

Changes in Leisure Participation Patterns After Immigration

MONIKA STODOLSKA

Department of Leisure Studies
University of Illinois
Champaign, Illinois, USA

It is well documented that the lifestyles of immigrants undergo significant changes during the postarrival period. Although it cannot be argued that leisure behavior is immune to such changes, very little systematic effort has been devoted to exploring this phenomenon. This article attempts to fill this gap by focusing on postimmigration changes in leisure behavior. The empiric analysis utilizes a hybrid approach that combines qualitative data obtained in a series of in-depth interviews and quantitative data from a mail questionnaire survey. Both the interviews and the survey were conducted in 1996 among recent immigrants from Poland residing in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. Jackson and Dunn's (1988) theoretic framework is used to investigate the general patterns of postarrival ceasing and starting of participation. Survey respondents are classified into ceasers, adders, replacers, and continuers, and the proportions in each group are analyzed and compared with the published general-population results. Qualitative data then are used to establish the major causes for the observed postarrival changes in leisure-participation patterns. Then, the analysis is extended to account for activity-based variations in ceasing and starting behavior and those based on age at immigration. Interview material is used to isolate major immigration-related factors that encourage immigrants in various age groups to modify their leisure-participation patterns. It is shown that the observed postarrival participation changes can be attributed partially to past latent demand, to the decreased role of certain interpersonal constraints, and to being exposed to new leisure opportunities.

Keywords ceasing participation, ethnicity, immigrants, leisure, starting participation

Each year North American society is augmented by hundreds of thousands of new immigrants. Some of them assimilate quickly into the new life and become nearly indistinguishable members of American and Canadian society; others retain significant elements of their cultural traits for extended periods of time. Regardless of the speed and the completeness of assimilation, all immigrants bring with them baggage of their culture, which includes distinct leisure-participation patterns. Both the very fact of immigration and the subsequent processes associated with getting established in the new environment can effectively redefine many aspects of immigrants' lives, including their work and living arrangements, family relations, and leisure experience. Changes that immigrants introduce into their leisure behavior can be attributed not only to the different physical and social environment of the new

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Address correspondence to Monika Stodolska, Department of Leisure Studies, University of Illinois, 104 Huff Hall, 1206 S. Fourth Street, Champaign, IL 61820. E-mail: stodolsk@uiuc.edu

country but also to other immigration-related factors, such as altered family and friendship networks or shifts in socioeconomic position. Although such changes may appear to be quite profound, most immigrants do retain significant elements of their ethnic heritage. In particular, despite certain postarrival changes in the participation style and the leisure repertoire itself, the leisure behavior of immigrants still is influenced heavily by the values and customs of the old country.

Experiences of immigrants both to Canada and to the United States have been documented in countless publications of both scientific and journalistic natures, as well as in numerous memoirs of the immigrants themselves (e.g., Baker, 1989; Charon, 1989; Heydenkorn, 1990; Mostwin, 1991; Thomas & Znaniecki, 1927). However, issues related to immigration have found surprisingly little attention in the field of leisure studies. Although there exists a substantial volume of research devoted to established ethnic minorities and to their often unique leisure behavior (e.g., Allison & Geiger, 1993; Carr & Williams, 1993; Floyd, Gramann, & Saenz, 1993; Hutchison, 1987; Irwin, Gartner, & Phelps, 1990), the leisure of immigrants remains an almost totally unexplored subject. For instance, two recently published major reviews of research on ethnicity and leisure (Floyd, 1998; Gramann & Allison, 1999) do not mention research on immigrant groups as opposed to well-established minorities. This apparent lack of interest is somewhat puzzling given the sheer numbers of immigrants that arrive each year in the United States and in Canada, combined with the evident impact that the immigration experience has on the leisure behavior of this growing segment of the North American population. It is difficult to argue that the leisure behavior of ethnic-minority members born in the host country will not differ from that of immigrants of the same ethnic background. Similarly, immigrants from different ethnic or racial backgrounds cannot be expected to share identical leisure-participation patterns. By focusing on problems of recent immigrants, however, not only can we broaden our understanding of leisure participation patterns of immigrant groups themselves, but we also can gain important new insights into the problems experienced by the mainstream population. Because the immigration process may magnify and temporally cluster certain undesirable or traumatic life experiences, such as separation from family or a major downward shift in social status, by studying the leisure behavior of immigrants we may be able to gain understanding of the mechanisms used to adapt to or to cope with such events.

This study employs an analytic framework of ceasing and starting of leisure activities developed by Jackson and Dunn (1988) to analyze the changes in leisure behavior associated with the immigration experience. In the first part of the analysis, questionnaire survey data are used to identify general patterns of ceasing and starting behavior. Subsequently, the fundamental causes for the observed postarrival changes are established using interview material. In the second stage, intended to explore the nature of the postarrival participation changes, the analysis is extended to account for age-based variations in ceasing and starting of leisure activities from several activity categories.

Review of Literature

Leisure of Immigrants

Although the literature on the leisure of ethnic and racial minorities has been growing in volume and methodologic sophistication, studies tackling issues related to the leisure behavior of recent immigrants are still scarce. In particular, there has been no systematic effort to address the issue of immigration-induced changes in leisure, including the patterns of starting and ceasing participation in leisure activities following immigration and the motivations underlying any observed behavioral changes. It appears that the only studies that have touched indirectly upon these problems were ones by Rublee and Shaw (1991) and by Tyrone and Shaw (1997). Rublee and Shaw (1991) studied Latin American refugee

women in Atlantic Canada to examine the factors that affected integration processes among immigrants, such as their constraints on leisure, work, and community participation. Although the investigation of immigration-induced changes in leisure behavior was not the main purpose of their study, their observations regarding changes in leisure-participation patterns and reasons behind the implementation of such changes by the refugee women are worth noting. Their findings suggest that the lack of community involvement resulting from language difficulties and new societal norms, combined with the reduced opportunity for socialization in church and neighborhood settings, made the leisure of refugee women more home-oriented, passive, and focused on childcare-related activities.

Tyrone and Shaw (1997) identified life concepts central to immigrant women from India and examined the meaning and importance of leisure in the women's lives. Their findings indicate the centrality of family in the life of immigrant women, a sense of lack of entitlement to private free time, and the importance of extended family networks. The breakdown of traditional family structures following immigration was identified not only as an important constraint on leisure, but also as a major factor behind the transformation of leisure lives among immigrant women. On the one hand, the women experienced certain new limitations on their leisure participation. For instance, they no longer were able to focus their leisure on family-oriented pastimes and no longer could depend on their extended family members to take care of their children when it was required. On the other hand, they were able to enjoy more freedom from community control in areas such as clothing choice or personal relationships.

The majority of studies dealing with participation in new leisure activities by recent immigrants have tackled the subject from the perspective of assimilation of minority members and have stressed the role of constraints that prevent participation in desired new activities. In their study on recreation participation and perceived barriers to recreation among recent adolescent immigrants from China, Yu and Berryman (1996) analyzed the favorite leisure activities of young immigrants and the interactions among constraints on leisure, self-esteem, and acculturation. Their findings indicated that the lifestyle and leisure-participation patterns of adolescent Chinese immigrants closely mirrored those of their ethnic community. Their leisure was found to be "less organized, less expensive, less physically active, less skill oriented, and more easily accessible than many other types of activities" (Yu & Berryman, p. 267). The study revealed, however, that along with increasing acculturation levels, Chinese adolescent immigrants participated more extensively in sports and affiliated more often with recreational clubs. Thus, the authors conjectured that young immigrants were using leisure as a tool to facilitate their immersion into the new society.

The issue of constraints on leisure experienced by recent immigrants and the evolution of constraints along with advancing assimilation levels was examined further by Stodolska (1998). She tested relationships between assimilation levels and the perceived importance of various dimensions of leisure constraints. The findings suggested that immigrant populations were subjected to certain constraints not found in the general population, and that the perceived importance of most leisure constraints was associated negatively with assimilation level. Interestingly, the study provided evidence to contradict the notion of acculturation being the main determinant of constraints for immigrant populations. In fact, other dimensions of assimilation, such as behavioral-receptional assimilation, were found to have a much greater influence on the perceived importance of constraints on leisure than did acculturation.

