Impacts of Immigration on Ethnic Identity and Leisure Behavior of Adolescent Immigrants from Korea, Mexico and Poland

Monika Stodolska Jouyeon Yi Department of Leisure Studies University of Illinois

This research project focuses on the impact of immigration on the emergence of ethnic identity as well as on post-immigration changes in leisure behavior among adolescent immigrants from Korea, Mexico and Poland. The study is based on 16 in-depth, semi structured interviews with teenagers and young adults residing in the metro Chicago and Champaign-Urbana areas. Findings of the study indicate that ethnic identity of immigrant adolescents is shaped by three distinct processes. (1) First, it is a result of self-discovery of their cultural differences vis-à-vis mainstream Americans and other minorities. (2) Second, young immigrants establish their ethnic identity through comparisons with other members of their own ethnic in-group. (3) Third, outside labeling is crucial in developing ethnic consciousness among immigrant adolescents. In terms of changes in their leisure behavior we established that leisure of Mexican and Polish teenagers became more commodified following their settlement in the United States. Immigrant adolescents began to display work patterns uncommon among young people residing in their home countries. Moreover, teenage newcomers from all three ethnic groups adopted new leisure time patterns and new ways of organizing their leisure activities, and began to reevaluate their family relations following immigration.

KEYWORDS: Adolescents, immigration, leisure, ethnic identity

Introduction

Immigration is a phenomenon that affects most nations around the globe, including the United States, Canada and most European countries. The volume of international migrations appears to be growing—for instance the number of immigrants who live in the United States has tripled during the last twenty years and is now approaching thirty million or ten percent of

Address correspondence to: Monika Stodolska, Department of Leisure Studies, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 104 Huff Hall; 1206 South Fourth Street; Champaign, Illinois 61820. Email: stodolsk@uiuc.edu.

Author Note: Monika Stodolska is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Leisure Studies. Jouyeon Yi is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Leisure Studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and may be contacted at the same address above. Her email address is jyi1@uiuc.edu.

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the American population (US Census, 2000). While the motivations for migration vary across regions, as do immigrants' cultural characteristics, the groups of newcomers who arrive each year in cities such as New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Hamburg or London seem to share at least one common trait—they all include significant numbers of young children and adolescents.

The post-arrival period is often critical in terms of long term success of young immigrants and is likely to have profound implications for their psychological and emotional development, as well as for their identity. Young immigrants are faced with the new physical, social and cultural environment of the new country, they have to rebuild their social networks and very often deal with long-term separation from their families and loved ones. Adolescence is considered to be a difficult period in the life of every individual. Teenage immigrants not only have to deal with rapid changes in their lives related to physical and emotional development, but also, they have to carry the burden of immigration-related problems such, as isolation, discrimination, feelings of loss and lack of acceptance. Leisure activities play an important role in young people's lives by helping them to uncover their identity, establish their position within a peer group and maintain their self esteem (Kelly & Godbey, 1992). For young immigrants, the role of leisure is likely to be particularly critical during the initial period following their arrival to the new country. Free time activities may help teenagers to uncover their place within the new society, redefine their inter-personal relationships, find new goals in life and reevaluate their identity within the new social environment.

Research on leisure of racial and ethnic minorities has gained significant popularity in our field during the last two decades. The focus of this research was not limited to well-established minorities, but extended to populations such as immigrants groups. Work on immigrants conducted so far tackled assimilation patterns, constraints on leisure and leisure participation patterns after arrival (Tirone & Shaw, 1997; Juniu, 2000; Kim & Kleiber, 2001; Kim & Scott, 2000; Rublee & Shaw, 1991; Stodolska, 1998, 2000). However, despite the growing interest in issues of immigrant leisure, this strand of research remains in an early stage of development. Thus far, papers on the subject have been thematically isolated and largely descriptive in nature. We believe that there is a need to move beyond this phase by attempting to uncover patterns that can be generalized to all immigrant groups, while at the same time isolating unique characteristics of certain minorities. This task can be accomplished by focusing on several immigrant groups in a single study.

In this project we focus on the experiences of immigrant adolescents from three ethnic groups—Korean, Mexican and Polish who settled in the metro Chicago and Champaign-Urbana areas. Several reasons led us to select these three ethnic minorities. First, according to a recent U.S. Census (2000), Mexicans and Poles constitute the two largest immigrant groups in the metro Chicago area, while Koreans rank ninth. Second, currently all of these

groups, particularly Mexicans, make up a significant portion of new arrivals to the United States. Third, we aimed at selecting groups markedly distinct from each other in cultural terms. Lastly, these groups were selected in order to include both visible and ethnic white minorities, while at the same time representing three major geographic source areas of immigration to the United States (Latin America, Asia and Europe).

The objectives of the study are twofold. First, we analyze the role that leisure and the establishment-related experiences play in the creation of ethnic identity among young immigrants. Second, we identify changes in leisure behavior of young immigrants after their settlement in the host country. While this research concentrates on Korean, Mexican and Polish adolescent immigrants to the United States, we believe that many of its findings can be generalized to other immigrant populations.

Review of Literature

During the last twenty years, a significant number of studies analyzed leisure behavior of minority populations. While African Americans were the subject of most research conducted in our field, work on Mexican-Americans and other Latino groups is also a part of this literature. However, studies on the Korean and Polish minorities were quite isolated and often represented work of a single researcher, rather than a concentrated and long-term effort. In this section we will review research that focused on leisure behavior of Mexican-Americans, Korean-Americans and Polish-Americans. We shall also provide a general survey of work on leisure activities of young immigrants of other ethnic backgrounds.

Although some studies on leisure of Mexican-Americans appeared as early as the 1970s (Jackson, 1973), increased interest in leisure of this minority population can be attributed to McMillen's (1983) study on leisure participation of Mexican-Americans in Texas as well as to the establishment of a research project that focused on Mexican-American outdoor recreation by the USDA Forest Service in Riverside California. The controversial findings of McMillen's study began what turned out to be a sustained flow of research on leisure of this minority group. Between 1983 and 2001, papers dealing with recreation and leisure behavior of Mexican-Americans appeared quite frequently and regularly in various scientific journals and other outlets. They tackled not only the distinct patterns of leisure participation among Mexican-Americans, but also analyzed the relationship between their levels of assimilation and leisure behavior as well as culture-specific motivations for participation.

The majority of the studies exploring issues of recreation participation among Mexican-Americans compared their participation patterns to the "desirable" levels of participation among members of the "white (non-Latino) mainstream" and discovered their significantly lower rates of involvement in

outdoor recreation¹ (Cunningham, Leivadi, & Apostolopoulos, 1994; Mc-Millen, 1993; Murdock et al., 1990; Walker & Wirden, 1992). The lower participation rates among Mexican-Americans were most dramatic in the area of active sports. Hutchison and Fidel (1984) and Hutchison (1987) showed that in Chicago parks Mexican-Americans and other Hispanics did not participate in sport activities at the rates comparable to Anglo-whites and African Americans. Cunningham et al. (1994) analyzed participation in sport and fitness activities among white, black and Hispanic employees. He concluded that Hispanics, as well as blacks, were less likely to engage in sports such as golf, skiing, aerobics and swimming. The lower rates of participation among these two minorities were most pronounced for the lowest personnel and pay classification category. These findings appear to be consistent with the results of a study by Murdock et al. (1990) who found Mexican-Americans to be less frequent participants in 'expensive' activities such as golf and horseback riding. Some leisure activities, on the other hand, were found to be more popular among Mexican-Americans than among whites of other ethnic backgrounds. Both Murdock et al. (1990) and Floyd et al. (1993) observed significantly higher rates of participation of Mexican-Americans in consumptive activities (fishing), while Chavez (1991, 1996), Hutchison and Fidel (1984) and Hutchison (1987) indicated their preference to engage in more stationary family oriented activities such as picnicking, visiting with others, relaxing, being with family and playing with children. Mexican-American recreationists also displayed styles of participation markedly different from those of the local Anglo-white population. They tended to participate in large, multigenerational groups with a significant proportion of women, children and the elderly (Chavez, 1996; Hutchison, 1987; Hutchison & Fidel, 1984). Single-sex parties as well as couples were less frequently encountered among Mexican-Americans than among other whites. This observation was confirmed by Irwin, Gartner and Phelps (1990) who found Mexican-American campers to visit in large, family oriented groups.

