

Assimilation and Leisure Constraints: Dynamics of Constraints on Leisure in Immigrant Populations

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Problems of leisure constraints and issues of leisure behavior among ethnic/racial minorities have been largely regarded as two distinct domains in leisure studies. However, it is difficult to study the leisure of minorities effectively without understanding the constraints that they face. Similarly we cannot claim to have created a complete picture of constraints on leisure unless this picture is applicable to minorities as well as to the mainstream population. In this project an attempt is made to integrate these two subfields of leisure science by studying both the static characteristics and the dynamic nature of constraints experienced by recent immigrants from Poland. A questionnaire survey of 236 Solidarity wave immigrants residing in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada was used to solicit information about leisure behavior and assimilation-related characteristics of this minority group. Dimensions of constraints applicable to immigrant populations were isolated using factor analysis. Respondents were grouped according to their level of acculturation, primary structural assimilation, economic assimilation, and behavioral-receptional assimilation—a modification of Gordon's (1964) assimilation typology. Then, regression analysis was used to establish relationships between assimilation levels and perceived importance of each type of leisure constraints. Findings of the study suggest that immigrants experience constraints not commonly found in the general population. Furthermore, the paper shows that the perceived importance of certain constraints among immigrants diminishes with increasing assimilation level.

KEYWORDS: *Leisure constraints, assimilation, immigrant groups, ethnicity*

Introduction

Leisure constraints research has expanded in scope and gained sophistication since the beginning of 1980s and now is established as a distinct subfield of leisure studies (Jackson, 1991). However, the majority of the existing research has largely focused on problems of the general population without much attention to problems particular to special populations such as people with disabilities, ethnic/racial minorities, or immigrants. Although some recent attempts have addressed the distinct nature of constraints on leisure faced by special populations (e.g. Henderson & Allen, 1991; Henderson, Stalnaker, & Taylor, 1988; Henderson, Bedini, Hecht, & Schuller,

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1995; Philipp, 1995), much remains to be done in terms of expanding leisure constraints theory to make it better suited for studying constraints among minorities. In the words of Karla Henderson (1997, p. 456) "Researchers must be careful not to force people to fit theory that may not be appropriate for them." Furthermore, there has not been much effort to advance the general theory of constraints by incorporating the lessons learned from studying the behavior of distinct groups.

Whereas leisure constraints of some special groups such as women have generated considerable interest among leisure researchers (e.g. Harrington, Dawson, & Bolla, 1992; Henderson & Allen, 1991; Shaw, 1994), only a few isolated studies have tackled constraints of other groups including established racial minorities (Carrington, Chivers, & Williams, 1987; Glyptis, 1985; Philipp, 1995), and even fewer efforts have been directed towards studying constraints of immigrant groups (Ruble & Shaw, 1991; Yu & Berryman, 1996). This apparent lack of interest in constraints on leisure experienced by immigrants is somewhat unexpected. Given their sheer numbers, as well as their role in the economy, immigrants in North America are difficult to overlook and thus it appears that considerably more effort in the area would be warranted. More importantly, however, the leisure behavior of immigrant populations and the constraints that they face in particular possess certain characteristics that can be found neither in the general population nor in other special groups. One can argue that immigrants may have been deprived of certain advantages associated with early socialization in the host country and may lack sufficient friendship networks and knowledge of leisure opportunities. Moreover, language difficulties may constitute another factor that can affect leisure experience of immigrant groups. By exploring these unique attributes we can attempt to integrate the area of leisure constraint studies with the subfield of leisure of ethnic/racial minorities. Given the particular importance of constraints as a determinant of leisure behavior of minorities (Goodale, 1992), an understanding of constraints being faced by such groups appears to be a prerequisite for the effective study of their leisure behavior. Similarly, it appears difficult to claim an understanding of constraints on leisure in general unless this understanding is consistent with what is observed both for the mainstream and for minority populations.

The constraints on leisure experienced by immigrants may differ from those of the general population both with respect to their static and dynamic characteristics. Static characteristics of immigrants' constraints on leisure are related to the nature of their set of constraints at any given point in time and include factors such as the relative importance of particular constraint dimensions or the presence of immigrant specific constraints such as language difficulties or not being at ease among the mainstream population. On the other hand, dynamic characteristics refer to the evolution that the constraints set undergoes as a function of factors related to the passage of time (e.g. age, life-cycle stage, assimilation level).

Static Characteristics

Besides being subjected to leisure constraints commonly encountered by the general population, immigrants may experience a number of barriers related both to their minority status and to problems with adaptation to the new cultural and economic environment. Language difficulties, being unfamiliar with the ways of life in the host country, as well as experiences with discrimination can have a significant effect on the leisure experiences of newcomers. Members of immigrant groups may not only experience unique types of constraints but they may also differ in terms of how they are affected by and how they perceive common types of constraints. Post-arrival stress, depression, anxiety, alienation, and often a sense of loss are likely to modify the usual constraints patterns associated with certain age, occupation, gender, or family status groups.

Dynamic Characteristics

Another characteristic that distinguishes the leisure constraints of immigrants from those of the general population is their dynamic nature. Following their settlement, newcomers undergo assimilation—a complex and multifaceted process that is likely to affect their leisure behavior including participation patterns, motivations, and constraints. One can expect that for the majority of immigrants, following the initial stress associated with environmental shock, the pattern of constraints on leisure should gradually become more similar to that of the mainstream North American society. Thus, it is important not only to explore the distinct nature of immigrants' leisure constraints but to approach them as dynamic phenomena that evolve along with changing assimilation levels.

Research on the constraints of the Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants to Canada presents an opportunity for such an endeavor. The social diversity of this minority combined with its relatively large size makes it a perfect group for analyzing processes related to prolonged and direct cross-cultural contacts between an immigrant population and the host society. Given that Polish nationals constituted Canada's second largest immigrant group throughout most of the 1980s (Immigration Statistics, 1989), a significant proportion of the Polish ethnic minority members are recent immigrants who have settled in Canada since 1979. Unlike previous immigration waves that were comprised mostly of individuals with an agricultural background, this major influx of settlers was dominated by relatively well-educated city-dwellers. 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).

This study aims to tackle the problems of constraints on leisure of an immigrant population. A broad definition of leisure constraints conceptualized as "Factors that are assumed by researchers and perceived or experi-

enced by individuals to limit the formation of leisure preferences and to inhibit or prohibit participation and enjoyment in leisure" (Jackson, 1997, p. 461) will be adopted throughout the paper. A classification of constraints on leisure that is compatible with specific characteristics of this group will be devised. Then, respondents will be grouped according to their assimilation level in four dimensions of assimilation. Finally, relationships between the perceived importance of constraints and assimilation levels will be analyzed for each combination of constraint and assimilation dimensions. In particular, the following hypotheses as to the relationships between assimilation and constraints on leisure will be tested in this study.

- H1: Perceived importance of all constraints other than those related to personal or physical characteristics of a person will diminish along with increasing assimilation levels.
- H2: Perceived importance of constraints related to personal characteristics of an individual will be invariant on any assimilation level.

Review of Literature

Interest in the leisure constraints of ethnic/racial groups can be traced back to the work by Washburne (1978) and his marginality-ethnicity thesis. According to the marginality thesis, the history of inequality in resource allocation could be an important factor constraining recreation pursuits of black Americans as well as other ethnic and racial minorities. Washburne's results showed that blacks were somewhat more constrained by the cost of activities and by transportation problems than were their white counterparts. More recent studies on the subject were quite ambiguous in their conclusions regarding the role of constraints as determinants of differentiation in recreation patterns between the white mainstream and racial minorities. For instance, Edwards (1981) found that inequitable distribution of recreational services, transportation problems, inadequate information, lack of interesting programs, and differential allocation of recreational opportunities were not factors constraining recreational pursuits of blacks. In his study of regional park use by urban visitors West (1989) did not confirm cost to be a constraint on the use of these resources by blacks but concluded that transportation problems were a significant barrier. Interestingly, he pointed out interracial relations to be a factor constraining leisure of black residents of Detroit. Some of West's findings were substantiated by Woodard (1988) who also acknowledged prejudice and discrimination as possible leisure constraints of minorities.

