td>
<td>References to needing, seeking out, and/or asking for social support as well; who entrepreneurs go to for support; and lack of social support (Brouwers, Evers &amp; Tomic, 2006) how people cope with hardships</td>
<td>We’re here to support one another; girlfriends; I have no support.</td>
<td>Social Support &amp; Coping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stress</td>
<td>References or discussions about stress, feeling stressed out, being stressed and the outcomes of the stress (Dews &amp; Williams, 1989; Newton, 1995)</td>
<td>The stress got to be too much; I was constantly stressed out; It’s a lot of stress.</td>
<td>Stress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporal Views</td>
<td>Statements related to anticipated time with the company or organization. When people believe they will be with a company a long time they’re more likely to engage in socialization practices. (Mosakowski &amp; Earley, 2000; Gomez 2009)</td>
<td>I don’t ever plan on retiring; “I’m going to retire to collect social security, but I’m going to keep on working”; It’s something I’m doing until my business takes off.</td>
<td>Temporal Views</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Life Balance</td>
<td>Discussions about how entrepreneurs try to balance home and work; how they conceptualize work and life; how family fits in with work; if they are able to achieve balance; difficulties in achieving balance and outcomes of</td>
<td>Family is always the priority; I took my kids on a sales call; I took my kids to work with me; we worked together as a family it was part of our lifestyle.</td>
<td>Work Life Balance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
not having balance (e.g. divorce) as well as the desire for flexibility in their work. (Zarrugh, 2007; Zuiker Solis, 1998; Shinnar & Young, 2008; Buzzanell & Liu, 2005; Kirby, Golden, Medved, Jorgenson & Buzzanell, 2003)
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Yvonne J. Montoya is an organizational communication scholar whose research interests include organizational socialization and retention, Latina/os in organizations and work-life wellness.