The process of acculturation among Mexican-Americans was the subject of a series of studies conducted during the early 1990s. Findings of this research appear to suggest that the participation rates and patterns of Mexican-American recreationists are highly related to their acculturation levels. The most acculturated minority members showed no significant differences in their leisure participation patterns from Anglo-Americans. In contrast, the least assimilated newcomers differed substantially from Anglo-Americans and from immigrants with a longer generational tenure (Floyd & Gramann, 1992, 1993; Floyd, Graman & Saenz, 1993). Carr and Williams (1993) observed that individuals of Mexican ancestry were more likely than other whites to spend their leisure time with their immediate or extended families. They

¹Beginning with the influential marginality-ethnicity thesis introduced by Washburne in 1978, much of the subsequent research that focused on leisure among ethnic and racial minorities referred to "underparticipation" of minorities in selected leisure and recreation activities, thus implying that the levels of participation among the "white mainstream" constituted a desirable benchmark to which minorities should aspire to.

observed that Mexican-Americans with the highest acculturation scores were most likely to recreate in groups involving friends or to spend their time alone.

A significant number of studies tackled the issues of ethnic-specific motivations for leisure participation. Most of this research pointed out that Mexican-Americans' leisure was motivated by strong family values, that Mexican-American recreationists sought intensive social interactions with other members of their ethnic group and that, unlike the mainstream Americans, they did not stress individualistic goals and self-fulfillment (Floyd & Gramann, 1992; Hutchison & Fidel, 1984; Hutchison, 1987, 1988; Irwin et al., 1990; Pfister & Ewert, 1993; Walker & Wirden, 1992).

Research on leisure behavior of Korean- and Polish-Americans is much less developed than that on Mexican-Americans. Studies on these two minority groups began to appear only during the mid-1990s and so far have tackled only a limited number of issues, such as leisure behavior of senior citizens and the effects of assimilation on leisure. A recent study by Kim and Kleiber (2001) on cultural integration and ethnic preservation of older Korean immigrants found that leisure activities contributed to maintaining Koreans' cultural bonds, restoring their sense of ethnic identity, reinforcing their Koreanness and maintaining traditions. Although some leisure activities, such as shopping, exposed immigrants to the American culture, they were undertaken in a manner (performed in a "Korean way" and with Korean friends) that served the purpose of ethnic preservation. Leisure was used by older Korean immigrants as a tool of self-development, to create feelings of refreshment and transcendence, as well as for intellectual, physical, psychological and spiritual growth. In 1995 Kim and Datillo compared perceptions of leisure-related concepts among older individuals of Korean, African-American and Caucasian-American background. They found that there existed considerable differences in how people from these three ethnic groups perceived the notions of fun, free time, recreation and relaxation. In another study that focused on older Korean immigrants, Oh and Caldwell (2001) found that the more constraints on leisure older Koreans reported, the higher were their levels of boredom in exercise oriented activities, outdoor recreation, social activities and arts and entertainment. Immigrants who used selection, optimization and compensation strategies reported decreased levels of boredom in their leisure. Kim and Scott (2000) found that leisure was an important factor that helped Korean immigrants to deal with establishment-related problems, enhanced their self-esteem and reduced stress related to acculturation. More acculturated immigrants were found to have a higher sense of self esteem and experienced lower levels of acculturative stress related to alienation and problems with raising children in the new environment. Korean immigrants who perceived more leisure benefits had higher levels of self-esteem, higher levels of acculturation, and experienced less acculturative stress.

A study by Stodolska and Jackson (1998) on recent Polish immigrants to Canada found that patterns of discrimination experienced by white ethnic groups differed from those of well-established visible minorities both in terms

of the types of discriminatory treatment and the locations where discrimination was most likely to take place. In particular, Polish immigrants tended to experience markedly less discrimination in leisure settings than in other locations. In another study, Stodolska (1998) employed Gordon's (1964) theory of assimilation in order to analyze constraints on leisure experienced by recent immigrants from Poland. Findings of this study suggested that immigrants experienced barriers not commonly found among the mainstream population (such as insufficient language skills and not feeling at ease among the mainstream) and that the perceived importance of certain constraints among immigrants diminished with increasing assimilation level. In a study of assimilation patterns among recent immigrants from Poland, Stodolska (2000) analyzed changes in lifestyles, with particular emphasis on leisure behavior, during the immediate post-arrival period. Causes for the observed changes as well as age-at-immigration and activity-based variations in ceasing and starting leisure activities were established. It was shown that the observed post-arrival leisure participation changes could be partially attributed to past latent demand, to the decreased role of certain interpersonal constraints, and to exposure to new leisure opportunities.

Despite its rapid expansion during the last two decades, the literature on leisure of racial and ethnic minorities includes a very limited number of studies that tackle problems of young immigrants. Examples of such studies include work by Tirone and Pedlar (2000) on young South Asians in Canada, by Yu and Berryman (1996) on Chinese adolescents in the New York City, as well as a series of studies by Carrington, Chievers, and Williams (1987), Glyptis (1985) and Taylor and Hegarty (1985) on teenage South Asian immigrants to the United Kingdom. Tirone and Pedlar (2000) found that leisure of South Asian teenagers and young adults was centered around their extended families. Immigrant adolescents spent much of their free time with parents and siblings and they stressed the central role of family in many other aspects of their life. On the other hand, young adults and teenagers often broke down family restrictions and participated in mainstream Canadian activities such as dances, going to clubs and sport activities. Yu and Berryman (1996) analyzed the interactions among constraints on leisure, self-esteem, and acculturation among teenage immigrants from China. Their findings indicated that the lifestyle and leisure participation patterns of adolescent Chinese immigrants closely mirrored those of their ethnic community. Findings of the study showed that along with increasing acculturation levels, Chinese adolescents participated more extensively in sports and affiliated more often with recreational clubs. Studies conducted in the United Kingdom (Carrington, Chievers, & Williams, 1987; Glyptis, 1985; Taylor & Hegarty, 1985) showed that participation in out-of-home leisure activities and sports by South Asian immigrant girls was constrained by the lack of parental approval, strict dress codes, and by their own religious beliefs. At the same time, South Asian boys enjoyed relative freedom from similar restrictions (Carrington et al., 1987).

The great majority of studies that focused on issues of leisure of ethnic minorities and immigrants conceptualized ethnicity as a stable, objectively

defined and pre-assigned trait, typical to people of certain national origin and with common historical roots. Measures of ethnicity were commonly derived using self identification survey questions, language proficiency or, alternatively, were simply assumed to be fully determined by one's country of origin and/or mother tongue. While we do not intend to downplay the value of ethnicity measures based on language proficiency, adherence to specific values and national origin, we believe that ethnicity is a much more complex phenomenon than what one can hope to capture using sociodemographic indictors. Our standpoint is that ethnicity is a socially constructed concept that emerges under specific historical and situational circumstances and that is being shaped and reformulated by members of minority groups in their daily interactions with the mainstream society. This view does not deny the existence of racial or ethnic categories themselves, but rather poses questions about the meaning of being an ethnic or racial group member in a given society and at a given time. In the following section we will review commonly employed definitions of ethnicity and ethnic identity and we will provide an overview of theoretical approaches that have shaped our understanding of the evolution of ethnic consciousness at the group as well as individual levels.

Theoretical Background

According to Berry (1958, quoted by Anderson and Frideres, 1981, p. 36), an ethnic group is a group of people

possessing ties of cultural homogeneity; a high degree of loyalty and adherence to certain basic institutions such as family patterns, religion, and language; distinctive folkways and mores; customs of dress, art, and ornamentation; moral codes and value systems; patterns of recreation; some sort of object to which the group manifests allegiance, such as a monarch, a religion, a language, or a territory; a consciousness of kind, a we-feeling; common descent (perhaps racial), real or imagined; and a political unit.

Hutchison (1988) describes ethnicity as "A membership in a subcultural group on the basis of country of origin, language, religion, or cultural traditions, different from the dominant society" (p. 18), while Glazer and Moyniham (1970) see ethnic groups as interest groups. In their view, ethnicity serves the purpose of mobilizing groups behind causes relevant to their socioeconomic position within the host society.