In contrast to marginality theory, the ethnicity thesis does not acknowledge the effects of resource constraints on leisure participation patterns. It suggests instead that differences in leisure styles result from variations in norms and values in ethnic/racial groups. Whereas the importance of resource constraints is downplayed in this approach, other types of constraints are not necessarily excluded as at least partial determinants of the observed

behavioral differences. Beginning with the original study by Washburne (1978, p. 178) who noted that there might have been "powerful forces within community that discourage participation in *white* activities", a number of studies mentioned ethnic characteristics as possible constraints on leisure. Woodard (1988) observed that family and peer pressure limited the choice of recreation activities available to blacks and restricted their leisure space to local neighborhoods. In his study of the use of Chicago's public parks, Hutchison (1987) observed that Hispanics were more likely than either whites or blacks to spend their free time within mixed-age family groups often composed solely of females. He concluded that this participation pattern could be related to child care functions of mothers and older girls that are expected to provide care for their younger siblings. Furthermore, Hutchison pointed out that excessive crowding and utilization of recreation facilities beyond their capacity that resulted from Hispanics' specific style of participation might hinder leisure pursuits of this minority. Similarly, Irwin, Gartner, and Phelps (1990) found that Hispanics tended to recreate in larger groups and, given the design of most American campgrounds, the group size itself could be a factor constraining their recreational behavior.

Besides the emphasis on family oriented recreation commonly found among Hispanics, other ethnic characteristics could be responsible for distinct participation patterns and possibly act as constraining factors. Both Alvarez and Bean (1981) and Clark (1979) pointed out that factors such as *machismo* or male dominance, emphasis on respect for elders, subordination of youth, gender segregation of activities, and restrictions on social contacts of unmarried females were important characteristics of the Hispanic minority. One can argue that such cultural characteristics can modify leisure behavior of ethnic groups and, in certain circumstances, create or reinforce constraints on leisure. Similarly, some demographic characteristics of this population, such as younger average age at marriage or higher fertility rates may also contribute to a differentiation in patterns of constraints on leisure for the Hispanic minority and for Hispanic women in particular.

Even though marginality-ethnicity studies did contribute to the understanding of constraints on leisure of ethnic/racial minorities, they did not explicitly deal with the issue. However, a number of attempts exist that explored constraints of minorities somewhat more thoroughly. Independent studies of constraints on leisure among South Asian youth were conducted in the United Kingdom during 1980s (Carrington et al., 1987; Glyptis, 1985; Taylor & Hegarty, 1985). They all confirmed that South Asian girls were severely constrained in their leisure pursuits by lack of parental approval for out-of-home activities and for sports participation in particular, strict dress codes, inadequate availability of single-sex facilities, and by their religious beliefs. Boys, on the other hand, who enjoyed more freedom from such restrictions, were also more likely to experience racial discrimination that interfered with their leisure pursuits (Carrington et al., 1987). Another study that dealt with leisure constraints of racial minorities was conducted by Phi-

lipp (1995). He used appeal and comfort of certain leisure activities as measures of constraints and investigated differences in constraint patterns between white and black populations.

A limited number of studies dealing specifically with immigrant leisure have addressed the problems of leisure constraints. Rublee and Shaw (1991) used a qualitative framework to analyze some aspects of the leisure behavior of refugee women from Latin America who had recently settled in Canada. Among other factors, the study focused on their constraints on leisure as a possible inhibitor of assimilation. The authors isolated a set of immigrant-specific constraints that included inadequate language skills, lack of overall orientation in Canadian everyday life, as well as severe post-arrival social isolation. Furthermore, they concluded that other constraints might have a particularly detrimental effect on the leisure of the population under study. Among such constraints were difficulties associated with obtaining access to affordable child care that would be sensitive to the minority's cultural needs. Child care problems were found to aggravate other constraints faced by these women, such as their lack of social interactions, language difficulties, and the fact of being confined to their homes for prolonged periods of time. Another important constraint on leisure isolated in this study was related to cultural differences. In North America activities such as socializing with neighbors, participation in community events, or involvement in church related affairs are not as popular as they are in many Latin American countries. This fact can severely limit the opportunity to participate in their favorite pastimes for many refugee women.

In their study on recreation participation and perceived barriers to recreation among recent adolescent immigrants from China, Yu and Berryman (1996) explored relationships between constraints and factors such as self-esteem and acculturation level. Their findings suggested that the perceived importance of certain constraints, including language problems, inability to find leisure partners, lack of money or lack of awareness of existing opportunities, were negatively related to self-esteem levels. The authors recognized the dynamic nature of constraints in immigrant populations but were limited in their attempts to explore it by the relatively short period of stay of the subjects under study.

Besides the work of Yu and Berryman (1996), most studies that have tackled constraints of ethnic/racial minorities have focused exclusively on the static characteristics of constraints on leisure. They focused on analyzing constraints specific to such populations or on possible differences in relative importance of other constraints for members of these groups but largely failed to acknowledge any of their time-dependent characteristics. Studying immigrant groups, however, makes the dynamics of constraints on leisure difficult to overlook. Research on how the leisure constraints faced by immigrants evolve along with increasing assimilation levels not only enhances our understanding of leisure behavior of minorities but is also likely to shed some light on dynamic nature of constraints in general.

Theoretical Background

The term assimilation is defined differently in various fields of social inquiry. Often, it is used synonymously with "acculturation," an array of phenomena resulting when two or more distinct cultural groups come into continuous first-hand contact that leads to subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns in either or both groups (Padilla, 1980). For this study *assimilation* was defined as a process of boundary reduction that included, but was not limited to, cultural change.

In his work on assimilation theory, Gordon (1964) isolated seven sub-processes of this phenomenon: cultural assimilation (or acculturation), structural assimilation, marital assimilation (or amalgamation), identificational assimilation, attitude receptional assimilation, behavioral receptional assimilation, and civic assimilation. In their attempt to empirically test the validity of Gordon's classification, Williams and Ortega (1990) showed that this seven-dimensional model could be reduced to three dimensions: acculturation, structural assimilation, and behavioral-receptional assimilation. This revised model has been utilized in several studies of the Hispanic minority in the United States (Floyd & Gramann, 1993; Floyd, Gramann, & Saenz, 1993) and will serve as a foundation of this study.

Acculturation

Acculturation is defined, according to Gordon (1964, p. 71), as a "change of cultural patterns to those of the host society." It involves the acquisition by a minority group of the cultural characteristics such as diet, religion, and language of the majority population (Gordon, 1964). Similarly, Yinger (1981) described acculturation as a:

process of change towards greater cultural similarity brought about by contact between two or more groups. (. . .) Whatever the balance of the exchange—the full assimilative power of acculturation has occurred when the members of the formerly distinct groups can no longer be distinguishable on the basis of culture (p. 251).