Although their main focus was not on assimilation as a determinant of perceived constraints, new constraints on leisure experienced by immigrants also were tackled by Rublee and Shaw (1991). The authors isolated a set of immigrant-specific constraints that included inadequate language skills, lack of overall orientation in Canadian everyday life, severe postarrival social isolation, cultural differences, lack of social interactions, and difficulties

in obtaining access to affordable and culturally sensitive childcare. These constraints were found not only to severely affect the leisure participation of the refugee women, but also to hinder their assimilation into the Canadian society.

The issue of cultural traditions as constraints on the leisure of members of ethnic minorities was examined in a series of studies of South Asian youth conducted in the United Kingdom during the 1980s (Carrington, Chievers, & Williams, 1987; Glyptis, 1985; Taylor & Hegarty, 1985). All these studies showed that South Asian girls were constrained significantly in many of their leisure pursuits, particularly in out-of-home activities and sports participation, by lack of parental approval, strict dress codes, inadequate availability of single-sex facilities, and their own religious beliefs. On the other hand, South Asian boys enjoyed a relative freedom from similar restrictions but at the same time were more likely to experience racial discrimination that interfered with their participation in and their enjoyment of certain leisure activities (Carrington et al.).

Although the existing literature on the leisure of immigrants does tackle certain aspects of immigration-induced changes in leisure behavior, such as the evolution of constraints on leisure following immigration (Stodolska, 1998) or even changes in participation patterns (Ruble & Shaw, 1991), thus far there have been virtually no attempts to approach the subject in a systematic manner. Furthermore, existing research largely ignores the mainstream theories of changes in leisure participation. Although these theories may not be directly applicable to immigration-induced participation changes, they do provide a useful framework for studying the transformation of leisure behavior following immigration.

Theoretical Background

Although postarrival changes in leisure participation have not attracted much attention among leisure scientists, issues related to ceasing and starting participation among the general population have been the subject of a considerable volume of both theoretic and empiric work. One of the major analytic developments in the area was a model of leisure-participation changes by Jackson and Dunn (1988). By focusing first on ceasing of participation in leisure activities, the authors were able to demonstrate that ceasing behavior was one of many interconnected aspects of nonparticipation, and they linked nonparticipation to the broader concept of leisure demand. They used Wall's (1981) classification of recreation demand as a foundation of the model. Wall proposed that recreation demand could manifest itself in one of three ways: (1) *effective demand*, exhibited by individuals who actually participate; (2) *potential demand*, exhibited by individuals who want to participate but are unable to do so because of external factors such as lack of resources or interpersonal constraints; and (3) *deferred demand*, exhibited by people who would be able and willing to participate if they were aware of the existing opportunities or if the required facilities were available.

As Jackson and Dunn (1988) pointed out, however, besides nonparticipants who exhibit latent demand (potential or deferred) for a particular activity, there are those who simply have no interest in participating regardless of the presence of any barriers. Consequently, one can isolate three distinct classes of nonparticipants: (1) those who exhibit potential demand, (2) those who exhibit deferred demand, and (3) those who do not exhibit any form of latent demand. Although latent demand can be exhibited only by nonparticipants, not all such individuals express latent demand. Jackson and Dunn extended this argument to include ceasing participation. Nonparticipants comprise former participants and individuals who have never participated in a given activity. Although former participants no longer exhibit active demand, they still may exhibit latent demand for the activity. Individuals may no longer be able to participate because of changes in the constraints that they experience without losing interest in the activity itself. On the other hand, not all former participants

exhibit latent demand, because in fact some of them may no longer have any motivation to engage in the activity.

Jackson and Dunn (1988) argued that ceasing participation could not be regarded as an isolated phenomenon, and consequently any analysis of ceasing activity without reference to other aspects of leisure behavior could produce misleading conclusions. Changes in leisure behavior only can be explained adequately if other phenomena, such as initiating new activities, are taken into account. In the empiric part of their study based on a mail survey conducted in Alberta, Canada, Jackson and Dunn combined the patterns of starting and ceasing participation to establish four distinct groups of individuals: (1) *quitters*, those who had discontinued some activities but had not started any new ones; (2) *replacers*, those who both ceased and started some activities; (3) *adders*, those who had not ceased any activities but had started new ones; and (4) *continuers*, who had neither ceased nor started any activities. Quitters accounted for 22.7% of the sample, replacers for 27.4%, adders for 20.2%, and continuers for 29.7%. By identifying these categories, Jackson and Dunn were able to differentiate among people who had permanently reduced their range of leisure activities, those who had replaced some of their old activities with new ones, and those who had decided to extend their leisure repertoire. The authors proceeded to investigate age-based and activity-based variations in ceasing and starting behavior. Interestingly, they discovered a significant reduction in the tendency to replace leisure activities with advancing age, as well as an opposite trend with respect to quitting rates.

In their 1989 study, McGuire, O'Leary, Yeh, and Dottavio attempted to replicate and expand Jackson and Dunn's (1988) project. Although their study was able to confirm the usefulness of Jackson and Dunn's framework, their empiric findings regarding the proportions of respondents classified into each of the four previously identified categories differed markedly from the ones obtained in the original study. McGuire et al. attributed these differences to the fact their study focused solely on outdoor recreation, rather than on the full range of leisure activities.

Iso-Ahola, Jackson, and Dunn (1994) used Jackson and Dunn's (1988) framework to test hypotheses, based on Iso-Ahola's (1980, 1989) optimal-arousal theory of leisure, regarding the effects of gender and life stage on the aggregate patterns of leisure behavior as well as on intrapersonal patterns of change in leisure. The study confirmed that young people were most likely to start new leisure activities, and that this tendency declined markedly with advancing age. Moreover, the authors found a declining trend in the number of ceasers, again related to age. Although overall participation declined with age, the data showed that for some classes of activities, such as hobbies and home based recreation, the opposite trend was present. Based on these observations, Iso-Ahola et al. theorized that even in later stages of life people attempt to satisfy their need for new stimulating experiences. This goal can only be achieved, however, through participation in less physically and financially demanding activities already present in one's existing leisure repertoire. Throughout life people use leisure as a mechanism regulating the stimulation level generated by everyday experience. Leisure activities are started, ceased, continued, and replaced in order to obtain a certain optimum level of arousal, which may be different for every season of life.

The framework based on Jackson and Dunn's (1988) model provides a useful tool for analyzing postarrival changes in the leisure repertoire of recent immigrants. The changes in their life that may be attributed to the immigration experience can be expected to make immigrants more likely to cease participation in at least some of their old leisure activities. At the same time, however, immigrants will not only exclude certain activities from their leisure repertoire but also replace their old pastimes with ones learned in the new country. By considering both ceasing and starting participation, we can obtain a more comprehensive picture of the postarrival changes in participation patterns among immigrant populations.

Although Jackson and Dunn's (1988) framework can be applied to describe the types of changes that the leisure life of immigrants undergoes following their arrival, Iso-Ahola's (1980, 1989) optimal-arousal theory makes it possible to analyze the motivations behind the observed changes in behavior and to relate them to the motivations for ceasing and starting participation experienced by the population at large. Iso-Ahola attributed age-related variations in the likelihood to cease and start leisure activities to the changes in relative importance of novelty versus familiarity in leisure for individuals in different age groups. By employing his theory to an immigrant population we can not only verify whether the optimal arousal motivation mechanism is applicable to postarrival participation changes but also isolate certain classes of motivations that are tied uniquely to the immigration experience.

Methods

This article emerges from the second and third stages of a multistage, multimethod research project that incorporated both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Given that the population under study had not been a subject of much research in the past, the qualitative approach was extremely useful in designing appropriate survey instruments. Moreover, it facilitated more informed analysis and interpretation of subsequent quantitative findings. Quantitative methods, on the other hand, were helpful in isolating relationships that could be generalized to other groups and reconciled with the findings of other empiric studies with similar objectives.