According to Isajiw (1990), ethnic groups give rise to "(a) social organization, an objective phenomenon that provides the structure for the ethnic community, and (b) identity, a subjective phenomenon that gives to individuals a sense of belonging and to the community a sense of openness and historical meaning" (p. 35). Ethnic identity is described by Isajiw as a "manner in which persons, on account of their ethnic origin, locate themselves psychologically in relation to one or more social systems, and in which they perceive others as locating them in relation to those systems" (Isajiw, 1990, p. 35 after Lewinian, 1948). Isajiw distinguishes external and internal aspects of ethnic identity. External aspects refer to observable behaviors such as main-

taining ethnic traditions, speaking ethnic language, participating in ethnic personal networks, institutional organizations, voluntary organizations (clubs and societies) as well as in functions sponsored by the ethnic community (e.g. dances, picnics and concerts). *Internal aspects* of ethnic identity refer to images, attitudes and feelings. Isajiw (1990) maintains that the internal factors are interconnected with external behavior, but that two components may vary independently. Thus, a person may retain a high degree of internal ethnic identity, but not display visible ethnic behaviors and *vice versa*.

Yancey, Ericksen and Juliani (1976) see ethnicity as an emergent phenomenon, rather than as an ascribed trait. On the group level, ethnicity develops in circumstances which reinforce the maintenance of family relationships and friendship networks, such as common occupations, residential concentration and dependence on common institutions and services (Yancey et al., 1976). Moreover, ethnicity takes on a continuum of values, and the effect of ethnic heritage varies depending upon the situation of the group.

Barth (1969) points out that a person's ethnic identity is a composite of the view one has of himself or herself as well as the views held by others about the person's ethnic identity. Ethnicity is not a stable attribute assigned to an individual, but an attribute that can change depending on situations and audiences with whom an individual is interacting. Similarly, Nagel (1994) perceives ethnicity as a dynamic, constantly evolving and socially constructed attribute that is a basis for personal identity and that gives rise to group organization. Ethnic boundaries are constructed by individual's selfidentification (based on one's language, religion, culture and ancestry) and by external factors, such as racism experienced on everyday basis and official ethnic categories and policies. Thus, "ethnic identity is the result of a dialectical process involving internal and external opinions and processes, as well as the individual's self-identification and outsider's ethnic designations i.e. what you think your ethnicity is versus what they think your ethnicity is" (Nagel, 1994, p. 154). Nagel stressed the dynamic character of ethnic identification and emphasized socially constructed aspects of ethnicity. According to her constructionist view "ethnic boundaries, identities, and cultures are negotiated, defined and produced through social interactions inside and outside ethnic communities. The origin, content and form of ethnicity reflect creative choices of individuals as they define themselves in ethnic ways" (Nagel, 1994, p. 152). Each individual can simultaneously have a number of ethnic identities. Which one becomes salient depends on the circumstances—where and with whom the interaction occurs.

Conzen and her associates (1992) view ethnicity as a "process of construction or invention which incorporates, adapts, and amplifies preexisting communal solidarities, cultural attributes, and historical memories" (Conzen et al., 1992, pp. 4-5). According to them, ethnicity is constantly being reinvented in response to changing realities both within the group and the host society. On the group level, the invention of ethnicity has its temporal and spatial dimensions. It is a process taking place within the framework of specific historical events that provides the basis for solidarity among ethnic

group members and mobilizes groups to defend their cultural values and to advance their claims to power. On the level of individual, the invention of ethnicity helps to resolve "the duality of the foreignness and the Americanness" which immigrants and their children experience after their arrival to the United States (Conzen et. al, 1992).

Methods

The analysis presented in this study is based on a research project employing semi-structured, in-depth interviews. The target population of this study included young people of Korean, Mexican and Polish descent who were born outside of the United States and immigrated to the U.S. either as children or as teenagers. Three major criteria guided the selection of the interviewees. Participants had to be between 14 and 22 years of age (high school or college age) at the time of the interview, they had to be 1st or 1.5 generation² immigrants (born outside of the U.S.) and they had to immigrate to the United States either as children or teenagers. Respondents were selected with the help of key informants from each of the three ethnic communities. Key informants were asked to select individuals meeting the three major selection criteria and representing a variety of socio-economic backgrounds.

Interviews were conducted with sixteen teenagers and young adults. Five of them were of Mexican descent, five of Korean descent and six of Polish descent. The interviewees included ten males and six females between fifteen and twenty two years of age whose length of stay in the U.S. ranged from five months to fifteen years (in the case of the oldest interviewee). The majority of our interviewees (eleven) were high school students. Two of the interviewees were college freshmen and three were employed full-time, including an office assistant, an employee of a local youth radio station and a restaurant worker. The interviewee selection process was intended to ensure that a broad range of socio-economic backgrounds was represented. Although this goal had been accomplished in case of Korean and Polish interviewees who represented both working-class and middle-class families, the majority of our Mexican interviewees were of working-class rather than of middle-class background. Moreover, while Polish interviewees came from both urban and rural environments, majority of Korean adolescents grew up in big cities while Mexicans were generally from small towns. The interviews were conducted between June and October 2001 in the metro Chicago and Urbana-Champaign areas in the homes of the interviewees, in their places of employment, at an ESL school, in coffee shops, and student lounges. One interview was conducted at the home of the first author.

Korean and Polish interviewers and interviewees were matched in terms of their ethnicity. Interviews with Mexican subjects were conducted by the

²"1.5 generation" is a term used to describe people who immigrated at a very young age and were raised in the country of settlement.

primary author of the article with the help of a research assistant of Latin American descent or an outside interpreter. Interviewees were offered a choice of questions being asked either in English or in their native language. Since the majority of interviewees had settled in the U.S. quite recently, they chose to be interviewed in their native language. Only five interviews were conducted in English. Interviews lasted between 25 minutes (in one case) and 2.5 hours. Before each interview, participants were informed about the general purpose of the study, the format of the interview, and the topics that the questions would cover. Interviewees were queried about changes in their lifestyle following immigration, problems with the establishment in the U.S. (including problems at school, with their peers and parents), views on their place in the American society and their leisure behavior before and after immigration. 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. By allowing respondents to express their personal views freely, we were able to learn about new phenomena, discuss their significance with interviewees, and address them in subsequent interviews with other respondents. Issues and opinions that surfaced during the interviews were followed up in subsequent conversations with other study participants. The majority of interviews were tape recorded and subsequently transcribed. In the case of two interviews that were not taped recorded, detailed contemporaneous notes were taken. These notes were subsequently sent to interviewees for verification and feedback. Besides transcribing the exact content of all taped interviews, notes were kept on everything that we believed to be relevant to the topic of the study, as well as on other contextual factors.

Analysis on the collected data was performed by employing constant comparative method (Galser & Strauss, 1967). Once the interview sessions had been transcribed, major themes regarding the impact of immigration experience on self identity of immigrants, their adjustment problems (including problems they experienced at school, with their peers and parents), their views on and evaluation of their new life in the United States, as well as changes in their leisure behavior were noted. During the following stage of analysis, the transcripts were re-read and common themes and categories were isolated. Finally, after all the relevant points had been synthesized from the data, the transcripts were read to ensure that all the important aspects of the phenomena had been accounted for. In order to obtain information useful in assessing reliability of the data, researchers conducted informal conversations with other Korean, Mexican and Polish immigrants, including individuals actively involved in the respective ethnic communities.

Findings

The findings of this study were divided into two main sections: (i) the role of leisure and the establishment-related experiences in the creation of

ethnic identity and (ii) post-immigration leisure experience of young immigrants. Within each section, several themes relevant to the emergence of ethnic identity and changes in leisure behavior among young immigrants were identified. To ensure clarity of presentation, we attempted to maintain a fixed sequence of ethnic groups while discussing the findings—Mexican-American interviewees, followed by Korean-Americans and Polish-Americans. In several instances, however, we had to deviate from this format given that some themes were relevant only to two of the three groups while others were particularly well pronounced in a single group.

The Role of Leisure and the Establishment-Related Experiences in the Process of Identity Formation

Ethnic identity of immigrant adolescents had been found to be shaped by three distinct processes. First, we established that the sense of ethnic identity among our young interviewees was partly a result of self-discovery of their own cultural differences vis-à-vis broadly defined mainstream Americans and other minorities residing in the United States. Second, young immigrants established their identity through comparisons with other members of their own ethnic in-group. Lastly, outside labeling proved to be crucial in developing ethnic consciousness among immigrant adolescents. Leisure was found to play a pivotal role as one of the central elements of their ethnic heritage.