One could expect that changes in an individual's level of acculturation will have an effect on the intensity and types of his/her leisure constraints. A substantial volume of evidence exists to suggest that language proficiency (a common measure of acculturation) has a direct bearing on minority members' ease of contacts with the mainstream population, on their leisure choices, and on selected constraints such as the perceived incidence of discrimination (Chan, 1987; Floyd & Gramann, 1995; Rublee & Shaw, 1991; Stodolska & Jackson, 1998; Yu & Berryman, 1996). Furthermore, factors such as distinct religious beliefs, specific dietary preferences, and adherence to certain traditional holidays may significantly affect people's leisure preferences, their ease of finding leisure partners among the mainstream population, and their ability to be fully functional members of the Canadian or

American society. As shown by Carrington et al. (1987), Glyptis (1985), and Taylor and Hegarty (1985), the distinct gender roles and expectations placed on females characteristic to South-Asian cultures may significantly affect the set of leisure constraints experienced by this sub-population. Similarly, certain characteristics of Hispanic cultures such as traditional gender roles and family-oriented nature of many recreation activities may generate a distinct array of leisure constraints (Alvarez & Bean, 1981; Clark, 1981; Hutchinson, 1987; Irwin et al., 1990). Thus, one can expect that changes in acculturation may be associated with variations in patterns of constraints on leisure experienced by minority populations.

Structural Assimilation

According to Gordon (1964), structural assimilation is a process of "large scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of host society, on a primary group level (p. 71)" Yinger (1981) defined structural assimilation as a process in which two or more groups come into contact and develop a set of common interactions. Those interactions may encompass relatively impersonal contacts within economic and political institutions as well as more personal contacts within neighborhoods, friendship circles, and marriage. According to Yinger (1981), it is necessary to distinguish between individual and group integration. Individual integration occurs when persons from two distinct backgrounds enter into the same social group and interact within this group on an equal basis. As noted by Yinger (1981), group integration occurs when minorities are accorded:

the same rights and public privileges, the same access to political and economic advantages, and share the same responsibilities as citizens and members of the total society, while at the same time are accepted as legitimate sub-divisions of the society, with partially distinctive cultures and identities (p. 254).

Thus, a minority could be considered to be fully integrated in the economic sense only when its members have achieved similar income levels and occupational status as the mainstream population.

A variety of indicators has been employed to measure the level of structural assimilation in leisure studies and other social sciences. These indicators can be classified into two major groups, namely ones that capture the level of personal interactions between minority members and the mainstream (e.g. Floyd & Gramann, 1993, 1995; Williams & Ortega, 1990), and ones that indicate the degree of economic success that minority members have achieved (e.g. Floyd, Gramann, & Saenz, 1993). One can argue, however, that economic success is not necessarily associated with a high level of social integration with the mainstream and *vice versa*. Thus, it appears warranted to separate these two dimensions of structural assimilation. Consequently, in this study structural assimilation will be divided into (1) *primary structural assimilation*, capturing personal interactions with the mainstream, and (2) *economic assimilation*, reflecting social position.

One can expect that at least certain constraints on leisure faced by an individual would depend on his/her *primary structural assimilation* level. Probably the most intuitive way in which social isolation can enter into one's constraints is through limiting access to and awareness of leisure opportunities. For those immigrants who have very few contacts outside the ethnic community, their leisure life is also likely to be confined by its bounds. Thus, they may be less aware of opportunities for certain recreation activities, they may have difficulties in finding appropriate leisure partners, and they may be restricted in their choice of service providers (Stodolska & Jackson, 1998). On the other hand, immigrants with low levels of primary structural assimilation may be so unaware of the world existing outside their community that they would not perceive these limitations as constraints. Another transmission mechanism between primary structural assimilation and constraints on leisure can be related to social pressures exerted by the ethnic community on its members. Some leisure activities popular among the mainstream population may not be socially acceptable for minority members, either because of their being in direct conflict with ethnic value systems or their being ridiculed as strange or unusual (Carrington et al., 1987; Glyptis, 1985; Matejko & Matejko, 1974; Taylor & Hegarty, 1985). By the same token, personal relations with the members of certain outgroups or with the mainstream in general may lead to social condemnation (Woodard, 1988).

One may expect that the level of *economic assimilation* will have a direct bearing on leisure constraints experienced by a minority group members. Income and occupational status can influence not only the direct expenditure on leisure activities, but also the accessibility of transportation (Washburne, 1978; West, 1989), availability and distribution of free time, and the physical abilities of an individual. These effects should be more pronounced for those minorities whose economic standing is significantly below the national standards. As is evident from the results of the recent national census, the Polish immigrant population in Canada is an example of a minority that has not achieved much economic success either in comparison with the population at large or relative to other immigrant groups (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1997).¹ Immigrants from Poland are generally less likely than other immigrants to be employed full time, they do not hold professional or management positions as often as others, they endure below average incomes, and have markedly higher incidence of poverty than the general population. Moreover, Polish immigrants are characterized by dramatically higher unemployment rates in comparison to the Canadian-

¹ The Polish immigrant population, according to Census Canada, refers to those with landed-immigrant status (whether or not they are currently Canadian citizens) born in Poland. Children born in Canada to Polish immigrants are not included in the immigrant population from Poland but are included in the Canadian-born population. Cited socio-economic indicators have been age-standardized so the comparisons between the immigrant and Canadian-born population could be meaningful.

born population (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1997). Longer spells of unemployment that are often common among immigrants, especially during the immediate period following their arrival, can have a significant effect on a person's perception of free time ("leisure as burden"), on one's mental state, and can reduce disposable income and increase financial uncertainty (Glyptis, 1989; Russell & Stage, 1996).

Behavioral—Receptional Assimilation

The concept of receptional assimilation was introduced by Williams and Ortega (1990), who combined two of Gordon's (1964) original dimensions of assimilation: attitude receptional assimilation (signifying absence of prejudice) and behavior receptional assimilation (signifying absence of discrimination). In the field of leisure sciences, measures of behavioral receptional assimilation alone have been used as a proxy for receptional assimilation given that reliable information regarding attitude receptional assimilation is difficult to obtain from minority respondents and that the attitude receptional assimilation is only defined at the group level (Floyd et al., 1993). A similar approach will be adopted in this study.

A substantial volume of evidence suggests that discrimination or fear thereof affects not only minorities' leisure participation patterns but also the benefits from and enjoyment of leisure activities (Blahna & Black, 1992; Feagin, 1991; Philipp, 1995; Stodolska & Jackson, 1998; West, 1989). It has been found that minorities who experience discrimination in parks, beaches, restaurants, at pools and in campgrounds are less likely to use public recreation areas frequented by members of the mainstream and that they devise various techniques to protect themselves from racially motivated attacks. Thus, in this study a negative relationship between perceived discrimination and importance of leisure constraints will be anticipated.

Methods

This paper emerges from the third stage of a multi-stage, multi-method research project. Following a small-scale quantitative questionnaire pilot survey (Stage 1), a qualitative component consisting of in-depth interviews was completed (Stage 2). These interviews served as the foundation for the development of a more comprehensive, broader, and larger-scale questionnaire survey (Stage 3) than was conducted in Stage 1.

Questionnaire Design and Administration

The findings obtained in the qualitative stage of the project (Stage 2) were used to design a quantitative survey (Stage 3) that 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, since one can reasonably assume 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 five hundred 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 was to be completed by the member of the household who had had his/her birthday most recently. As a result of the first mail-out, 213 questionnaires were returned, including 179 properly completed questionnaires. In January of 1997 three hundred reminder notices along with another copy of the questionnaire were mailed to individuals randomly selected from the original list. The second mail-out yielded 105 properly completed questionnaires. Twenty responses had to be excluded since they had been obtained from individuals who settled in Canada prior to 1979. Thus the effective sample size was further reduced 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. After excluding unemployed respondents for whom economic assimilation scores could not be calculated, the final sample with 236 cases was obtained. The sample consisted of 156 males (66.1%) and 80 females (33.9%). Their ages ranged from 24 to 66 with a mean of 42. All respondents had settled in Canada between 1979 and 1996 with the average length of residence being around nine years.