A small-scale quantitative questionnaire pilot survey (stage 1) was administered in the spring of 1995. Results of this survey strongly suggested that certain widely used question formats were not effective for studying this population. For instance, many respondents found it difficult to self-assess certain skills and abilities using conventional measures. Moreover, they encountered difficulties with properly interpreting certain concepts that did not have close equivalents in the Polish language, such as the concept of leisure. Responses to open-ended questions and comments included in returned questionnaires contained many useful hints and suggestions on how to improve certain questions and how to make the questionnaire better suited for studying problems of this particular minority.

The pilot survey was followed by a qualitative stage (stage 2) consisting of a series of in-depth interviews. The objectives of this stage were twofold. First, it was intended to facilitate design of a questionnaire to be used in the following large-scale survey, both by clarifying certain issues identified in the pilot study and by providing new insights into other problems relevant to the leisure experience of recent Polish immigrants. Second, the interview material was expected to facilitate interpretation of quantitative findings and to produce a more in-depth understanding of the social and psychological mechanisms that underlay any quantitative observations. To achieve this purpose, the interviews contained some questions that were virtually identical to those included in the subsequent larger-scale questionnaire survey (stage 3).

Qualitative Stage

The information in stage 2 was collected during the late Spring and early Summer of 1996 in semistructured in-depth interviews conducted with 13 members of the Polish community in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. Questions dealing with the changes that had occurred in people's leisure after their settlement in Canada were a component of a broader interview session concerned with problems of assimilation encountered by recent immigrants to Canada.

All interviewees were members of the Solidarity wave of immigrants from Poland who settled in Canada after 1979. Their decision to emigrate was determined, to a large degree, by Poland's deteriorating economy and political repression during the period preceding and following the declaration of martial law on December 13, 1981 (Heydenkorn, 1990). Respondents were approached initially through the author's contacts among the Polish community in Edmonton. The sample consisted of five women and eight men, ranging from 16 to 50 years of age, with an average age of 32 years. The longest period of time that any had spent in Canada was 16 years (in the cases of two of the respondents), whereas the youngest interviewee, a 16-year-old girl, had settled in the country only 2 years prior to the study. The average time of residence in Canada among the respondents was almost 9 years. Six of the interviewees were married, one was living in a common-law relationship, two were divorced, and four were single. In order to increase external validity of the study, interviewees from a variety of educational and occupational backgrounds were selected to reflect the socioeconomic diversity of the Polish immigrant population. They included a dentist, a car mechanic, a daycare worker, a store clerk, an electrician, a caretaker, a nurse, three students, two taxi drivers, and one unemployed person.

The interviews were conducted in either the home of the interviewee or my home (I myself am an immigrant from Poland). Respondents were offered a choice of the questions being asked in Polish or in English. Because all of them felt more confident in their native language, all the interviews were conducted in Polish. Before each interview started, the respondent was informed about the general purpose of the study, the format of the interview, and the topics that the questions would cover. The exact sequence and wording of the questions varied depending on a respondent's personal opinions and characteristics. Additional probes regarding particular subjects were introduced as new topics emerged from the interviews already completed. The interviews lasted between 45 min and 4 hours and were tape-recorded and later transcribed. To minimize data-collection bias, detailed notes were kept on the circumstances in which interviews were conducted, on the psychological state of interviewees, and on any other potentially relevant factors.

The interviews consisted of a series of fairly broad questions sequenced according to a predetermined but flexible interview schedule. Respondents were encouraged to elaborate on issues related to the questions as well as to express their opinions about other matters that they believed to be relevant. Each question was followed by probes designed to gain additional insight into the experiences and characteristics of a particular interviewee and to ensure that the answers indeed reflected the interviewee's opinions and beliefs in a complete and undistorted way. Besides utilization of probes, the internal validity of qualitative data was tested using member validation. All interviewees were asked to read interview transcripts and comment on whether the transcripts accurately conveyed their thoughts and opinions.

Issues and opinions that surfaced during the interviews were followed up in subsequent interviews with other study participants, which facilitated verification of external consistency of the previously obtained material. I reviewed published memoirs by immigrants from Poland and conducted informal conversations with other members of the Polish immigrant community, including individuals active in the community life, in order to obtain information useful in assessing reliability of the qualitative data. Furthermore, I thoroughly analyzed individual interview transcripts to detect any internal inconsistencies.

In the section of the interview dealing with the issues of leisure and recreation, interviewees were asked to describe how they usually spend their free time and to elaborate on the reasons behind their preferences. Respondents also were asked whether they considered their leisure to be similar to that of a "typical Canadian" and to elaborate on any differences. Furthermore, interviewees were asked whether they had started participating in any leisure

or recreational activities that were either unknown or highly unpopular in Poland, whether they participated in any leisure or recreational activities that were highly popular in Poland but largely unknown in Canada, and whether there were any leisure activities in which they had participated in Poland but that they had abandoned after their settlement in Canada. In addition, interviewees were asked about any activities in which they did not participate but wanted to start participating. In particular, I was interested to learn how strong an effect things such as cultural differences, unfamiliar surroundings, language difficulties, financial difficulties, and lack of free time had on the respondents' inability to participate, and how the roles played by these factors had evolved since their arrival to Canada.

Once all the interview sessions had been transcribed, the constant-comparison method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) was used to isolate major themes regarding different aspects of the leisure lives of immigrants based both on the interview transcripts and on other previously recorded contextual information. Particular attention was paid to discussions of the subject that followed the respondents' answers to the initial questions: Such an approach allowed me to gain an understanding of the phenomena in the broader context of the respondents' life experiences and value systems. During the following stage of analysis, the transcripts were reread and common themes and categories were isolated. I kept track of examples of statements that were consistent with the themes, as well as possible exceptions. Finally, after all the relevant points had been synthesized from the data, the transcripts were read once again to ensure that all relevant aspects of the phenomena had been accounted for.

Quantitative Stage

Data Collection

The findings obtained in the qualitative stage of the project (stage 2) were used to design a quantitative survey (stage 3), which was conducted between December 1996 and March 1997. Five-hundred self-administered questionnaires were distributed by mail among first-generation Polish immigrants with the individual as the unit of analysis. A list of Polish-sounding names was selected from the city telephone directory. Even though many Poles do not have what one would consider a typical Polish name, I believed that such a selection process introduced only a slight bias by excluding intermarried immigrants and those who had changed their names, because one can assume reasonably that all the other individuals with or without Polish-sounding names would not differ with respect to any of the key characteristics relevant to the study. Subsequently all selected individuals were contacted by telephone to verify their ethnic descent. All potential respondents with disconnected telephone numbers as well as those individuals who claimed not to be Polish immigrants were removed from the sample. As a result of this process, a list of 500 suitable individuals was created. Despite its possible bias towards less assimilated respondents, such a selection procedure had to be adopted because all other available lists of Polish immigrants had been compiled by various Polish ethnic organizations and businesses and thus were believed to be even more biased toward "ethnically enclosed" individuals.

The 500 anonymous questionnaires were mailed out in late November of 1996. In order to reduce gender bias, respondents were asked that the questionnaire be completed by the member of the household who had had his or her birthday most recently. As a result of the first mailing, 213 questionnaires were returned, including 179 properly completed questionnaires. In January of 1997 300 reminder notices along with another copy of the questionnaire were mailed to individuals randomly selected from the original list. The second mailing yielded 105 properly completed questionnaires. Twenty responses had to be excluded because they had been obtained from individuals who settled in Canada prior to 1979. Thus the effective sample size was reduced further to 264 responses from individuals

who immigrated to Canada in 1979 or later and thus could be classified as belonging to the most recent Solidarity wave. The sample consisted of 168 males (63.6%) and 96 females (36.4%). Their ages ranged from 24 to 70 years, with a mean of 43 years. All respondents had settled in Canada between 1979 and 1996, with the average length of residence around 9 years.