Self-discovery of cultural differences vis-à-vis mainstream Americans and other minorities. Since all of our interviewees came from relatively ethnically homogenous countries,³ prior to their immigration to the United States they had not been in a position to realize their common cultural traits. After having settled in the U.S., they began to perceive themselves as members of a minority group that was culturally distinct both from the mainstream Americans and from other ethnic groups present in this country. This process of ethnic identity formation involved a discovery of who they were vis-à-vis other ethnic groups and the American culture and, at the same time, a recognition of what America was. The process of cross-cultural contact served as a catalyst that allowed them to isolate ethnic characteristics typical to their in-group and traits, in their view, representative of out-groups with whom they had interacted.

The common cultural traits that appeared to be most important to young Mexican-Americans were strong family relations, warmth of their interpersonal contacts and spontaneity of their leisure engagements. Conversely, Americans were perceived to be much more restrained in their per-

³While both Korea and Poland are over 99.9% and 97.6% respectively ethnically homogenous countries (CIA World Factbook, 2001), Mexico is inhabited by a number of distinct ethnic and racial groups. We argue, however, that the transition to the multicultural environment of the United States where ethnic groups maintain their language distinctiveness and represent immigrants from different countries made adolescent Mexicans realize their distinctiveness, and at the same time, common traits of their culture.

sonal relations, while individual members of American families were seen as less caring and more independent. As one of the female, Mexican-American high school students from a working-class family remarked

Maria: There is very much love in our families, the Latino families have a lot of love. There are some friends I know, I am in the seniors' class, and they all will go to universities far from here [Illinois], because they don't wanna stay with their families. For example, I have a friend. . . I told her, "Where do you wanna go? [to the University of Illinois?]" [and she replied] "No way", she said "Finally I will leave my home."

Commenting on the warmth and spontaneity of their leisure engagements one of the female Mexican interviewees in her twenties, from a middle-class family, said

Isabella: [In México] Everybody is welcome . . . they come . . . during the day, you don't need to call. You just go and knock. But here! You'd never do that, you'd never go to somebody else's house without calling [and asking for] an invitation. In México, during the afternoon, you just say, "ok we'll go to someone's house" . . . Just walk and go (. . .) [Here] even if we are Mexicans, I know that my friend works, so I am not going to come if she won't be there, so, first I call. In México, she is not working so I just come. (. . .) The people here. . . I don't know. . . they are very individualistic, they are not very friendly.

Moreover, Mexican interviewees stressed the very social nature of their leisure engagements and the importance of extended families as a carrier and container of leisure. In the words of the same Mexican young woman

Isabella: In México you are never alone. In my experience, what I remember, I wanted to be alone in my house, and a friend comes, and my sister, and my uncle, and it was like. . . (. . .) This is the most important thing that you have, your family, to share with somebody. Friends, friends, you can have a lot of friends here, in school, at work, but not at home. . .

Conversely, personal contacts among mainstream Americans were *perceived* to be more official and reserved and their leisure to be more planned and organized. Americans were seen as individualistic and independent in their leisure pursuits. Interestingly, all of our Mexican interviewees had quite a negative attitude to what they perceived to be American customs and behavior. As one of the young Mexican female interviewees commented, "It's the way they act. I think that is the same thing: Culture. 'We are the best', 'We are very powerful', 'US is the best, and we are number one'. That is in their minds, since they are born." The lack of sensitivity to the needs of other people that allegedly characterizes Americans was one of the traits most criticized by young Mexicans. On the other hand, they saw themselves as friendly and sensitive to the needs of others.

Similarly, Korean interviewees perceived Americans as individualistic and direct in their interpersonal contacts. One of the traits that characterized Koreans, on the other hand, was lack of directness in personal conversations. As one of the more assimilated female Korean interviewees from a working-class family who immigrated to the U.S. 8 years prior to the interview noted

Sunny: Sometimes I am not comfortable to talk to Korean people because I am confused about what they really mean. They did not speak out their thoughts or feelings openly and directly. So, sometimes I am more comfortable to talk to American people. I think, American people talk in a more direct and open way.

Moreover, adolescent Koreans stressed the importance of Confucian values that permeate their culture, including respect for the elderly, restraint and hierarchy within social group based on age, gender and social status. One needs to stress that the traits identified be the interviewees were *perceived* to characterize their ethnic cultures and the culture of mainstream Americans. As such, they may or may not have been based on rational reasoning and could be no more than stereotypical images of certain ethnic groups.

The majority of Polish interviewees were quite positive about their experiences in the United States. They saw this country as a "land of opportunity" and generally negatively recalled their experiences from Poland. An eighteen year old Polish respondent of a working-class background who immigrated nine months prior to interview summarized the difference between the United States and his home country in these words

Marek: I would like to go to Poland for vacations, to have some fun, but I would definitely like to come back to the U.S. Because in Poland you work to death and you have nothing! Here you also work to death, but at least you have something. Because here the money is different and when you make some money you can actually buy something for it, go for vacations, buy some stuff. That's why if I ever go to Poland, this would be to visit my family only.

Commenting on the first experiences at a new school, one of the Polish interviewees mentioned that Americans are much more open and establish contacts with strangers more easily than Poles. Poles were described as more "uptight" (word used by the interviewee), more shy and restrained in interpersonal relations. As one interviewee mentioned, "when people [Poles] come here they are afraid of everything, Poles are shyer, less bold (. . .). They [the Americans] are straightforward, they will tell you what they think, they are not afraid that someone will laugh at them." While discussing the economic situation in Poland and their intentions of returning to the home country, several interviewees mentioned that Poles are cliquish and prone to using their kinship and friendship networks, even while tending to the most trivial matters. An interviewee also mentioned that Poles are more serious then Americans who tend to laugh a lot and have a "worry free" attitude.

Immigrant adolescents began to see their common characteristics vis-à-vis other ethnic groups with whom they had everyday contacts in America. Interestingly, this theme surfaced very clearly when teenagers were asked whether they would consider dating or marrying someone from outside of their ethnic group. Catholic religion as a cultural trait appeared to be particularly relevant for our Mexican-American interviewees. In the words of a 17-year old female of a working-class background

Maria: Your customs, your culture, traditions, everything—everything is different. Because Americans, they aren't able to understand you in everything. . .

(. . .) It is difficult because if you marry someone who doesn't like the same religion, if he doesn't believe in something and you are. . . it is weird. . . like in my case, that is the way I'm gonna raise my children you know. . . for example. . . for us religion is most important, most, most, most important. . . this is the number one.

Another young Mexican-American, middle-class woman commented about the importance of certain common values that need to be passed to their children.

Isabella: It is not that you have to [marry] a Mexican, but it is not very common to marry an American because it is your blood, your culture. For example, I would teach my girl not to go with a boyfriend, because for me, my father, family taught me that until I got married I shouldn't [go out with a guy]. And I believe in that, and I'll teach that to my children, and if the father is an American he will probably do it differently. [He will say to the children] "What is the matter, go ahead, it is not important!" If for me it is very important and for him it is not, the children will be confused. (. . .) Religion is another thing—we are very Catholic.

Interestingly, Mexican-American interviewees stressed not only differences that existed between their culture, moral values and upbringing and the culture of mainstream Americans, but brought up the issue of cultural congruence of Mexican immigrants and people from other Latin-American countries. One of the female interviewees, asked whether she would consider marrying a non-Mexican, replied that she would only marry a Latino person who spoke her language and subscribed to her religious beliefs. She commented that Latino people were characterized by a common culture, same sense of humor, similar historical past and geopolitical situation vis-à-vis the United States and that they could understand each other better than people of non-Latino descent.

Korean-American adolescents also expressed a strong preference for marrying people of the same cultural background. In their case, however, cultural dissimilarity of other ethnic groups seemed to be less important than the strong opposition of their parents and Korean community in general to interracial marriages. A middle-class Korean woman in her twenties who immigrated to the U.S. as a young child and whose father owned a small business commented

Hee-Jin: My parents do not worry about me and my brother marrying people of other races because my brother and I would marry only Koreans. Not even Asians! I dated a white American boy for two months because at that time I needed him for the prom party. But I quit dating him when he openly made passes on me. My mother told me "just take a picture at the party because he is so handsome, but that's it. Do not meet him again." So, I quit dating.