The questionnaire (in Polish) consisted of forty-seven questions concerning, among other issues, language preference and proficiency, diet choices, leisure participation, leisure constraints and motivations, attitudes towards and participation in Polish ethnic organizations, attitudes towards ethnic holidays and customs, ethnic background of close friends, types of contacts maintained with friends and relatives living in Poland, religious affiliation, types and locations of experienced discrimination, and questions regarding socio-economic characteristics. With several exceptions (i.e. age and length of stay in Canada), all the questions were of a close-ended nature. Scale questions were used whenever there was a need to measure level of agreement, frequency, or relative importance.

The choice and format of questions reflected the need to accommodate three important factors. First, the questionnaire had to capture the infor-

mation necessary to verify relevant theoretical concepts (e.g., Gordon's theory of assimilation). Second, questions needed to be formulated in a way that some meaningful comparison with the findings of existing research could be attempted. Finally, the questionnaire had to be designed so that specific characteristics of the population under study could be detected. It became apparent after the initial pilot study (Phase 1), that some widely accepted question formats were not effective for the purpose of studying this population. Respondents frequently had difficulties with self-assessment of certain abilities such as their language proficiency. Thus, some questions were modified to accommodate for these problems. For example, English language proficiency was measured by providing a series of statements describing "typical" levels of language fluency and asking respondents to choose one that they felt best described their abilities.

Information gathered from the in-depth interviews helped to design certain questions such as the ones about leisure constraints in which a list of items was presented. Besides conventional ones, other items of particular importance for this immigrant population, such as language difficulties, were included. Also, appropriate scales for some questions had to be devised. Some questions, such as the ones concerning the types of discrimination, as well as all the questions containing statements about leisure behavior and diet choices were based entirely on the information obtained from the interviews.

Concept Measurement

Since *acculturation* is a process of cultural change and culture encompasses far more than merely the language that one speaks, several other indicators besides language proficiency and use were applied to establish a measure of acculturation. In particular, the questionnaire was designed to solicit information regarding religious affiliation, dietary preferences, and adherence to certain North American holidays (see Table 1 for detailed description of questions used in the study). Level of *primary structural assimilation* was established on the basis of three questions. Respondents were asked to indicate the ethnic composition of their close friends, to rate the importance of frequenting leisure- or culture-oriented establishments or events within the Polish community, and to evaluate the importance of selected services offered by Polish-speaking individuals. Two questions were used to establish the level of *economic assimilation*. Respondents were asked to assign their personal, annual income before taxes into one of several broad categories and to state the minimum level of education necessary to be employed and successfully perform professional duties at their current job. *Behavioral receptional assimilation* was assessed using a single question about respondents' perceived frequency of experienced discrimination. Respondents were asked to indicate how often they encountered discriminatory treatment triggered by their ethnic origin, accent, or their immigrant status.

Perceived importance of several types of *leisure constraints* constituted the dependent variable in this study. In order to solicit information on the con-

TABLE 1
Questions Format and Response Categories

Questions	Scales/Response Categories
ACCULTURATION	
<i>Language use:</i>	
1. Indicate your choice of language in informal activities. "Which language do you usually use in informal conversations at home"; "In which language do you usually read non-professional literature"; "In which language are the newspapers and magazines you usually read written"; "In which language are the radio stations that you usually listen to"; "In which language are the movies that they usually rent"	Polish only; Mostly Polish, some English; Polish and English equally; Mostly English, some Polish; English only
<i>Language proficiency:</i>	
2. Choose the statement that best describes your ability to communicate in English language.	"I speak English fluently on any topic and without an accent"; "I can talk easily about most subjects, but I have an accent, and I can't always find the right words or the proper expressions to use in some subjects"; "I speak English only with difficulty, especially about unfamiliar subjects. However, in the end I can make myself understood"; "I speak English badly. Sometimes I cannot make myself understood, even when speaking about everyday matters"
3. How would you characterize your English language proficiency? Speak; Read; Write; Understand	None; Poor; Fair; Good; Excellent
<i>Change of religious affiliation:</i>	
4. Please, describe your religious affiliation in Poland.	Roman-Catholic; Greek-Orthodox; Protestant; Other Christian; Jewish; Muslim; Other; I was not affiliated with any church
5. Please, describe your current religious affiliation.	Same as in case of religious affiliation in Poland.
<i>Dietary preferences:</i>	
6. Which of the following statements best describes your current diet?	"My diet does not differ substantially from the one I had in Poland"; "My diet consists mostly of traditional Polish food; however it has significant Canadian influences"; "My usual diet includes hardly any traditional Polish food"

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Questions	Scales/Response Categories
<p>7. Indicate your level of agreement with the following statements applied to your dietary preferences.</p> <p>"Since I arrived in Canada I have started to eat more fresh fruits and vegetables"; "My diet has been significantly influenced by a variety of different national foods available in Canada"; "The changes to my lifestyle that I have experienced after coming to Canada make me switch to less time consuming methods of food preparation"; "I am less likely to eat food prepared using lard"</p>	<p>Strongly disagree; Disagree; Neutral; Agree; Strongly agree</p>
<i>Adherence to holidays widely celebrated in Canada:</i>	
<p>8. Indicate which statement best describes your attitude to each of the following Canadian holidays.</p> <p>Thanksgiving; Canada Day; St. Patrick's Day; Remembrance Day; Victoria Day</p>	<p>"I do not observe this holiday in any way"; "I celebrate this holiday only if invited by someone else to do so"; "I celebrate this holiday in some way, however I do not feel strongly attached to the tradition or event behind it"; "I do celebrate this holiday and I feel strongly attached to it"</p>
PRIMARY STRUCTURAL ASSIMILATION	
<i>Ethnic composition of close friends:</i>	
<p>1. Which of the following statements best describes your close friends (excluding family and relatives as well as individuals with whom you maintain only a professional relationship)?</p>	<p>"Practically all my friends are Polish immigrants"; "Most of my friends are Polish immigrants but I know some Canadians of non-Polish descent with whom I like to socialize"; "Approximately the same number of my friends are of Polish and non-Polish descent";</p> <p>"Most of my friends are non-Polish Canadians but I know some Polish immigrants with whom I like to socialize"; "Practically all my friends are non-Polish Canadians"</p>
<i>Importance of frequenting leisure- or culture-oriented establishments or events within the Polish community:</i>	
<p>2. How important to you are the following activities?</p> <p>Attending Polish cultural events; Attending Polish concerts; Attending Polish night clubs/discos; Eating out in Polish restaurants; Active participation in Polish ethnic/cultural organizations; Participation in Polish sports or recreation oriented clubs or organizations</p>	<p>Not important; Somewhat important; Important; Very important</p>

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Questions	Scales/Response Categories
<i>Importance of selected services offered by Polish-speaking individuals:</i>	
3. How important to you is the availability of the following services being offered by Polish Canadians? Medical services; Dental services; Legal services; Travel agencies; Real estate agencies	Not important; Somewhat important; Important; Very important
ECONOMIC ASSIMILATION	
<i>Income:</i>	
1. In which of the following categories your annual personal income before taxes fall?	Less than \$10,000; \$10,001 to \$20,000; \$20,001 to \$40,000; \$40,001 to \$60,000; \$60,001 or more
<i>Education:</i>	
2. What is the minimum level of education necessary to be employed at your position and to successfully perform your professional duties (if you are self-employed please indicate the level of education you feel is necessary to run you business)?	Elementary school; Junior high school; Senior high school; Technical or vocational program; University undergraduate program; University graduate program
BEHAVIORAL—RECEPTIONAL ASSIMILATION	
<i>Frequency of experienced discrimination</i>	
1. Have you ever found yourself in a situation when you felt uneasy or awkward either because of being an immigrant or because of your accent? Please, indicate how frequently, if ever, situations like that have occurred to you in each of the following settings. At your workplace; On the street or in public transportation; In a government office; In a non-government office; In a contact with police; In supermarkets or department stores; In small stores; In banks; In schools or colleges; In hotels or motels; In resorts; In restaurants; In parks and other publicly accessible recreation areas; In privately owned recreation-oriented clubs and associations; At parties; While participating in sports	Never experienced; Once; Occasionally; Often; Very often