Questions

The questionnaire (in Polish) consisted of 47 questions designed to measure respondents' assimilation level, leisure-participation patterns, and motivations for and constraints on leisure. The analysis presented in this article is based on the respondents' answers to the questions regarding ceasing and starting participation in leisure activities after settling in Canada. Specifically, respondents were asked whether there existed any types of recreation in which they had participated in Poland but in which they had stopped participating after settling in Canada. Those who indicated that they had ceased participation then were asked, in an open-ended question, to list up to three such leisure activities and to name the reasons why they had abandoned each one of them. Subsequently, people were asked whether there existed any types of recreation in which they had not participated in Poland but had started to participate in after settling in Canada. Those who indicated that they had started participation in at least one activity were asked to list up to three such pastimes. Besides the questions that were intended to examine the leisure lives of immigrants, the questionnaire also included a series of questions regarding the socioeconomic characteristics of immigrants, including their length of stay in Canada and age upon arrival.

Data Manipulation

In order to facilitate subsequent analysis of the most commonly ceased and started leisure activities, activities named in open-ended questions were aggregated into 10 fairly broad categories, largely compatible with the ones isolated by Iso-Ahola et al. in their 1994 study (Table 1).

Categories such as Exercise-Oriented Activities, Outdoor Recreational Activities, Team Sports, Hobbies, Home-Based Recreation, and Mechanized Recreation contained activities virtually identical to those included by Iso-Ahola et al. (1994). Iso-Ahola's category Other, however, was subdivided further into four distinct groups of activities that I believed to be necessary given the specific nature of the population under study. Categories such as Typical Polish Activities, Cultural Activities, and Travel/Tourism and a category, Other, encompassing all activities that did not belong to any of the previously identified nine categories, were created.

Results

The analysis, based on the theoretic foundation developed by Jackson and Dunn (1988) and further extended by McGuire et al. (1990) and Iso-Ahola et al. (1994), not only focuses on quantifying the postarrival changes in participation patterns but also attempts to explain the observed shift in behavior by employing qualitative information about constraints and motivations experienced by immigrants in the transitional period. This task is accomplished in two stages. First, general patterns of ceasing and starting behavior are established. Individuals are classified into four categories (quitters, replacers, adders, and continuers) according to the number of activities they have ceased and started since their arrival in Canada. Qualitative data then are used to establish the fundamental causes for the observed postarrival changes in leisure-participation patterns. In the second stage, the analysis is extended to account for age-based variations in ceasing and starting of leisure

TABLE 1 Allocation of Specific Activities to Categories (Activity Types)*Exercise-oriented activities*

Aerobics, badminton, bodybuilding, bowling, dancing, general sports, gymnastics, ice skating, jogging/running, judo, karate, long-distance running, martial arts, ping-pong, racquetball, riding bikes/biking trips, rollerblades, roller skating, squash, swimming, target shooting, tennis, track and field, treadmill, working out, wrestling, yoga

Outdoor recreational activities

Barbecue/picnicking/bonfire, camping, canoeing, cross-country skiing, downhill skiing, enjoying nature, fishing, going for a walk, going to the park, golf, heliskiing, hiking, horseback riding, hunting, ice fishing, kayaking, mountain horseback riding, ocean fishing, rock climbing, sled racing, spending time in forests, walking dog, whitewater rafting

Team sports

Baseball, basketball, coordinated swimming, curling, handball, hockey, paintball game, soccer, volleyball

Hobbies

Baking, charity work, cooking, gardening, doing renovations, general hobbies, handicrafts, hobby brewing, knitting, making home movies, minor car repairs, painting, participation in organized clubs, photography, playing musical instruments, sewing, tinkering, writing short stories

Home-based recreation

Board games, cleaning around the house, computer/Internet, crossword puzzles, listening to music, listening to the radio, playing cards, playing chess, playing with children, reading books, reading newspapers, spending time at home/doing nothing, spending time with the family, spending time in the backyard, telephone conversations, visiting friends/having friends over, watching television

Mechanized outdoor recreation

Carting, driving a car, flying an ultralight plane, gliding, hang-gliding, hot-air ballooning, motorboating, parachuting, riding motorcycle, snowmobiling, waterskiing yachting/sailing

Other

Bingo, dating, dining out, drinking coffee, going to beauty salons, going to discos/nightclubs, going to hairdresser, going to malls, going out, going to parades, going to parties, learning English, meditation, scuba diving, shopping, sleeping, snorkeling, spending time in coffee shops, spending time on beaches, studying, sun bathing, watching sporting events, watching stand-up comedians, watersports, windsurfing

Typical Polish activities

Field trips in organized groups, gardening in a small vegetable garden, going to Polish concerts, listening to Polish radio, mushroom picking, reading Polish books and newspapers, religious service/praying, social drinking, spending time in sanatoriums/convalescent houses, taking part in ethnic events, trips to the opera/theater/philharmonic organized by employer, two-week employer-organized vacations, visiting out-of-town relatives/spending time in the countryside

Cultural activities

Going to classical concerts, going to concerts, going to film festivals, going to the movies, going to opera, going to operetta, going to theatre, visiting art galleries

Travel/tourism

Boat cruises, exploring Canada, general tourism, going to hot springs, out-of-town trips, traveling, trips to the lake, trips to the mountains, trips to the ocean/sea

activities from several activity categories. By controlling for age and activity it is possible not only to obtain a more detailed picture of the postarrival changes in leisure participation, but also to isolate the immigration-related changes from those characteristic of a certain age group or activity type. In turn, the second part of the analysis helps to establish a more specific set of motivations and constraints that may be viewed as responsible for modified leisure behavior among recent immigrants. This task again is accomplished by turning to qualitative interviews.

Starting and Ceasing Participation

Analysis of quantitative data showed that almost one half of the respondents (46.6%) ceased participating in at least one recreational activity, and more than one half of the sample (51.5%) started participating in at least one recreational activity after having settled in Canada. Similar to Jackson and Dunn's (1988) study, respondents were divided into four categories using the number of activities they had ceased and started as the criterion. This process helped to establish the proportion of immigrants who had permanently reduced their ranges of recreational activities after coming to Canada, as opposed to those whose leisure repertoire had expanded or remained unchanged.

Slightly more than one third of respondents, categorized as *quitters*, had ceased participating in at least one leisure activity (16.7%) but had not started participating in any new forms of leisure (Table 2). As many as 29.9% of the respondents, defined as *replacers*, replaced leisure activities that they had quit since coming to Canada with new ones. Almost one third of immigrants, defined as *continuers*, neither had stopped nor had started participating in any leisure activity after coming to Canada. Finally, a group of respondents constituting 21.6% of the sample were *adders*, people who had not quit any of their old leisure activities but had added at least one new leisure activity in the period immediately following their arrival to Canada.

With the exception of a slightly smaller proportion of quitters, the patterns observed among the sample of Polish immigrants closely resemble those obtained in Jackson and Dunn's (1988) study but differ significantly from those obtained by McGuire et al. (1989) (Table 2). The observed differences between the results of the study by McGuire et al. and the findings of this project can be attributed to the fact that McGuire et al. analyzed outdoor recreational activities, whereas the present study and Jackson and Dunn's (1988) data encompasses all types of leisure activities. It is not the *differences* between our results and those of McGuire et al. that appear to be unexpected, however. It is the *similarities* between the ceasing and starting behavior of recent immigrants and that of the general population in Jackson and Dunn's Alberta study that require further exploration. These

TABLE 2 Starting and Ceasing Leisure Activities: A Cross-Study Comparison

Category	Polish immigrant study, %	Jackson & Dunn (1988), %	McGuire, O'Leary, Yeh, & Dottavio (1990), %
Quitters	16.7	22.7	18.3
Replacers	29.9	27.4	4.2
Adders	21.6	20.2	17.9
Continuers	31.8	29.7	59.0

similarities appear to be quite unexpected given not only the different time frames used by the two studies but also the fundamental differences between the two populations.

Changes in Leisure Participation

Although the results of this study with respect to the proportions of people who altered their leisure participation patterns are similar to those obtained by Jackson and Dunn (1988), the reasons underlying the observed changes may in fact be different for recent immigrants than they are for the mainstream population. In his widely quoted theory, Iso-Ahola (1980) attributed people's tendency to continuously change their leisure repertoire to an intrinsic need to maintain an optimum level of arousal. He argued that in leisure people seek neither a total absence nor an excess of stimulation, but rather they look for stability and familiarity and for change and novelty simultaneously.