Similar views were shared by the majority of our Polish interviewees. As one 18-year old female Polish teenager of a working-class background remarked "I could date a Hispanic guy, but I would not marry a Mexican or an African American". Asked why, she replied "because they have different

mentality than we [Poles] do." Later she elaborated that she would only marry a Catholic, mainly due to the difficulties in raising children in families coming from different religious backgrounds. An 18-year old male Polish teenager commented "I would not marry a person from another culture. You know . . . they have a different culture, they eat different things than we do. . ." Later he remarked "Koreans, Chinese and Hindu/Pakistani are different than us [Poles]. They stick together; they keep their heads in the books all the time. They never have fun!" Interestingly, contrary to our Korean interviewees, young Poles stressed that it was their own cultural preferences that guided them in the choice of partners and that the opinions of their parents had very little influence on their decisions in these matters.

Comparisons with other members of ethnic in-group. Findings of our study showed that adolescent immigrants used comparisons with other members of their own ethnic group in constructing their ethnic identity. Both the assimilation level and the socio-economic status were used as markers of their position within the ethnic community. This theme was particularly pronounced among our Korean and Polish interviewees. Korean adolescents positioned themselves along a continuum ranging from a "Korean-Korean" ("FOB" in young people's slang)—a person who has stayed in the United States for a relatively short time, shows adherence to traditional Confucian values (most importantly respects the authority of the elderly) and speaks primarily Korean language, to a "Korean-American" (or a "Twinky")—a person who speaks fluent English and is usually of higher socio-economic status. One of the young Korean interviewees mentioned that compared with her brother, she was a "Korean American" and her brother was a "Korean-Korean" because he spoke "Konglish" (awkward mix of English and Korean) while she could speak English as "native" Americans do. Other interviewees pointed out that Korean-Koreans (or "true" Koreans) showed respect to the elderly and accepted authority of older people within the group, while Korean-Americans did not. Korean Americans were also perceived to be as individualistic as mainstream Americans. As one of the female Korean interviewees of a working-class background who immigrated to the U.S. 8 years prior to the interview recalled

Sunny: When I go to a restaurant with Korean friends, we always ask each other what to eat, decide on the menu together, stand in the [order] line together, and eat together. One day I went to a restaurant with Korean friends. One of them was a 2nd generation Korean American. As soon as we entered the restaurant, he went to the order line, pick up his food and began to eat without asking other people what to eat, or paying attention to what they had. After that, all other Korean people criticized him by saying that he was rude and he was such an individualist.

Similarly, Polish teenagers referred to recent immigrants as "Poles" or even "Polacks" and contrasted them with better assimilated and more affluent "Polish-Americans." One of the more well-off adolescents residing in the suburbs who immigrated to the U.S. six years prior to the interview described

less assimilated Poles living in the Chicago ethnic ghetto the following way "They are uneducated. . . they are afraid to leave their closed community, they will work to death, they are the simple people, less educated people." Another 19-year old male interviewee from a middle-class family residing in the suburbs commented "They [Poles living in the ethnic enclave] stash their money in their pockets or under their mattress, they don't spend anything. Even if they buy something, they don't know how to enjoy it." This extreme thriftiness of some Poles allowed them to send money to their families living in the home country, to save for the illusory "time of need", gave them a feeling of power or, conversely, allowed them to buy leisure-related items (usually cars) helpful in conspicuous display of their wealth. A 16-year old Polish girl from a middle-class family who emigrated to the U.S. at 8.5 years of age recalled why she was embarrassed to speak Polish at school

Kasia: I was ashamed of . . . being different. . . I was ashamed that other kids will think I'm a Polack. Because, you know, they don't understand that there are Polish immigrants and Polacks. That is, there are people, you know, who came here, who got jobs and who are assimilating and living as everyone else and there are those. . . Polish people [with disapproval] who think that they are still living in Poland. They . . . they are not assimilating. They refuse to speak English, they speak Polish all the time, they look different, they behave different. Some of them lived here for 10-20 years and they don't speak English at all. But people don't know that, they think we are all like that.

In contrast, a majority of our Polish interviewees described themselves as Polish-Americans—more socially and economically mobile, willing to learn the language, hard-working but "knowing how to spend their money" (i.e. working for a purpose, enjoying life and not living for their savings) and embracing the lifestyles of mainstream middle-class Americans.

Outside labeling. As a last theme, and in agreement with the existing theoretical and empirical work on issues of emergent ethnicity, outside labeling was found to play a pivotal role in identity formation among adolescents. Young immigrants not only self-discovered their own cultural distinctiveness from the American mainstream and from other ethnic groups, but also were induced to develop ethnic consciousness by being seen and treated as different and by being labeled as "ethnics" by the outside world. Discrimination by their mainstream peers constituted an additional factor that increased the desire of adolescent immigrants to search for their ethnic roots. This theme surfaced particularly strongly in interviews with Mexican and Polish adolescents. Mexican interviewees mentioned frequent fights with white and black students. As a 22-year old, middle-class man who arrived to the U.S. at the age of 8 and attended high school in a predominantly Mexican neighborhood of Pilsen recalled his teenage years

Juan: When I was in high school we were often jumped by black guys, there would be constant fights after school between Mexican and black kids. One time a riot almost broke out. With whites . . . no there was no open conflict . . . they called us names, they called us "spikes" and "wetbacks" but there were

no open fights. (. . .) You know, blacks never called us names though, never. Perhaps because they were called names themselves and they knew better. . .

Moreover, both Mexican and Polish adolescents recalled that American students often teased and ridiculed them, used ethnic/racial slurs and refused to engage in personal contacts with the immigrant youth. One of the Polish interviewees mentioned "In Poland when a new kid came to school everybody tried to be friendly. Here it's different . . . Americans don't have a very . . . friendly attitude". Another 18-year old Polish teenager of a working-class background who arrived to the U.S. only nine months prior to the interview observed

Marek: On our school bus there is this one short guy. I lost my nerves because of him. He would always tease me and laugh at me, you know, say nasty stuff because I speak funny English. First, I didn't pay any attention, now I can't stand it anymore.

Discrimination as a differential treatment by school personnel was also something that surfaced in several interviews with Polish adolescents. It forced young immigrants to see themselves as people of lesser value and of lesser capabilities than their mainstream American colleagues. As an 18-year old Polish high school student recalled his first ESL class, "They gave us candy for every correct answer! Can you imagine—they were giving us candy and we were all 17- and 18-year old people and they treated us like we were in the kindergarten." An 18-year old female teenager recalled her ESL class in one of the Chicago suburban neighborhoods

Gosia: One day the teacher brought her deodorant, soap, perfumes, lipsticks, nail polish and other stuff with her to class. And then she started showing us and explaining, one by one, what the soap is for, what the deodorant is for, what the hand lotion is for. And she said "Americans like it when people smell good". We were all stunned! What was she thinking—that we are from where?! It was like she was telling us "all you immigrants stink, get yourself a bar of soap, this is how to use it."

Interestingly, when asked who among the school personnel they had the most problems with, all interviewed Polish adolescents pointed out the school counselors and ESL teachers. While they praised "regular" American high school teachers for their fairness, friendliness and sensitivity, they complained that counselors were insensitive to their needs, often dishonest, and willing to let them "slip through the cracks in the system."

Korean teenagers did not perceive discrimination to be a particularly important problem. Even though they recalled some conflicts between different ethnic/racial groups in their schools, they treated them as personal matters between individual students, rather than as incidents of antimmigrant discrimination. As one of the 18-year old male interviewees who came from a family of shop-owners mentioned

Soo-Min: The Syrian students were very often teasing Korean students and calling them "Chinks." So, sometimes, there were fights between two groups of

students. You know. . . . high school students sometimes fight each other, same as in Korea. But, other than that, I think, Korean students have good relationship with other students.

Open acts of discrimination and more subtle cases of differential treatment made young Mexican and Polish immigrants realize that after settling in this country they became a part of a mosaic of many ethnic and racial groups. While previously they rarely had an occasion for contemplating their national traits, inter-ethnic contact made them realize that they were different, in many respects, from their peers of different national origins.

Post-Immigration Leisure Experience of Young Immigrants

The second objective of our study was to uncover patterns of postimmigration leisure experience of young immigrants. Several wellpronounced themes surfaced during the interviews. First, the leisure of Mexican and Polish teenagers who arrived from economically less-developed countries appeared to become more commodified following their settlement in the United States. Second, immigrant adolescents began to display work patterns uncommon among young people residing in their home countries. Third, changes in family relations following immigration proved to significantly alter their leisure behavior. Lastly, teenage immigrants began to display new leisure-time patterns and new ways of organizing leisure activities. It has to be noted that it is likely that the experiences of young immigrants vary significantly depending on their socio-economic background rather than solely the ethnic group to which they belong. Relatively low numbers of interviews prevented us, however, from discussing the effects of socioeconomic status within specific ethnic groups and from making broader generalizations.