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Questions	Scales/Response Categories
CONSTRAINTS	
<p>1. Thinking about leisure in your life, please indicate how important is each of the following reasons for not participating or for having limited participation in leisure or recreational activities.</p> <p>Lack of money; Lack of time; Lack of transportation; Lack of knowledge about available facilities; Lack of skills; Difficulties with finding appropriate partners; Being too tired after hard work; Lack of physical abilities; Being not at ease among non-Polish Canadians; Not speaking English well enough; Unsuitable living arrangements; Lack of set work hours; Inability to take longer time off</p>	<p>Not important; Somewhat important; Important; Very important</p>

straints they experienced, respondents were asked to think about leisure in their life and to indicate the importance of the given reasons for not participating or for having limited participation in leisure or recreational activities. Besides conventional types of constraints, the questionnaire included a series of "immigrant specific" constraints developed on the basis of information obtained from in-depth interviews.

Analysis

Factor analysis was used to create a classification of constraints suitable for studying immigrant populations. Based on this classification, average total scores of the perceived importance of each constraint dimension were calculated by summing up responses and dividing by the number of items. Then, non-hierarchical cluster analysis was used to assign each case to an appropriate assimilation group. Finally, OLS regression with heteroskedasticity consistent covariance matrix was used to estimate the relationships between perceived importance scores of each of the constraint dimension and a series of regressors, including assimilation dummies.

Findings

Dimensions of Constraints

Factor analysis was used to isolate dimensions of constraints. The method of principal components with varimax rotation yielded 5 distinct dimensions that accounted for 61% of the total variance (Table 2). The

TABLE 2
Factor Analysis of Leisure Constraints of Immigrants

Item	Factor Name and Factor Loading				
	Immigration Related (1)	Universal (2)	Work Related (3)	Social Isolation (4)	Personal Reasons (5)
<i>(1) Immigration Related:</i>					
Not speaking English well enough	.895				
Not being at ease among non-Polish Canadians	.879				
<i>(2) Universal:</i>					
Lack of time		.780			
Lack of money		.590			
Being too tired after hard work		.505			
<i>(3) Work Related Circumstances:</i>					
Lack of set work hours			.815		
Inability to take longer time off			.642		
Unsuitable living arrangements			.579		
<i>(4) Social Isolation:</i>					
Lack of knowledge where to participate				.831	
Difficulty in finding co-participants				.689	
<i>(5) Personal Reasons:</i>					
Lack of physical abilities					.822
Lack of skills					.647
Eigenvalue	2.80	1.59	1.38	1.11	1.05
Proportion of Variance (%)	21.60	12.30	10.60	8.60	8.00
Cumulative Proportion of Variance Explained (%)	21.60	33.80	44.40	53.00	61.00
Alpha (scale reliability)	0.82	0.50	0.51	0.49	0.55
Scale mean score	2.79	7.31	4.92	2.89	2.91

criterion of Eigen value greater than one combined with a visual inspection of the Scree Plot was used in identifying the number of factors to be extracted. From the original list of 13 constraints one constraint, namely problems with transportation was left out after factoring. Five scales were created by summing each respondent's score on each item with factor loadings greater than 0.5 in a given dimension and then dividing by the number of significant items in that dimension.

The first factor, labeled *immigration related constraints*, accounted for almost 22% of the total variance. Large (>0.50) loadings occurred for two constraints, namely not being at ease among non-Polish Canadians and not

speaking English well enough. These constraints could be applicable only to ethnic minorities and to immigrant populations in particular and thus it was not surprising that they were related.

The second factor, explaining 12.3% of the total variance, had large factor loadings on variables that could be considered as *universal constraints* typically experienced by an individual, namely lack of money, lack of time, and being too tired after hard work. It appears somewhat unusual that these constraints formed a single dimension, given that the majority of general population studies have separated time and money as two distinct dimensions of leisure constraints. As Jackson (1997) has suggested, time commitments and costs are two distinct dimensions of leisure constraints that are applicable to any group regardless of its socio-economic characteristics. Moreover, these constraints usually exhibit different patterns of association with other relevant variables (Jackson & Henderson, 1995). This apparent contradiction of a generally accepted result can be explained in several ways. First, the list of constraints used in this study was partially based on in-depth interviews with Polish immigrants (Phase 2 of the project) and thus included constraints unique to immigrant populations. Consequently, the results might not be fully comparable with that of other studies that dealt with general population. Second, immigrant groups such as Poles may be characterized by a greater degree of homogeneity in terms of employment and income characteristics than the general population. A large proportion of the sample was employed at low-paying, physically-demanding positions and might have had to work long hours to be able to support themselves and their families. It is not uncommon for some individuals to hold two or three low paying jobs concurrently (Heydenkorn, 1990). Immigrants may choose this pattern of employment for a variety of reasons. For some the need to support large families combined with inadequate skills and social abilities might make it necessary to increase their workloads beyond usual norms. Others may try to accumulate as much wealth as possible in a short period either to realize the "American dream" through starting their own small business or simply to be able to afford things like a car, some furniture, or down payment on a house (Heydenkorn, 1990). However, regardless of their motivations, among immigrants we are likely to find a large proportion of people who are tired after hard work, who do not have much free time, and who have very little money to spend.

The third factor, labeled *work related circumstances*, accounted for 10.6% of the total variance. High factor loadings were observed for three constraint items, namely for unsuitable living arrangements, lack of set work hours, and inability to take longer time off. These items can be related since they are most likely to be experienced by individuals who are employed in unskilled positions. People who work as janitors, caretakers or domestic workers are often unable to take longer vacations or have to be on call even when they have their time off. Since such individuals usually fall into low income category one can argue that their choice of housing is quite limited, and thus they can be highly constrained by factors such as unsuitable living arrange-

ments. In particular, apartment building caretakers (superintendents) who constitute a significant proportion of the Polish immigrant workforce, can experience a combination of these three types of constraints solely because of the nature of their employment.

The fourth factor that was extracted describes *social isolation* as a dimension of constraints on leisure. It accounted for 8.6% of the total variance and had large factor loadings on the two constraints of lack of knowledge about where to participate and difficulty in finding co-participants. This particular dimension of constraints is considered to be characteristic to any population and is not limited to immigrants or ethnic minorities (Hultsman, 1995; Jackson, 1993).

What we can refer to as *personal reasons* constituted the final dimension of leisure constraints extracted by the factor analysis. This factor explained 8.0% of the total variance and had large factor loadings on the two variables of lack of necessary skills and lack of physical abilities. This dimension of constraints has been found to be applicable to the general population even though in some studies additional constraint items might be included (Hultsman, 1995; Jackson, 1993).

Cluster Analysis

Non-hierarchical cluster analysis was used to identify groups of people according to their levels of acculturation, primary structural assimilation, and economic assimilation (Table 3). Since an ordinal measure of various assimilation levels was required, the ordering of cluster centers had to be consistent across all the included variables. Initially, a five cluster solution had been computed but it did not satisfy the consistency criterion. As the number of clusters was being reduced, it became apparent that there existed a strong bimodality in the data. The bimodality exhibited itself by cluster centers being tightly spread around two distant values for the majority of variables. By further reducing the number of clusters to two, the problem of cluster centers' bimodal behavior was eliminated and consistency of cluster centers ordering was achieved. Thus, a two cluster solution dividing the sample into "low assimilation" and "high assimilation" groups was deemed to be most suitable for further analysis.