Although the argument of an optimum level of arousal is certainly applicable to any population, including recent immigrants, the data from in-depth interviews revealed that immigrants possessed a certain set of unique motivations for modifying their leisure repertoires. These reasons for ceasing participation in old leisure activities, for substituting for them with new ones, and for augmenting leisure repertoire are tied closely to the immigration experience and often are not directly applicable to the population at large. Many of the factors that motivate immigrants to cease participation, however, in fact may be linked to a broader phenomenon of transition associated with immigration and thus can be generalized to the mainstream population.

Immigration necessarily is associated with a need to adapt to a *different social and physical environment* in the new country. Many interviewees indicated that the environmental change was directly responsible for the changes they had introduced into their leisure behavior. Certain leisure activities were simply no longer available in the country of settlement, some turned out to be too expensive (particularly taking into consideration the fact that many leisure activities were subsidized heavily in the communist system), some were perceived to be too dangerous (wilderness areas in Canada, unmarked trails, abundance of potentially dangerous wildlife), and some were too time-consuming or simply no longer fit new lifestyles of immigrants.

A middle-aged dentist described why she could no longer go for 2-week winter vacations this way:

In Poland I used to go skiing quite regularly . . . We usually stayed for 2 weeks . . . in a resort owned by my husband's employer. Here I simply wouldn't be able to afford it. . . . Yes, we still go to the mountains . . . , but only for 2, 3 days.

Several people mentioned that they no longer engaged in hiking because perceived dangers of "unmarked trails" or "being afraid of bears and other wildlife they may encounter." A middle-aged woman vividly described her first camping experience in Canada:

In Poland we used to spend time camping by the lakes. Here we also went camping, but it so happened that some wild animal came right onto us from the bushes, we got terribly scared and Maciek [*her husband*] said that he wouldn't sleep under a tent ever again.

Asked to explain the incident in detail she said:

Yes, there are a lot of wild animals here. First time we went to Jasper . . . there were lots of people . . . that day so everything went smoothly. The next time

we went camping . . . some big animal . . . started making cracking noises in the bushes . . . and it started growling and you know . . . we got so scared . . . we just sat there in the tent . . . and we didn't know what to do—pack ourselves and jump into the car or just sit in the tent and not move. . . . There was nobody out there . . . you can be brave when there are people around, but we were there all alone. . . . We still go and spend time by the lake, but now we stay in a motel or in cabins.

The “unsuitable forests” issue also surfaced on many occasions during the interviews. A middle-aged car mechanic put it this way:

We used to pick mushrooms back home all the time. Here it's different. Those forests! You can't even get through these bushes! And all the forests they have here are fenced! It's private property or something, you can't just go there to pick berries and mushrooms because it belongs to somebody. No . . . it's different here . . . I don't even think that mushrooms grow in forests like that.

Besides the changes in the physical environment that people were subjected to following their settlement in Canada, many immigrants emphasized the importance of shattered social networks as a factor limiting their leisure participation following immigration. This factor could be particularly detrimental for Poles who, similar to other Eastern Europeans, tend to attach substantial weight to frequent contacts with extended family members. Given that newcomers become separated from most of their relatives and childhood friends, certain types of leisure such as socializing may become severely constrained. As described by a middle-aged daycare worker:

In Poland I used to spend a lot of time with my family. Here I don't have any family except my children [*she had divorced her husband several months prior to the interview*].

Asked whether she misses her old friends from Poland she replied:

No . . . not really, I don't miss my old friends that much because I have some new friends here, but I really miss my family. In Poland I spent a lot of time with them, you know . . . with my sisters [*she had eight siblings*], cousins, and aunts. I spent all the holidays, birthdays, and names-days with them. Since there were so many of us at home, we had a birthday party almost every month. My free time was centered around it.

A man in his fifties described the effects that the changes in social networks had on his leisure:

I will never have friends like the ones I had in Poland. Now I am some 20 or 30 years older than I was when I met my best pals and at this age you don't make friendships like this. Here I only know a handful of people who are my age . . . I don't think I will ever make any new friendships. In all, I didn't make any new friendships during the last 6 years. Well . . . you don't go to places where you could make new friends . . . like . . . students' clubs, university, high school. Maybe I will meet some new people here if I decide to go to a language course or something . . . I don't go for holidays anymore, I don't go camping or kayaking because I always used to go with them and now they are all gone.

Interviewees also pointed to severe postarrival depression as yet another very important factor that had influenced their leisure in the period following their settlement in Canada. It is difficult to argue that this problem is in any way limited to Polish immigrants to Canada. In fact, one can reasonably expect virtually all newcomers, regardless of their national origins and cultural characteristics, to be vulnerable to depression during the initial adjustment period. Interview material yields strong support to the finding that postarrival depression can strongly affect both leisure participation and enjoyment. In fact, almost all interviewees stated that postarrival depression caused by lack of language skills, fear of the new environment, and lack of social networks had induced them to abandon many of their old pastimes and at the same time had prevented them from acquiring new ones. A middle-aged nurse working in a retirement home described her experiences quite vividly:

When we first came to Canada, you know what I did? I didn't unpack our suitcases for more than a week. I said to my husband right then, "We are going back" . . . Marek [*her husband*] went to school and there wasn't place for me so I stayed at home . . . And then Allan [*her son*], was born, I had a lot of free time, but I didn't speak English at all, so I couldn't go out alone. I stayed at home for three years. I longed for people so desperately, I was virtually going crazy . . . I think it took me 5 years to adjust . . . I went to school, to learn the language and it got better already, at least I could meet some people. . . . I think I was in a state of depression the whole time. It was caused by the fact that I missed Poland so much, I wanted to go back . . . so desperately.

Although the environmental and social changes associated with immigration often reduce the number of leisure pursuits available to immigrants, they can at the same time augment their choice set with new activities. Interview material revealed that *emerging new leisure opportunities* did constitute an important reason motivating people to modify their leisure repertoire. New and appealing forms of spending free time are being discovered virtually from the moment of arrival. Newcomers sometimes are prevented from participation in these activities by a lack of financial resources, but these financial hardships are often transitory, and many immigrants are able to take advantage of new opportunities and effectively expand their leisure repertoire relatively quickly. Moreover, the level of awareness of new leisure opportunities tends to increase with period of residence and the assimilation level, thus further facilitating the expansion of participation (Stodolska, 1998; Stodolska & Jackson, 1998). As expressed by a middle-aged caretaker:

If you have something, you want to get more, you want to have this and that. When we first came here, we had nothing. I talked to Maciek [*her husband*] lately and he told me, "Remember, when we first came here I told you that when I earned \$20,000 we would have everything we wanted, and now we make \$40,000 and it's not enough. Look how it works . . . I told you back then that \$20,000 would be enough and now we have much more and it is not enough." Now we have different needs. If somebody had told me 5 years ago that I would ever think about buying a boat, I would've laughed. I would've said "maybe a car," "a crib for the baby," but now I'm talking "boat" and "cottage." This is crazy.

Besides shifts in participation that can be attributed directly to environmental differences, other factors also may induce immigrants to embrace new forms of leisure. As the interview material showed, for some immigrants participation in new leisure activities constituted an *avenue for quick and relatively pleasant way of assimilation* into the new culture

and society. A number of individuals admitted that their participation in mainstream leisure activities had been motivated at least partly by a desire to establish or expand their social networks, to improve relations with mainstream coworkers, or even to be able to identify themselves with the desired way of life. The female interviewee quoted previously explained the quick adaptation of typically North American activities into her family leisure:

Come on . . . we didn't come here to hold on like crazy to everything Polish! If I had wanted to do Polish things, I would've stayed put in Poland and wouldn't have come here at all. You know . . . it's not good for you . . . some people hang those Polish eagles on their walls, read only Polish books, talk about Poland all the time, like Urszula upstairs [*her neighbor*]. I am telling you, it's not good, you came to live here, you have to adapt, you have to live like them. For her, nothing in Canada is good enough, she idealizes Poland. So, I am telling her, go back, but she doesn't want to. So, you know . . . it can't be that bad in Canada after all. You asked me about BBQ and the Canadian cooking. Yeah, it's fun. The first time I had a Canadian dinner was when Michelle [*her former boss*] invited me over. I really liked what she had prepared, and then I invited her back and this way I picked up some new things from her. As to this BBQ on my balcony. Come on . . . everybody does it . . .