Commodification of leisure. As the results of our study revealed, following immigration, Mexican and Polish interviewees were able to purchase leisure-related products previously unavailable even to their parents (e.g. cars, computers). Not only did these leisure-related items became accessible to them, but also young immigrants became immersed in a more materialistic culture and became a part of the buy-and-spend cycle. A young female Mexican high school student of a working-class background who settled in the U.S. 2 years prior to the interview observed

Maria: For example, in Mexico there are stores and everything, but you don't go to a store and say "okay, I will buy . . . I don't know . . . these pants, this blouse and that. . . ." [In Mexico] we buy each thing in its time. . . "If I need it I buy it, if need that I buy it. . . ." Here it is not like that. Here you say "I buy. . . I buy. . . I buy. . . "

On many occasions, Mexican and Polish interviewees mentioned that in America one needed money to be able to afford leisure and to "fit in" within the American teenage culture. As a 19-year old male Polish interviewee of a middle-class background who immigrated to the U.S. at the age of 12 described

Micha): Who at our age in Poland could afford a car? Here, a kid arrives, particularly if he comes from a working-class family, he'll spend all his money on a car, on clothes, on gadgets, you know, so he can show off in front of people "look at me what I have, I can afford it." (. . .) The truth is that in America a lot of girls will fall for a guy with a car and when she sees that the guy has a car and lots of money, she will fall for him. I can tell you from my own experience—I had a girlfriend, an American, and she told me "If I fall in love with somebody it's OK, but I will marry the guy who has the money because then I will have an easier life."

The trend of conspicuously displaying wealth in front of less affluent, more recent immigrants and, oftentimes, among people living in their home country, turned out to be very pronounced among young Polish interviewees and also surfaced in some interviews with recently arrived Mexicans. A Polish, female high school student of a working-class background who emigrated to the U.S. at the age of 17 commented on one of her friends

Gosia: He's 22-years old and he drives a Cadillac. He pays \$500/month car loan for this Cadillac and another 500 for the insurance. And I asked him "so how much money do you have left for living?" and he said "not much", so I thought "OK, fine". But he will drive this Cadillac, so everybody can see. Because he has to show to everybody that he has a nice car, he has to show to everybody that he can afford this car. It's nothing that he eats canned food and frozen pizza the whole week and never has normal food to eat, but he drives a Cadillac and everybody can see that.

The shock of the newly found wealth and the conspicuous displays of one's material status seemed not to characterize adolescent Koreans. While before the 1960s the differences in standards of living between Korea and the United States had been quite pronounced, over the last thirty years Korea has experienced significant economic growth. Thus, a new generation of immigrants arrived to the United States from a country with a capitalist economy, market full of western goods and purchasing power close to the one enjoyed by Americans (Kim, 2000). While Korean adolescents did not observe marked differences in the standards of living and leisure activities they participated in the United States and in their home country, they all complained about the increased costs of their favorite leisure pastimes. A 16 year-old boy from a working-class family, who immigrated to the U.S. 2 years prior to the interview said

Suk-Hun: I don't think there is big difference between Korea and the U.S. in terms of leisure style. In Korea, boys want to have a motorcycle, but here boys want to have a car. We can go to a PC room and Karaoke bar, and play pool as we did in Korea. But the problem is . . . everything is more expensive here than it was in Korea. For example, I paid \$1 per hour at PC rooms in Korea, but I pay \$3 per hour at PC rooms here.

Another 19 year-old Korean teenager also commented on higher costs of leisure activities in the United States "Parents give me the same amount of money here as in Korea. This means I cannot play as much as I did in Korea. I need more money, but they cannot understand me." The higher costs of leisure activities experienced by Koreans and a strong preference for pur-

chasing leisure-related items among Mexican and Polish youth made adolescent immigrants reconsider their sources of income.

New work patterns. None of the interviewed Mexican, Korean or Polish teenagers had been employed in their home countries. In all three countries, the prevailing attitude was that young people should concentrate on their studies and that their parents should provide for them until they have completed their education. However, all interviewees expressed a desire to work in order to satisfy their material needs that were mostly leisure-related in nature (e.g. automobiles, clothing and entertainment). Moreover, following immigration, many young Mexican-Americans were compelled to seek employment not only to be able to afford leisure-related items, but also to supplement their family income. A 17-year old Mexican-American girl of a working-class background asked whether she worked replied

Maria: Yeah, you have to. . . It is not that you have to, but you feel the need, I mean, everybody works, and you are like. . . . Yeah, money for yourself and money for your family, you know and get out of the house maybe. (. . .) And if you don't work. . . you don't go out . . . you need money to go out . . . it's like a little wheel. . . you need money.

Another Mexican-American young woman who held a clerical job at a local college made a reference to the consumerist culture that made young immigrants want to pick up additional employment

Isabella: The culture of the U.S. is . . . how do you call it? Consumismo? (. . .) So, if you have the opportunity to work, and buy all the stuff that is on the TV, you will work. . . Because, everything is what you want, what you need in the school, everything. In México it is important, but nobody is worried if your friend is using something because her parents bought that. . .

Similar sentiments were echoed in interviews with young Polish-Americans. A 17-year old teenager of a middle-class background who emigrated to the U.S. 14 months prior to the interview made a reference to the fact that in order to have a car and take part in the American teenage culture one needed to work

Adrian: In here everything revolves around the car—you can't go anywhere if you don't have a car and if you don't have a driver's license. Your leisure and your freedom depend on your car. If you have work, you have a car and then you can have a true fun.

Conversely, Korean parents usually did not allow their children to take up employment while they were still in school since they believed that work interfered with their education. Some teenage boys were allowed to pick up summer jobs in order to get "life experience", but Korean girls, in general, were strongly discouraged from doing any type of menial work such as waiting tables or working in a store. An 18-year old male teenager from a family of store owners who moved to the U.S. 4 years prior to the interview described

Soo-Min: In the U.S. it is so expensive to play pool or to go to a Karaoke bar. (. . .) My friends paid the costs for me, but sometimes, I had to [pay]. But, I

couldn't afford it. So, I decided to get a part-time job. But, my parents did not allow me to do it. They said, "we immigrated [to the U.S.] to educate you, not to make you work. Just spend as much as what we give you." During the summer vacation, however, they allowed me to have a part-time job, just for the experience. So I worked at a Karaoke bar and a beauty supplier shop.

The lack of parents' approval of their children's after-school work was one of the most important reasons for intergenerational conflict among Korean families. On the other hand, while significant tensions existed between young and fast-assimilating adolescents and their more traditional parents, immigration also made them realize the importance of families in their lives.

New family relations. Immigration and new work patterns that followed the settlement in the United States were found to significantly alter family relations, thus modifying leisure behavior of adolescent immigrants. Immigration experience made adolescents value their families more in terms of their support and advice, but also as confidants and leisure companions. Moreover, social isolation that accompanied many immigrants during their settlement period (that, in extreme circumstances, could take as long as several years) made them rely more on family members as leisure coparticipants. These feelings were shared by almost all of our Mexican and Korean interviewees. Asked whether she noticed that she spent less free time with her parents following immigration, a 17-year old female Mexican interviewee of a working-class background replied

Maria: We actually spend more time (. . .) because in México, you know, you see your mom, your dad, your cousins, your friends, your neighbors. . . . When you come here [to the United States] you don't have friends, you don't have neighbors, you don't have anything . . . only your family, so. . . you get involved with them.

Similarly, many of our Korean interviewees indicated an increase in the frequency of leisure-related family interactions following their immigration to the United States. Korean teenagers were accustomed to their fathers' spending little time with them back in Korea due to long work hours and a cultural emphasis on interactions with co-workers rather than with family members. This had changed after the arrival in the United States where middle-class Korean families could finally enjoy 9-5 work schedules. The circumstances were different among Koreans who owned small retail stores and dry-cleaning businesses. Due to the fierce competition, they were forced to keep their businesses open as late as 11 PM and during Sundays and major holidays, thus sacrificing their family leisure time. Interestingly, however, even though they had less available leisure time, the immigration experience made them reevaluate their family relations and realize the importance of spending quality time with their loved ones. A 21-year-old Korean undergraduate student who immigrated to the U.S. at the age of 9 and whose father worked at a dry-cleaning businesses summarized it this way

June-Ho: Everything came to be difficult after immigration; our family came to stick together more than before. (. . .) In Korea, only my mother and sister cared about me and my father worked very late everyday, so he did not have

time for me. Even Sundays he just slept because of fatigue. But here he changed. My father cares about us more than my mother. He is more concerned about our education and school than my mother. Also, he became a Christian after immigration and every Sunday our family has to go to church together and spend time together. After worship, I spend time with my friends until 4 pm, but after that my family is home together.