Since only one variable was used to measure behavioral-receptional assimilation, it was not appropriate to use cluster analysis to group respondents in this case. Given that only two groups needed to be isolated, the classification was accomplished using the mean score as a dividing point.

Regression Analysis

Regression analysis was used to estimate relationships between the five dimensions of constraints on leisure derived from factor analysis and various types of assimilation. Since I suspected that heteroscedasticity could be present in the model, OLS with heteroscedasticity consistent covariance matrix

TABLE 3
Cluster Analysis of Polish Immigrants by Assimilation Levels

Dimension of Assimilation	Levels of Assimilation	
	Low	High
<i>(1) Acculturation</i>		
English use ^a	12.49	18.20
Spoken English ability ^b	2.73	1.98
Overall command of English ^c	11.94	16.14
Change of religion ^d	0.03	0.11
Adherence to Canadian holidays ^e	10.30	11.65
Self-description of diet ^f	1.73	2.13
Change of dietary preferences ^g	13.64	16.18
<i>N</i>	86	150
<i>(2) Primary structural assimilation</i>		
Ethnic composition of close friends ^h	1.72	2.23
Importance of Polish cultural events ⁱ	2.37	3.12
Importance of Polish concerts	2.28	3.09
Importance of Polish night clubs/discos	3.42	3.79
Importance of Polish restaurants	3.30	3.79
Importance of participation in Polish ethnic organizations	2.77	3.48
Importance of participation in Polish sports and recreation clubs	3.05	3.69
Importance of Polish medical services	1.39	3.17
Importance of Polish dental services	1.72	3.48
Importance of Polish legal services	1.81	3.64
Importance of Polish travel agencies	2.03	3.45
Importance of Polish insurance agencies	2.82	3.88
Importance of Polish real estate agencies	2.63	3.82
<i>N</i>	90	146
<i>(3) Economic assimilation</i>		
Education necessary to be employed ^j	2.09	4.47
Annual personal income ^k	2.41	3.36
<i>N</i>	85	151

^a Scale ranged from 5 to 25, with 25 indicating greatest English use.

^b Scale ranged from 1 to 4, with 1 indicating highest spoken English ability.

^c Scale ranged from 4 to 20, with 20 indicating highest overall command of English.

^d Scale ranged from 0 to 1, with 1 indicating religion change.

^e Scale ranged from 5 to 20, with 20 indicating strongest adherence to Canadian holidays.

^f Scale ranged from 1 to 3, with 3 indicating more Canadian/American diet.

^g Scale ranged from 4 to 20, with 20 indicating highest change of dietary preferences.

^h Scale ranged from 1 to 5, with 5 indicating highest proportion of Canadian friends.

ⁱ For all questions rating importance of clubs, events, and services scales ranged from 1 to 4, with 4 indicating lowest importance score.

^j Scale ranged from 1 to 6, with 1 indicating elementary education and 6 indicating graduate education.

^k Scale ranged from 1 to 5, with 5 indicating the highest income category.

was applied in all estimations (White, 1980). Since GLS was not a viable option given the impossibility of effective modeling of the heteroscedastic structure, I opted for heteroscedasticity consistent covariance matrix estimation despite its inefficiency problem. This estimation method yields consistent standard error values and thus is preferred to OLS if heteroscedasticity is suspected.

One regression model was estimated for each dimension of constraints with the average constraints importance score as a dependent variable (Table 4). Besides intercept dummy variables for highly assimilated individuals in each of the four assimilation categories, a number of other variables commonly believed to influence constraints on leisure were used. In particular, gender and marital status dummies, age, age squared, and years of schooling variables were included as regressors (Howard & Crompton, 1984; Jackson & Searle, 1985; Scott & Munson, 1994; Searle & Jackson, 1985). The variable for age squared was used to capture possible nonlinearities in the importance of certain constraint dimensions over an individual's lifetime.

The columns in Table 4 represent the estimated coefficients and standard errors for regressions on each of the five dimensions of constraints. The first three regressions are overall significant at 0.01 level, regression (4) at 0.05 level, whereas regression (5) is not significant. Although R^2 values cannot be directly compared given that the dependent variable is different in each of the regressions, they suggest that the model is most effective in explaining variations in immigration-related constraints ($R^2 = 0.23$). All the statistically significant coefficients on assimilation dummy variables have negative signs. The finding that the importance of constraints on leisure generally diminishes with increasing assimilation levels is consistent with the Hypothesis 1. While it is possible that assimilation may not be a determinant of certain types of constraints on leisure in the majority of cases, it is difficult to argue that constraints can be actually reinforced by assimilation. Consequently, I decided to use one-tailed significance tests for all coefficients on assimilation dummy variables.

Immigration-related constraints (1) were significantly less important for highly acculturated immigrants ($\alpha < 0.01$), as well as for those characterized by a high degree of primary structural ($\alpha < 0.05$) and economic ($\alpha < 0.01$) assimilation. Universal constraints (2) appeared to diminish along with increasing primary structural assimilation level ($\alpha < 0.05$) and with decreasing inter-group distance ($\alpha < 0.05$). Perceived importance of work related constraints (3) was negatively related to all types of assimilation with the exception of acculturation (see Table 4). Coefficients on primary structural assimilation, economic assimilation, and behavioral receptional assimilation dummy variables were significant at $\alpha < 0.10$, $\alpha < 0.05$, and $\alpha < 0.01$ levels respectively. Somewhat surprisingly, the social isolation constraint dimension (4) appeared to be influenced only by the behavioral receptional assimilation level ($\alpha < 0.10$). In agreement with Hypothesis 2, personal constraints (5) were not related to any dimension of assimilation.

Joint significance tests for assimilation dummy variables and for the remaining explanatory variables were performed for regressions (1) through

TABLE 4
OLS with HETCOV Regression Analysis of Constraint Scores on Assimilation

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables				
	IMM_CST (1)	UNIV_CST (2)	WRK_CST (3)	SOCIS_CST (4)	PERS_CST (5)
ACCULT	-0.417*** (0.109)	-0.130 (0.110)	-0.003 (0.102)	-0.065 (0.093)	0.054 (0.098)
PR_STR	-0.173** (0.102)	-0.180** (0.102)	-0.133* (0.095)	0.059 (0.084)	-0.025 (0.084)
ECON	-0.235*** (0.090)	0.013 (0.094)	-0.160** (0.090)	-0.091 (0.084)	0.045 (0.094)
ASS_BEH	-0.003 (0.081)	-0.198** (0.091)	-0.371*** (0.082)	-0.120* (0.081)	-0.071 (0.071)
FEM	0.030 (0.088)	0.179** (0.094)	-0.044 (0.081)	0.025 (0.081)	0.162** (0.089)
MARR	0.096 (0.125)	-0.111 (0.133)	-0.088 (0.113)	-0.237** (0.136)	-0.222* (0.149)
AGE	-0.007 (0.062)	0.014 (0.056)	-0.017 (0.042)	-0.056* (0.042)	0.038 (0.042)
AGE ²	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
YRS_SCH	-0.033** (0.017)	-0.018 (0.029)	0.016 (0.019)	-0.025** (0.017)	-0.027** (0.021)
Constant	2.298** (1.202)	2.867*** (1.140)	2.332*** (0.818)	3.498*** (0.907)	1.025 (0.837)
R ²	0.23	0.09	0.12	0.09	0.04
R ² adjusted	0.20	0.06	0.09	0.05	0.00
n	236	236	236	236	236
σ ² estimate	0.407	0.471	0.384	0.351	0.422

*Coefficient significant at $\alpha < 0.10$; **Coefficient significant at $\alpha < 0.05$; *** Coefficient significant at $\alpha < 0.01$

Values in parentheses represent standard errors.