Continued Participation

Although the immigration experience often compels immigrants to introduce changes into their leisure behavior, it also may serve to motivate people to continue participation in certain leisure activities. According to certain mainstream psychological theories, people continue participating in activities, many of which they started in childhood, for the sake of psychological comfort associated with stability and familiarity. As the interview material suggests, immigrants had similar motivations for continued participation in familiar leisure activities from their old country. Participation in leisure activities popular in their home country provided them with a sense of psychological comfort and connection with things that were known, familiar, safe, and related to their established ways of life.

The qualitative data, however, also strongly suggested that another factor induced immigrants not to abandon their traditional leisure. Participation in old activities gave immigrants a sense of connection with their past, as it does for mainstream participants, and also it provided an opportunity to recapture certain elements of their way of life back in the home country. This observation is consistent with the findings of a study by Allison and Geiger (1993) that indicated that elderly Chinese immigrants used certain leisure activities, such as gardening, to retain selected elements of their traditional culture. One may argue that, in the case of recent immigrants, the *continuers* category included not only people who strove to *avoid* changes in their leisure experience, but also those who *consciously used* leisure as a tool for connecting with their old way of life and for retaining their cultural tradition. Asked about his favorite ways of spending free time, a male in his fifties said:

I like to talk a lot and this is, I think, the main way of spending free time for me. Besides talking . . . I like to listen to music a lot and to read books, mainly biographies.

Asked to elaborate on the reasons for engaging in this kind of activities he replied:

Maybe because it [*listening to music*] reminds me of better times, times of my youth mostly. I have a large collection of records and most of them are from the time when . . . from my youth.

Although listening to old records may contain an element of nostalgia, it also can be aimed at preserving some elements of the old culture.

As suggested by Iso-Ahola (1989), the urge to *escape* everyday problems, stress, and routine is another important factor that motivates people in their leisure choices. As the interview material showed, for recent immigrants the traditional activities served as a means of distancing oneself from the problems associated with the life in a foreign country, from the stress of unfamiliar surroundings, from discrimination, and from adaptation-related hardships. Thus, the “escape” motive constituted an important reason for continued participation in certain activities. As described by a male interviewee:

I work as a clerk in a secondhand store. Sometimes, when people get disappointed, they tend to make unpleasant remarks. . . . They get angry because they can't get a good bargain and that it didn't work out for them because they had to deal with an immigrant. . . . After the whole day of that I don't want to think of myself as an immigrant. I just want to go home and spend some time with my wife and kids, or to go play soccer with my [*Polish*] friends.

One can argue that the escape element may be an important factor underlying certain leisure activities not only for Poles, but also for other immigrants who strive to adjust to a new environment.

If we discuss the motivations immigrants have for continued participation, we cannot overlook the possibility that our definition of a continuer may not in fact be able to account for certain subtle shifts in the nature, meaning, content, and intensity of participation in an apparently unchanged set of leisure activities. Although immigrants still may engage in the activities they did back in Poland (e.g., picnicking, hiking, or socializing), factors such as changes in the environment, altered social composition of participants, new or improved facilities, and modified means of transportation may affect significantly the participation style. As expressed by one of the interviewees:

Yeah, sure I go pick mushrooms here. Same as I did in Poland. But you know . . . in Poland . . . there was a lot of litter everywhere, no good mushrooms whatsoever and only a crowd of people running around like crazy to find a single miserable mushroom you had been looking for all day. Here [*in Canada*] we go to these huge forests, past Rocky Mountain House, near the national park border. There is no one there besides some people with helicopters looking for diamonds or whatever. And you have moose, and bear, and deer. You know . . . you have to be really careful . . . we wear bells and stuff, but I don't suppose they work that good. So we make a lot of noise and we stay close together. And you know, you wouldn't believe how many mushrooms there are out there. In an hour or two you'll get 2–3 full bags. . . . Then we build a tent, make a fire, we clean them [*mushrooms*]. We stay overnight and the next day we pick again. It's a long drive, so you can't just go there every weekend.

As it is apparent from this quotation, certain activities, although not discontinued per se, had been transformed so dramatically in terms of their meaning that they might play a completely different role in immigrants' leisure experience. Although the mushroom-picking example may appear trivial, other activities, such as socializing, that have far greater effects on people's leisure experience often had been transformed to a comparably large degree. For instance, quantitative results indicate that not very many immigrants had stopped socializing

following their settlement. Yet the interview material points out the fact that the ways in which immigrants socialize in Canada can be different from those back in Poland. In particular, the inability to socialize with extended family and childhood friends often completely transforms the meaning of this activity.

Although the quantitative results indicated that proportions of immigrants starting, ceasing, and replacing activities following their settlement in the host country were quite similar to those found among the general population, qualitative analysis showed that processes underlying such behavior could in fact be unique to immigrant populations. Immigrants did replace, add, and continue to participate in leisure activities at rates similar to their mainstream counterparts, but they often had profoundly different motivations for changing their leisure-participation patterns or for continuing to participate in their traditional activities.

Age-Based Variations in Ceasing and Starting Behavior

In the preceding section I established the overall patterns of postarrival ceasing and starting behavior, and I identified certain broad classes of motivations that had affected immigrants' ability and willingness to preserve or to modify their leisure repertoire. Although such analysis is useful in establishing the extent and the reasons underlying postarrival changes in leisure participation, however, it fails to capture the very nature of such changes. In order to gain an insight into the nature of participation changes, we need to extend the analysis to account for variations based on activity and age at immigration in ceasing and starting behavior. Adopting such an approach allows us to establish why immigrants tend to replace certain types of activities but continue participation in others. Furthermore, it can help to determine how the likelihood of ceasing as opposed to continuing participation in certain types of activities is affected by the personal characteristics of individual immigrants. Finally, controlling for age and activity makes it possible to isolate immigration-related changes from those characteristic of a certain age group or activity type.

Results of the study indicate that Polish immigrants most often ceased participating in outdoor recreation activities, typical Polish activities, and home-based recreation (Table 3). Home-based recreation activities not only were abandoned often but also were ceased consistently by immigrants in all stages of life (Table 4).

TABLE 3 Proportions of Respondents Ceasing and Starting Leisure Activities

Activity category	Ceasing activities		Starting activities	
	n	% of sample	n	% of sample
Exercise-oriented activities	23	8.7	68	25.8
Outdoor recreational activities	43	16.3	89	33.7
Team sports	21	8.0	11	4.2
Hobbies	5	1.9	7	2.7
Home-based recreation	24	9.1	7	2.7
Mechanized outdoor recreation	16	6.1	4	1.5
Other activities	11	4.2	5	1.9
Typical Polish activities	25	9.5	0	0.0
Cultural activities	19	7.2	2	0.8
Travel/tourism	16	6.1	15	5.7

TABLE 4 Variations in Ceasing and Starting Participation in Activity Categories by Age at Immigration

Activity categories	< 30 y, n	30–39 y, n	≥40 y, n
<i>Exercise-oriented activities</i>			
Starting	33	45	11
Ceasing	10	10	5
<i>Outdoor recreational activities</i>			
Starting	37	60	17
Ceasing	12	27	11
<i>Team sports</i>			
Starting	5	5	2
Ceasing	6	12	3
<i>Hobbies</i>			
Starting	3	4	1
Ceasing	0	2	3
<i>Home-based recreation</i>			
Starting	2	4	1
Ceasing	3	18	6
<i>Mechanized outdoor recreation</i>			
Starting	0	2	2
Ceasing	3	12	1
<i>Other</i>			
Starting	3	3	0
Ceasing	6	5	0
<i>Typical Polish activities</i>			
Starting	0	0	0
Ceasing	5	17	9
<i>Cultural activities</i>			
Starting	1	1	0
Ceasing	5	10	7
<i>Travel/tourism</i>			
Starting	6	8	1
Ceasing	2	9	6

Although the decreased popularity of typical Polish activities appears to be easy to justify, the fall in participation in home-based activities, which constitute the core of leisure activities in Poland, is somewhat unexpected. (As detailed analysis of the data reveals, those immigrants who after coming to Canada ceased participation in some outdoor recreation, stopped participating almost exclusively in two activities: downhill skiing and hiking. Those who started participating in outdoor recreation started participating in a wide variety of activities [fishing, camping, downhill skiing, barbecuing, hunting, cross-country skiing, and going for a walk being listed most often]. These findings appear to contradict results obtained by Iso-Ahola et al. (1994), who recorded an *increase* in the proportion of people starting home-based activities along with increasing age. The authors theorized that home-based activities and hobbies were already a part of one's leisure repertoire regardless of age and thus were more readily available. Furthermore, such home-based activities were less physically and financially demanding than outdoor recreation and thus were highly appealing to people from older age groups.