Young Korean immigrants and their parents were able to recognize the role that their families played in the immigration process, the support that they received from them during difficult establishment period and acknowledge the fact that family members were often the only people they could rely on in time of need.

Interestingly, the circumstances appeared to be different among Polish immigrant families. Polish teenagers complained about not spending enough free time with their parents who were overwhelmed by work and by establishment-related problems. Our interviewees perceived it to be a result of the Americanization of their family life. As one 19-year old male Polish high school senior from a middle-class family commented

Michal: In Poland we would come back home, after school, and we could always spend time with our parents at home. Here for example . . . I work the second shift and go to school in the morning, so I can see my parents sometimes in the morning for a brief moment and sometimes on Saturdays and Sundays when I wake up early enough. In Poland you had much more contact with your parents. In Poland they would work 8 hours at the maximum and then they would be home, all of us, in the evening, we would sit and you could be together for two hours. Only then we would all go our way. Here you don't spend this time together.

In a similar tone, a 17-year old male Polish interviewee of a middle-class background who emigrated to the U.S. only 14 months prior to the interview commented "Last year I saw my mother only on Saturdays and Sundays. Americans are like that. They only work and work and don't have time for each other. This is how they live their lives. They are used to that." In general, Polish-American adolescents negatively evaluated changes that immigration brought to their family life. On numerous occasions they referred to the fact that immigration leads to break up of families and implied that overworked parents didn't have enough time and energy to adequately supervise their children, which led to delinquency among young immigrants.

New leisure time patterns and new ways of organizing leisure activities. The final theme that had been identified was related to the new leisure-time patterns among young immigrants. Both Mexican and Polish interviewees reported a decrease in time available for leisure following their arrival in the United States due to taking up employment in addition to their school-related responsibilities. Moreover, Mexican and Polish adolescents indicated that their leisure time in the United States was more structured and less spontaneous than it had been in their home countries. A 17-year old Mexican-American high school junior of a working-class background described

Maria: [In México] . . . when we go out we go to the plaza . . . and buy some ice-cream or go to the movies . . . [here] . . . you can go to the movies . . . buy some ice-cream, go to the mall and walk all over, but [sadly] it is not the same thing. I mean . . . You need to plan ahead . . . at least one week . . . everything is very . . . scheduled. (. . .) Like in México, we used to say "okay, now we'll go to this place" and we did and we enjoyed it and we came home, but here we can't suddenly say "Oh!, Just go to the movies". [Your friends will tell you] "we can't because we already have other arrangements", thus, you are used to take your time, [we need to] all agree if we can do something together, if everybody can go, if everybody can reach the place, if their parents can leave you in the movie theater, who will pick you up? . . . Many things . . . you get use to do it, you are forced to do it even if you don't want to.

During the initial period after their arrival, parents of Mexican and Polish teenagers appeared to monitor leisure of their children more strictly than they used to in their home country. Adolescent interviewees attributed it to the fact that in the United States their parents were more afraid for their safety, they were not familiar with the surroundings, and that, unlike in México, they did not know personally the families of their children's friends. The same Mexican-American teenager described her leisure experience

Maria: Here I need to ask my father to let me go out. [In México] I was like "ahorita vengo . . ." [informal way of saying 'I'll be back soon . . .'] (. . .) Here it is totally different, 100% different. In here it is "Where are you going? Why?, With whom?, What will you do?, What time will you come back?"

Polish interviewees indicated that in the U.S. young children were not allowed to spend their time unsupervised, while teenagers that had not yet reached the driving age became dependent on their parents or older friends for transportation. In the words of one 19-year old male interviewee

Michal: In Poland life and growing up is totally different than here. Here you can't go anywhere without a car—it's totally different. For example, recently I moved to a new neighborhood. There the children . . . 5, 6 years of age, they don't even have a playground and every time I come back from work, regardless of the hour, I see this little girl in the window, and she sits there all the time because she has no one to take her for a walk. In Poland she would be playing on the street with other children and she would be happy. Here people don't have time to play with their children or take them to the playground because they are all busy working.

In general, Mexican and Polish interviewees seemed to experience changes in how they organized their leisure time in very similar ways. Both in Mexico and in Poland children and teenagers experienced more freedom in terms of how, when and with whom they spent their leisure time. They attributed this change to different social standards in the U.S. (e.g. "children are not allowed to play unsupervised"), to the geographical layout of the city (majority of leisure-related places in the U.S. require driving), to the decreased role of community in supervising children and adolescents and to safety and security issues.

Conversely, young Koreans, who were not allowed to work or were required to attend private tutoring schools after immigration, tended to enjoy their leisure time in the U.S. more than they had been back in their native country. They reported spending their free time "hanging around" after school, playing on their computers, or going to PC rooms. On occasions, some of them visited karaoke bars. In general, they seemed to positively evaluate change in their leisure lives that took place after the settlement in the United States. An 18-year old interviewee from a working-class family, who had been raised by his grandmother and aunt, commented

Min-Suk: Compared to Korean students, I think I do have more leisure time because I don't have private tutoring after school is over around 2 pm. (. . .) But here everything is so expensive, so I cannot go to PC rooms or play pool as much as I could in Korea. So, we more often hang around the lakes or at friends' houses.

In has to be stressed that majority of adolescent Korean interviewees grew up in an urban environment in their home country, quite similar to the one they encountered after settling in the United States. For them, the less competitive nature of the American school system and the fact that in the United States they did not have to attend after-school tutoring lessons brought a positive change to their leisure experience.

Discussion

It is difficult to consider the nature of human leisure behavior in isolation from the broader context of people's lives. In this study we showed how leisure, interwoven into the reality of post-immigration life, contributed to the emergence of ethnic identity among young immigrants and how leisure itself was affected by the changes associated with immigration. Consistent with Nagel's (1994) assertion, in this study we did not interpret ethnic identity as a stable attribute that can be unequivocally assigned to individuals of certain cultural background, but rather as a dynamic, constantly evolving and socially constructed concept. While prior to immigration, a majority of our interviewees had not been in the position to analyze their common cultural characteristics, immersion into a new socio-cultural environment made them reevaluate their identities. They began to perceive each other as distinct from their mainstream American counterparts, as well as from people belonging to other ethnic groups and, at the same time, they were assigned ethnic labels by the outside society. Adolescent immigrants were not only faced with the self-identification problems typical to their age group in general, but also were compelled to reevaluate their cultural identities, national allegiances, and to deal with the burdens of their immigration status. Second, this study found evidence to support Nagel's (1994) assertion that ethnicity is a highly situational construct. Each of our interviewees carried with himself or herself a portfolio of ethnic identities that he or she evoked depending on specific circumstances and on specific audiences. Adolescent immigrants could feel and behave as Mexicans when defending their cultural heritage

or as "Americans" while interacting with less assimilated members of their own ethnic group.

Results of this study are consistent with the extensive body of empirical evidence (Alvirez & Beam, 1976; Keefe & Padilla, 1987) that found Mexican immigrants to possess very strong family values and be characterized by particularly warm interpersonal relations. Consistent with the findings by Chavez (1991, 1996), Irwin et al. (1990), Juniu (2000) and Rublee and Shaw (1991), families were found to play a central role as carriers and containers of leisure among this ethnic group. Leisure behavior of Mexican-Americans was found to be highly spontaneous, people-oriented and less planned and organized than free-time activities of mainstream Americans. Mexican-American interviewees valued the role of the community in their lives, and sharing responsibilities and helping others were pointed out as some of the most important traits of their culture. Results of this study also suggest the existence of a strong feeling of ethnic solidarity between Mexican-Americans and other people of Latino descent.