Note. IMM_CST = immigration related constraints; UNIV_CST = universal constraints; WRK_CST = work related circumstances; SOCIS_CST = social isolation constraints; PERS_CST = personal constraints; ACCULT = high acculturation; PR_STR = high primary structural assimilation; ECON = high economic assimilation; ASS_BEH = high behavioral - receptional assimilation; FEM = female; MARR = married; AGE = chronological age; AGE² = age squared; YRS_SCH = years of schooling.

(4). Since model (5) was not overall significant, no tests were performed for this model. In the models with immigration related constraints ($df = 4,226$; $F = 8.81$), universal constraints ($df = 4,226$; $F = 3.92$), and work related constraints ($df = 4,226$; $F = 6.91$) as the dependent variable, assimilation dummies were jointly significant ($\alpha < 0.01$) whereas the socio-economic regressors were not. On the other hand, joint tests on the model with social isolation constraints as the regressand (4) indicated that socioeconomic variables were jointly significant ($df = 5,226$; $F = 2.56$; $\alpha < 0.05$) and that assimilation dummies were not significantly different from zero. Results of these tests suggested that among ethnic minorities at least some dimensions of constraints on leisure (1-3) may be more closely related to the degree of assimilation than to socio-economic characteristics.

Discussion

The study was intended to explore both the static and the dynamic characteristics of constraints on leisure experienced by an immigrant population. The set of constraints of immigrants was found to differ from that of the mainstream with respect to two distinct attributes. First, immigrants experienced certain constraints that were not commonly found among the general population. Second, constraints on leisure of immigrants appeared to form different dimensions than those isolated for the mainstream population. Besides these static characteristics, findings of the study suggested that sets of constraints experienced by immigrants exhibit dynamic behavior by evolving as individuals become more assimilated. Whereas not all dimensions of constraints appeared to be affected by all types of assimilation, in agreement with Hypothesis 1, whenever an association was present the perceived importance of constraints tended to decrease along with the increasing assimilation level. Thus, it is likely that the leisure of immigrants is most severely constrained immediately after their arrival and that some of these constraints have a tendency to decline in significance as people adapt to the new environment. Besides the presence of a certain set of constraints that are unique to ethnic minority populations, other constraints commonly encountered by the mainstream can be reinforced for those minority members who are not well adjusted. However, consistently with Hypothesis 2, the findings implied that intrapersonal constraints solely related to an individual's abilities and personal characteristics tended to be invariant on any dimension of assimilation.

Immigrants are likely to experience certain constraints on leisure that are not applicable to the general population such as insufficient language skills or not feeling at ease among the mainstream. Perceived importance of this type of constraints was measured by the *immigration related constraints* variable. Not surprisingly, these constraints were less important for more acculturated individuals. Since this measure of acculturation level included English language proficiency and use variables, it appears reasonable that the leisure of immigrants with a better command of the official language will

be less constrained by language difficulties. Similarly, one can argue that diminishing cultural distance due to adopting mainstream religion, diet preferences, or holidays could make immigrants' interactions with the general population easier and more enjoyable.

Another assimilation subprocess that was found to influence immigration related constraints was primary structural assimilation. One can argue that immigrants who are largely confined to the ethnic community both with respect to their personal contacts as well as economic and social interactions may become more likely to perceive out-groups (i.e. the mainstream) as alien or threatening, which in turn may contribute to their uneasiness in leisure engagements outside of their community. Being confined within a relatively small circle of people may lead to the creation and reinforcement of misperceptions as to the nature of the surrounding social environment (Allport, 1954; Case, Greeley, & Fuchs, 1989). However, one has to keep in mind that the causality may work in the opposite direction—individuals who are not capable of adapting and who are likely to feel particularly uneasy in unfamiliar situations may choose to confine themselves to ethnic ghettos.

Immigrants with higher levels of economic assimilation were found to report less immigration related constraints on leisure. One can argue that individuals who are more affluent and who work in more prestigious occupations are likely to have an opportunity for more frequent interactions with the mainstream population on the professional level and thus find such interactions in leisure to be less stressful. However, given that I controlled for ethnic enclosure by including primary structural assimilation in the model, the frequency of such interactions was not necessarily behind this relationship. Less successful immigrants can engage in such interactions on an equally frequent basis but perceive them differently. Since economic success is often associated with a certain degree of confidence, highly economically assimilated individuals who feel better about themselves may find it easier to develop personal contacts with members of the mainstream.

Perceived importance of *universal constraints* (i.e. time, money, too tired after work) was found to be inversely related to primary structural and behavioral-receptional assimilation levels. In general, one can expect immigrants to work more and consume less out of their income than the general population. Since a large proportion of immigrants settle in the host country as mature individuals but do not have any significant savings, such a phenomenon can be quite easily explained. First, according to Hall's (1978) hypothesis, people are expected to smooth consumption levels across their lifetimes. Given that for immigrants the productive period (i.e. the period before their retirement age) is shorter in comparison to the expected duration of their retirement, they need to save more to be able to consume at the same level. Similarly, evidence exists that people who expect their employment income to fall in the near future are likely to work harder while they still can and thus have less time for leisure activities (Kydland & Prescott, 1982). These tendencies are likely to be less pronounced among immigrants who are not ethnically confined since both their consumption patterns and

their leisure behavior will be more likely to mirror that of the mainstream population. Social pressure and greater exposure to the mainstream standards of behavior can make such individuals more conformist in terms of their work effort decisions and consumption patterns. Consequently, more primary structurally assimilated immigrants can be expected to experience less money related constraints for a given income level and have more time available for leisure participation.

Furthermore, it has been suggested that for some immigrants, wealth *accumulation* in itself may be a very important life objective. For such individuals neither their leisure nor their consumption can bring as much satisfaction as increasing their net worth. It appears that such tendencies for what one could refer to as "money illusion" tend to be reinforced by ethnic confinement (Heydenkorn, 1990). As a result, we may expect individuals with low levels of primary structural assimilation to experience more universal constraints. People affected by this "Scrooge syndrome" would tend to work too hard to find time and strength to engage in leisure activities and at the same time they would spend too little out of their income to be able to afford to participate.

Surprisingly, no significant relationship was found between the "universal constraints" score and the economic assimilation level. Since this dimension of constraints contains items such as "lack of money" and "lack of time" that are usually included in distinct dimensions, one can expect that the effects of economic assimilation on components of this dimension may average out.

The finding of an association between the level of behavioral-receptional assimilation and experience of "universal constraints" can be attributed to the fact that discrimination in the workplace may lead to a greater effort and longer work hours required for immigrants to achieve a certain income. The existence of workplace discrimination against ethnic minorities is well documented and can take the form of lesser pay for equal responsibilities, being passed over for promotions, or of an implicit expectation that minority members should work harder than others employed at the same position (Feagin & Feagin, 1978; Hirschman & Wong, 1984; Li, 1987; Satzewich & Li, 1987). Since for white minorities discrimination is more often experienced at work than in other settings (Driedger & Mezoff, 1981; Stodolska & Jackson, 1998), those Poles who are less behaviorally-receptionally assimilated were most likely to be subjected to unequal treatment in their professional life. One can anticipate that such individuals would tend to work longer hours and to perform the least desirable tasks and as result would be more tired and have less time available for leisure activities. One could argue, however, that immigrants who have to exert above average effort for a given type of work and income level due to their personal characteristics may tend to attribute their disadvantaged position to discrimination.