The results show that a majority of the respondents *started* participating in one of two categories of activities: outdoor recreation and exercise-oriented activities (Table 3). In fact, almost 60% of people who had immigrated when younger than the age of 40 years started participating in a new exercise-oriented activity, and almost three quarters of immigrants younger than the age of 40 years picked up a new outdoor recreational activity. It has to be noted, however, that the proportions of people who took up exercise-oriented and outdoor recreation activities declined with increasing age upon immigration. This trend appears to be consistent with the previously established finding that people tend to decrease their engagement in physically demanding activities as their age increases (Iso-Ahola et al., 1994; Gordon, Gaitz, & Scott, 1976). Although the observed age-based variations appear to be similar in some respects to those characteristic of the mainstream population (exercise-oriented activities most frequently started in all life stages) (Iso-Ahola et al., 1994; Jackson & Dunn, 1988), one needs to keep in mind that this study captures mainly immigration-induced changes in leisure behavior. Although it is quite possible that time-induced changes, unrelated to immigration factors, also are present, the qualitative data suggest that they are not nearly as important. Based on the interview material, I identified three major themes that provided important insights into the reasons that underlie the observed changes in leisure patterns experienced by people in certain age groups.

Theme 1: The Importance of Latent Demand

The findings of this study suggest that, besides commonly identified factors such as physical fitness and availability of partners, the types of leisure activities that people take up in various life stages depend to a large degree on the constraints that they experienced in *preceding* periods of their life. As has been shown by Jung (1990, 1994) and confirmed by the interview material, people living in Poland experienced very significant structural constraints on exercise-oriented and outdoor activities, such as lack of money, equipment, and facilities, rationing of gasoline, and the degradation of the natural environment. At the same time, they experienced very strong interpersonal constraints related to the fact that many activities were not considered “trendy” and in some cases were not even socially acceptable. After having settled in Canada, immigrants found themselves released from constraints that had blocked their participation in desired outdoor and exercise-oriented activities. As a man employed in a secondhand store described:

I always wanted to do hunting, collect hunting rifles, gear, you know. Well . . . back then, you know how it was. You couldn't just go and buy a hunting rifle. You had to get a hunting license first and it was virtually impossible to obtain one. . . . Well . . . I do it here because I always wanted to do it. I got my license and I bought a shotgun in my store. I hunted only once last year because my roommate had moved out and I didn't have anybody to go with but I will definitely go again this year.

Another man, in his fifties, described the structural constraints that he had faced in Poland and the effect that the removal of these constraints and the availability of new opportunities had on his leisure:

I swim more in Canada than I used to back in Poland. I've started going to a pool just because it's in the basement of my apartment building. In Poland, if you wanted to go for a swim, you had to go to a crowded and dirty public pool, but here it's different. The facilities are better. You can go to a pool whenever you like, during the day or even at night.

The same man commented on his childhood passion for biking and on the interpersonal constraints that he had experienced in Poland:

Certainly, I do more biking here than I did in Poland, but this is the only sport that I do. I consider biking to be a means of transportation, but I do it for fun too. I liked biking in Poland, but I was always embarrassed to ride a bike in the city. Here [*in Canada*] more people do sports, biking, and besides, I am at the age when no one is embarrassed to do what he really likes, provided that it doesn't conflict too much with some ethical standards or with the law.

These findings seem to lend confirmation to Wall's (1981) and Jackson and Dunn's (1988) thesis that people who could not engage in certain activities because of economic and social barriers, or other barriers such as lack of knowledge or lack of facilities, exhibit a latent demand for these activities. Results of this study indicate that if barriers to participation are removed and the knowledge and opportunities are acquired, people start participating in the activities for which they have previously exhibited latent demand *regardless of the life stage* in which they are. Because participation in all other outdoor and exercise-oriented activities besides downhill skiing and hiking was severely limited in Poland (Jung, 1990, 1994), after their settlement in Canada Polish immigrants tend to begin participation in activities from these two groups. The need to participate in at least a limited number of exercise-oriented and outdoor activities because of the inability to participate in Poland and the resulting latent demand appears to outweigh the decreased popularity of such activities associated with aging. On the other hand, Poles who on average had exhibited virtually no latent demand for home-based activities (low levels of constraints and high participation rates in Poland) did not increase their participation after coming to Canada but rather tended to replace some of their home-based activities with sports and outdoor recreation. Because these participation changes depend on the strength of latent demand in the old country, it is reasonable to expect that the actual activities that are replaced or started after immigration differ for immigrant groups from other countries.

Based on the findings of this study we can expect that activities in which people participate in certain life stages depend not only on people's wants, needs, and constraints currently experienced, but also on the constraints they experienced in *preceding* periods of their life. In other words, it is the removal of constraints that triggers participation. One can speculate that this pattern is observable not only among immigrants but also among members of the general population. Some individuals after having reached a certain level of financial stability start participation in activities that previously were constrained by the lack of resources. Others, once they reach the retirement age, begin to devote their time to gardening, collecting stamps, or making model planes. In such cases, they do it not because these are *the only activities they can still do* but rather because their midlife constraints have been relieved and now they finally *can* do what they always wanted but were unable to do because of certain life stage-related constraints.

Theme 2: The "Forbidden Fruit" Effect

Besides the fact that Polish immigrants increased participation in physically demanding activities in order to satisfy their latent demand, it is also evident that some of them were drawn to "forbidden" and highly constrained activities just for the sake of doing things they had never tried before. The concept of a "forbidden fruit" effect is related but not equivalent to that of latent demand. Although latent demand implies an intrinsic desire to participate in an activity, the forbidden fruit effect may occur in an absence of any such desire. In the latter scenario, the mere fact that an activity once was forbidden or practically unattainable, and

subsequently these restrictions have been lifted, constitutes motivation for participation. The forbidden fruit effect can explain a high number of sporting and outdoor recreation activities that interviewees started after coming to Canada but quit shortly thereafter. Asked about the activities she had started participating in within a few years following her arrival, a female interviewee named crafts, rollerblading, hang-gliding, skiing, and skating. Asked about her most recent experience with rollerblades, she proudly showed her new equipment and explained:

Well . . . I am 38 now, I am still young . . . But in a few years, I might be too old for this. I've never tried it in my life. And here, so many people do it in the River Valley. . . . First Krzysiek [*her husband*] bought blades for himself. He liked it so I thought I might try it too . . . well . . . I thought "why not," life is too short, you know . . . My first blades were really cheap, these ones are quite good, they have good brakes and stuff. These things cost a lot of money though . . . that means, if you are really into this.

We can argue that such motivations are not necessarily limited to individuals who have experienced significant changes in their life, such as ones related to immigration. Virtually anyone is likely to pursue new and exciting ways to spend free time in search of "optimally arousing" leisure experience (Iso-Ahola, 1980, 1989). In fact, we can take this argument a step further and propose that a forbidden fruit factor serves as an additional motivation to pursue novelty in leisure. For instance, one might expect that if mainstream Americans were prohibited from traveling abroad until the age of 60 years, most of them would want to go on an overseas trip immediately after reaching this age for no particular reason other than just to see "what's on the other side" and how it really looks "out there." We may parallel this phenomenon to teenagers who anxiously await their 18th birthdays to finally be able to go to a local bar. It does not imply that when the constraints are relieved, they do nothing but spend their time in bars. It is possible that their first trips might be their last. Still, they go just to try it out. Similarly, Polish immigrants who have never participated in outdoor activities and sports most likely are tempted to try them out, even if they are actually too old for sustained participation.