Work related constraints were found to be more important for immigrants with a lesser degree of primary structural assimilation, economic assimilation, and behavioral-receptional assimilation. Primary structural assimilation may

affect this class of constraints either through type of housing or through nature of occupation. Although Poles in Edmonton are not subject to the ghettoization that is commonly found in larger urban centers (Balakrishnan, 1976), they do tend to concentrate in some areas of the city that are characterized by certain types of housing such as low rise and high rise apartment buildings (Statistics Canada, 1991)². Since more ethnically enclosed individuals are more likely to live in such areas, their leisure can be constrained due to certain limitations that such dwellings may present. For instance, it may be difficult to engage in some activities such as gardening or hobbies that require use of garages, sheds or backyards. Moreover, as a result of networking, enclosed individuals can be more likely to be employed in certain types of occupations (e.g. caretakers, taxi drivers) whose characteristics such as lack of work schedules or the need to be on call all the time may reinforce this dimension of leisure constraints.

The finding that economic assimilation is negatively associated with work related constraints can be explained in a reasonable fashion. Those immigrants who have achieved a degree of economic success are more likely to be employed full time and, as full time workers, have more regular work schedules and are eligible for paid vacations. Whereas for unskilled workers longer vacations may be equivalent to being laid off, employees with higher qualifications are generally more difficult to replace due to higher hiring and training costs and thus have a better bargaining position when it comes to negotiating a leave. Also, due to their higher incomes, highly economically assimilated immigrants can afford housing better suited to their individual lifestyles and thus can be less constrained in their leisure by unsuitable living arrangements.

As findings of the study show, people with higher levels of behavioral-receptional assimilation tended to perceive work related constraints to be of lesser importance. This finding can be potentially explained by the fact that

²To establish whether Polish immigrants concentrate in areas with certain type of housing, the proportion of Polish immigrants was regressed on proportions of dwelling of various types. Tobit estimation method was used on a data set, based on 1991 National Census information, for 220 Edmonton neighborhoods. Results suggested a highly significant ($\alpha = 0.01$) positive relationship between the proportion of high-rise and low-rise apartment buildings in a neighborhood and the percentage of Polish residents. However, after including several additional independent variables intended to control for the socio-economic profiles of neighborhoods (average monthly rent, average property value, and incidence of poverty) the relationship between the percentage of Polish residents and the proportion of low-rise apartment buildings ceased to be significant. On the other hand, the positive relationship with the proportion of high-rise apartment buildings remained to be highly significant ($\alpha = 0.01$). Although these tests were performed with a neighborhood as the unit of analysis and thus did not allow for explicit inferences as to the behavior of individual Poles, they appear to suggest that the tendency to reside in low-rise apartment buildings may be caused by inability to afford other types of accommodation rather than by actual preferences. Conversely, the apparent tendency for choosing high-rise buildings as a place of residence may be associated with a specific preference structure characteristic to the Polish minority rather than by financial reasons.

immigrants who experience most discrimination at the workplace may be forced to perform the least desirable tasks and to work on the least desired shifts (Feagin & Feagin, 1978; Heydenkorn, 1990). This phenomenon may not necessarily be caused by actual discrimination but in some cases can be viewed as such by individuals who seek justification for their disadvantaged position.

The perceived importance of *social isolation* constraints was found to be lower among immigrants with higher levels of behavioral-receptional assimilation. Even after controlling for primary structural assimilation, one can anticipate that individuals who find discrimination to be a significant problem would be less likely to seek social contacts outside the circle of their close friends. The incidence of discrimination has been shown to increase along with increasing frequency of social interactions with strangers (Feagin, 1991). Thus, one can argue that regardless of the extent of one's contacts within the ethnic community or lack thereof, a person who fears discrimination will be more reluctant to seek new social contacts and consequently he/she will have more limited choice of leisure partners as well as potentially restricted awareness of existing leisure opportunities (Stodolska & Jackson, 1998).

Surprisingly, this dimension of constraints did not exhibit any association with the other three assimilation components. In particular, no relationship was found to exist between social isolation constraints and primary structural assimilation level. One could expect that more ethnically enclosed individuals should perceive constraints such as the inability to find suitable leisure partners or lack of awareness of existing opportunities as more important. However, one may also argue that this group of immigrants is possibly quite content with their leisure within the ethnic community and thus they may not feel any desire to start participating in leisure activities with members of the mainstream. Similarly, they may not feel that any new leisure opportunities that they could be interested in are available outside their community and thus they may not consider this lack of awareness as a constraint to their leisure.

Conclusions

Several important characteristics of constraints on leisure among immigrants are apparent from the findings of this study. First, immigrant populations are subject to certain constraints that are not found in the general population. Second, the standard dimensions of leisure constraints that typically hold for the general population appear to differ somewhat for minority groups. Furthermore, the evidence points to a conclusion that leisure constraints of immigrants are subject to some distinct dynamic processes. After controlling for age, the relative importance of certain types of constraints evolves along with changing assimilation levels. Although some of the findings may appear unexpected (e.g. lack of relationship between social isola-

tion constraints and primary structural assimilation), the majority of the findings appear to confirm expectations (i.e. lack of association between assimilation and personal constraints).

The findings of this study introduce several interesting elements to our understanding of adaptation processes among immigrants. Besides the general result that the perceived importance of leisure constraints is negatively associated with assimilation level and that the constraints set found among immigrant populations differs somewhat from that of the mainstream, several more specific observations can be derived from the results of this study. Acculturation level that had been expected to strongly affect leisure constraints of immigrants was found to have a significant effect only on a single dimension of constraints. The majority of the existing research, both in leisure studies and in other fields of social inquiry, tends to emphasize the importance of this aspect of assimilation, with particular attention being paid to its language dimension. However, the findings of this study suggest that other assimilation subprocesses whose significance has been commonly downplayed can potentially have considerable effects on constraints on leisure experienced by immigrants. In particular, behavioral receptional assimilation can significantly influence many types of constraints that on a superficial level appear to be unrelated to perceptions of discrimination. Thus, one may argue that the negative impact of constraints on leisure behavior of immigrants can be reduced if the discriminatory practices both in leisure and in work settings are curtailed.

Besides their contribution to our understanding of leisure constraints specific to immigrant populations, the findings of this study enable us to view the general theory of leisure constraints from a somewhat different perspective. One of the most important additions to the knowledge on the subject are the findings that some groups may experience entirely different types of constraints and that the conventional dimensions of constraints believed to hold for any population may require some modifications before they can be successfully applied to minority populations. More importantly, however, the analysis has shown that constraints may exhibit dynamic behavior as a function of factors other than age or life-cycle that have been commonly acknowledged by studies of the mainstream. Although the notion of assimilation is not applicable to the general population, the finding that assimilation affects constraints suggests that other dynamic phenomena overlooked by previous research may in fact affect constraints of both the mainstream and of minority groups. Thus, more attention to dynamic aspects of constraints in general appears to be warranted in future work in the field.

Since the existing work in the area of immigrant leisure constraints has been particularly scarce, this study is more of an attempt on exploration of the subject than its detailed analysis. Issues such as the effects of constraints on leisure participation have not been addressed in this project. Similarly, the problem of constraints negotiation in immigrant populations and possible differences in negotiation strategies between minorities and the main-

stream need further exploration. Given the potential significance of immigrant populations as a subject of leisure research it appears that further work in this area is warranted. In particular, one could suggest that the validity of existing models of leisure constraints (Crawford, Jackson, & Godbey, 1991; Jackson, Crawford, & Godbey, 1993) should be tested for special populations such as immigrants. Furthermore, conventional lists of constraints used in analysis could be redesigned so they are applicable both to the mainstream population and to special groups thus allowing for greater comparability. Development of such non-culture specific research tools should be conducive for comparative studies that would allow us to verify whether constraints of immigrants do converge to those of the mainstream with increasing levels of assimilation.

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