One interpretation of this phenomenon is that under certain circumstances constraints experienced at one point in time may serve as a *motivation* for future participation. Barriers to participation that we experience increase the scarcity and thus the perceived value of the desired object or activity. Thus, a subsequent removal of such barriers may trigger participation even among people who otherwise would be unlikely to engage in a given activity. A classic example of how such a mechanism works is the explanation of the value that we associate with diamonds as opposed to water, proposed by Adam Smith more than two centuries ago. Although water is necessary for survival, people tend to undervalue it solely because of its abundance. Diamonds, on the other hand, are valued very highly because they are scarce, despite the fact that their usefulness is quite limited (Smith, 1986).

Theme 3: Demonstration Effect

Besides latent demand and the forbidden fruit effect, another factor may be responsible for the increased interest in exercise-oriented and outdoor recreation activities observed among recent Polish immigrants. Because sporting and outdoor activities are not deeply imbedded in Polish culture and are not considered to be trendy and prestigious, Poles have a limited exposure to such activities and generally do not find them appealing. After having settled in Canada, immigrants discover that exercise-oriented and outdoor activities are not only immensely popular among the mainstream population but also often are associated

with people of high social status and a desirable way of life. It is quite likely that immigrants might attempt new exercise-oriented and outdoor activities just to do what is “trendy” or what the others do.

Similar trends can be observed not only among East Europeans settling in North America, but also among the general population of certain nations that have recently developed trade- or tourism-related links with the Western world. The “Westernization” of culture resulting from the so-called demonstration effect is a well-documented phenomenon (Hagen, 1962; Kindleberger, 1977), which is in many ways parallel to acculturation among ethnic minority populations. The demonstration effect often leads to changes in leisure behavior through the ceasing of participation in traditional pastimes and the adoption of Western ones. Besides a number of less developed countries, nations formerly with centrally planned economies are an excellent example of places in which such a cultural transformation is taking place (Jung, 1994). It appears that leisure can play a very special role in the “Westernization” of culture. Whereas imported consumer goods can have only an indirect effect on a society’s values and customs, leisure activities constitute one of the core components of culture. Thus, changes in leisure behavior cannot be considered merely to be an outcome of “Westernization” but rather are one of the major driving forces responsible for cultural change.

The demonstration effect may occur not only at the interface between the mainstream and the minority cultures but also between the culture of the immigrants’ home country and the subculture of the local ethnic community. As became apparent during the interviews, activities such as fishing that were not particularly popular in Poland but were popular among Polish immigrants in Canada had become “icons” among the immigrant population and had attracted people with virtually no previous intrinsic motivation for participation. This theme can be illustrated by an interview quotation with a middle-aged car mechanic:

Four years ago I started fishing. [*Question: Did you try it in Poland?*] No, I didn’t. I hated it so much I used to throw stones into the water, literally, to scare off fish for other people! For me everybody who fished was crazy. When I first came here, maybe for some two or three years, everywhere I went people talked about fishing, fishing, fishing and nothing but fishing. So, I thought, “What a heck, I’ll buy a rod and I’ll try.” And you know, I am not crazy about fishing now, but you know . . . a bonfire, some beer, a sausage. Meantime, I can do some fishing . . . it’s some form of spending free time for me. It’s not like I have to fish . . .

It has to be noted that every interviewee with the exception of an unemployed middle-aged man mentioned fishing as something he or she started to do after coming to Canada. All interviewees stated that the example of Polish friends who “all did it” influenced their behavior. A female daycare worker stopped participating in fishing only after she had divorced her husband and did not have a car to drive to the lake.

The emergence of a “subculture leisure” among minority groups has been observed among well-established minority groups such as Mexican Americans in the American southwest or among the Puerto Rican minority in large cities of America’s northeast (Connor, 1985; De la Garza, Bean, Bonjean, & Alvarez, 1985; Fitzpatrick, 1971; Hutchison, 1987; Hutchison & Fidel, 1984; Portes & Bach, 1985). In such populations newcomers of compatible ethnic background are integrated into the community and undergo an assimilation process parallel to the conventionally defined acculturation (Gordon, 1964). Thus, it appears that for immigrants who choose to maintain links with their respective ethnic community, assimilation is a two-faceted phenomenon. They not only have to adapt to what is considered to be the mainstream, but also to the modified flavor of their own culture. It appears that the latter process is much more significant among well-established and highly enclosed

ethnic populations. As the results of this study indicate, however, it does occur even among relatively recent and quite outgoing immigrant groups, such as Poles in Canada.

Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to provide new insights into the changes that the process of immigration brings to the leisure life of recent immigrants. The ceasing–starting framework introduced by Jackson and Dunn (1988) and subsequently extended by McGuire et al. (1989) and Iso-Ahola et al. (1994) was used as foundation of the analysis. Although the quantitative findings with respect to ceasing and starting behavior were consistent with the patterns observed by Jackson and Dunn (1988), the qualitative data pointed to the existence of certain immigrant-specific motivations responsible for continued or modified participation patterns. Besides the simultaneous addition and elimination of leisure opportunities resulting from environmental differences between Poland and Canada, the interviews revealed certain additional factors responsible for the extent of postarrival transformation of leisure behavior. Some traditional activities were not abandoned simply because they provided people with a sense of psychological comfort, allowed them to maintain connection with their former ways of life, and sometimes facilitated the retention of desired cultural elements. Traditional leisure also helped immigrants to distance themselves from the problems associated with being placed in a new and unfamiliar environment, thus serving as a “buffer” that made the adaptation process less traumatic.

The examination of the relationship between the age at immigration and ceasing and starting behavior in various activity categories helped to isolate certain mechanisms relevant not only to postarrival participation changes among immigrants but also to life stage–related modifications of leisure repertoire in the general population. After being released from the constraints that had prevented their participation in desired activities, immigrants started participating, regardless of their current life stage, in activities for which they had previously exhibited strong latent demand. One can expect that any individual who is entering a new life stage and has just been released from the constraints associated with the previous life stage may exhibit similar behavior. Consequently, this result may have significant implications for the forecasting of future leisure demand among the general population. It suggests that the intertemporal nature of leisure decisions cannot be ignored, because the barriers to participation experienced by people in various age groups today affect their demand for leisure in the future. The analysis of the leisure behavior of recent immigrants helped to identify additional roles, besides blocking participation, that constraints had on people’s leisure behavior. The lifespan perspective allowed the examination of the role of constraints in determining leisure–participation patterns as a function of age; the analysis of the forbidden fruit effect showed that in certain circumstances constraints motivated people to future participation. Furthermore, the study revealed that immigrants’ leisure choices were affected by the so-called demonstration effect, and thus they were more likely to start participating in activities associated with high social status.

Results of this study may serve as a useful starting point for future investigations of the interesting but largely unexplored phenomenon of leisure behavior of recent immigrants. In particular, the role of past latent demand as a factor shaping leisure lives of newcomers appears to warrant further investigation. Similarly, the significance of the forbidden fruit effect as a determinant of leisure demand requires more exploration, possibly by studying an immigrant population for whom the postarrival shift of social norms is somewhat more pronounced than for Poles in Canada. Besides the possibilities for further exploration of leisure behavior of immigrant groups, results of this study present some new avenues for the development of the mainstream leisure constraints research. Until now, constraints on

leisure were viewed largely as a single-period or static phenomenon. As suggested by the results obtained in this study, however, the time separability of constraints cannot always be assumed. Paradoxically, if analyzed from a multiperiod perspective, constraints must be perceived not only as barriers but also as potential motivators for participation. This conclusion appears to be a strong argument in favor of the adaptation of multiperiod, dynamic approaches, already popular in other fields of social inquiry, to the analysis of human leisure behavior.

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