Our young Korean-American interviewees pointed out the adherence to traditional Confucian values, such as respect for the elderly, strict hierarchy within the group, restraint, mutual respect and obedience within the families as traits characteristic to their own culture. Adolescent Koreans shared their parents' dreams of obtaining a good education and displayed a motivation to succeed quite unusual for young people from other ethnic groups. Highly enclosed Poles, on the other hand were perceived by our young interviewees as hard working, thrifty and at the same time prone to conspicuous displays of their newly obtained wealth. Polish immigrants in general were found to be serious, tense and restrained in their personal relations. We need to stress, however, that the goal of our study was not to arrive at a comprehensive list of cultural attributes of specific ethnic groups, but rather to identify certain traits that adolescent immigrants came to perceive as those typical to people of their own ethnic background. One can argue that such perceptions are likely to be highly situational and to depend on personal characteristic and socio-economic backgrounds of individual respondents.

Consistent with Barth's (1969) and Nagel's (1994) assertions, adolescent immigrants established their ethnic identities not only through self-realization of their cultural distinctiveness, but also through being labeled as different and by being placed into specific ethnic categories by outsiders. Results of our study clearly pointed out that the adolescent world is far from being free from discriminatory behaviors. Children and teenagers engage in discriminatory activities largely resembling those perpetrated by their more mature counterparts. In addition to being singled out by other teenagers, ethnic identity of young immigrants was affected by institutional factors. Particularly in the context of the school system, institutional arrangements intended to ease the adaptation process for immigrant students often had the opposite outcome and effectively contributed to perpetuating ethnic inequalities and stereotypes. As interviews with Polish teenagers suggested, the insensitivity of some ESL teachers and school counselors to the cultural

needs of their students, as well as the implicit assumption that newcomers possess lesser capabilities than their American counterparts, might have negative long-term effects on the development and socialization of immigrant children and adolescents. While the results of this study do not warrant making sweeping generalizations about the way our educational system deals with minority students, some of the observations resulting from this study are quite troubling.

While one of the goals of this paper was to trace the emergence of ethnic identity among young immigrants and thus establish commonalities shared by people of the same ethnic background, we need to stress that each of the groups discussed in this paper was in itself highly diverse. It is important to keep in mind that while members of ethnic groups may share certain similarities, the groups are comprised of individuals with diverse socioeconomic backgrounds, life histories, values and opinions.

Results of the study showed that through inter-ethnic contact adolescent immigrants not only crystallized their ethnic identities, but also embarked on a path of discovery of what America is. In general, Americans were seen as more upfront, individualistic, independent and time conscious, but the concept of "Americanness" proved to be as situational as the ethnic identities of young immigrants. The perception of America and Americans was affected by the social class and economic position of immigrants. While Mexican-American interviewees generally held negative attitudes toward the American mainstream culture, their opinions were likely shaped by their experiences with discrimination and by the fact that their ethnic group did not enjoy a degree of economic success comparable to white (non-Latino) mainstream Americans.

On the other hand, the perceptions of America among Polish adolescents were a result of a reevaluation and verification of the uncritically positive image of the United States that was deeply embedded into Polish culture. Given the readily apparent disparities between the standard of living of recent immigrants and that of mainstream Americans, many immigrants from Poland began to associate "being an American" with social recognition and material wealth and felt compelled to obtain at least the tokens of economic success. Korean teenagers, in general, had quite positive attitudes toward the middle-class, suburban American culture they learned to associate with the American way of life through movies they had seen on Korean television. However, rather than having an emotional attitude to real or perceived traits of the American people, they saw America as a gateway to a good education, as well as to social and economic success.

Changes in leisure behavior among adolescent immigrants helped them to crystallize their notions of American culture and the American way of life. All of the interviewed adolescents, regardless of their ethnic background, came to realize that now they needed to work in order to be able to afford desirable leisure activities and to attain a standard of living comparable to that of their American counterparts. Young Koreans arriving from a relatively wealthy country whose prevailing standard of living was not much different

from that of the United States were faced with increased costs of leisure activities. On the other hand, both Mexican and Polish adolescents, who initially disapproved of the American consumer culture, tended to become as money-conscious as other Americans of their age. They began to show tendencies to conspicuously display their recently acquired status symbols in front of less assimilated members of their ethnic group (Veblen, 1967) and to use leisure-related items (e.g. cars) to gain or to solidify their position within their newly established peer-groups. Consistently with Veblen's notions of conspicuous leisure and conspicuous consumption, young immigrants tried to gain entry into the higher strata of the mainstream American society through the acquisition and display of material, often leisure-related, goods. One of the main reasons behind their drive to achieve economic success was not the improvement of their standard of living per se, but rather obtaining a status comparable to that of the their mainstream American friends (see the discussion of pecuniary emulation—Veblen, 1967, p. 36). As a consequence of accepting employment at an early age, leisure time itself became less valuable for young immigrants. The teenagers were willing to sacrifice their former ways of life and the "freedom from owning" that characterized adolescence in their former countries in order to attain material leisurerelated items cherished by their American peers.

Results of this study also showed that adolescents going through extremely difficult transitional period of immigration realized the importance of their families and became closer to some of their loved ones in the process. Immigration undeniably had a powerful influence on their psychological and emotional development; it made them grow up much faster than other people of their age and shaped their lives in a way few transitional events ever could.

Changes in lifestyles of young immigrants can partially be reconciled with the predictions of the selected acculturation framework (Keefe and Padilla, 1987). Consistently with the selective acculturation model, our Mexican and Korean interviewees retained some of their cultural values, promoted them in their leisure engagements and used them to distinguish their ethnic identity from that of other groups residing in this country. While family cohesiveness, warmth and spontaneity of leisure engagements and strong religious beliefs were the traits that Mexican immigrants retained the most, the Confucian values such as respect for the elderly and strong hierarchy within the group were clearly visible in leisure activities of young Koreans. In some instances, leisure allowed adolescent immigrants to retain selected values from their ethnic cultures, while in other cases it constituted means of their cultural assimilation and was useful in improving their socioeconomic status in the host country. Majority of interviewed teenagers observed that they had become more "money conscious," that they were willing to learn the language and by embracing the materialistic and time-conscious culture of the Western society were able to adapt to the new environment. In this respect, teenagers from all three ethnic groups displayed tendencies toward selective acculturation. While we may argue that among Mexican adolescents the retention tendencies were the strongest, Polish teenagers displayed most pro-assimilation orientations. One may claim that the cultural distance, the significance of certain core values (family orientation, religiosity) and the ethnic support networks in the area of settlement may affect the balance between assimilation and retention tendencies.

Conclusions

The goal of this study was to identify the role that leisure played in the process of self-discovery of ethnic identity among young immigrants and to analyze changes in their leisure behavior following immigration to the new country. We did not seek to establish any "objective" cultural traits of young immigrants, nor did we intend to provide a complete characterization of Korean, Mexican or Polish ethnicity. Rather, we sought to discover what ethnicity meant for the adolescents and to trace the process of self-discovery of their ethnic roots. Results of the study indicated that ethnicity is a fluid and culturally created construct. Through the immersion in a culturally distinct environment and through contacts with people from other ethnic groups, ethnic traits of adolescent immigrants became crystallized. The study also helped to identify patterns of leisure change following immigration. Despite many distinct traits that were found to characterize leisure of adolescent immigrants from three culturally and economically different backgrounds, many commonalities were noted. While the generalizability of findings was not a goal of this study, we may conjecture that some of the themes identified, such as commodification of leisure and new patterns of time management, may be relevant to other immigrant groups that settle in the developed countries of North America or Europe.

It needs to be noted that attitudes toward one's own ethnic heritage and views on the need for preservation of cultural traits, may depend on a person's age at immigration, as well as on the location of settlement in the host country and the timing of immigration. As previous research suggests (Gans, 1979, 1992), the tendency to preserve one's own cultural traits, or conversely to assimilate, may be highly influenced by the size of the ethnic community and by the availability of support networks and ethnic institutions that it provides. The balance of cultural retention and ethnicity creation as opposed to adaptation and assimilation tendencies may also depend on the socioeconomic background of immigrants. Variables such as rural versus urban residence in the country of origin, the type of schooling received before immigration and the level of English language proficiency are likely to affect the post-immigration experience. Although the number of interviews precludes us from making generalizations related to socio-economic background of interviewees, we may tentatively argue that immigrants of high socio-economic standing may feel more confident in their position in the new country, which in turn makes them less likely to turn against their native roots. Conversely, immigrants of working-class backgrounds or low levels of self esteem, particularly peer-group-conscious children and teenagers, may

be more likely to reject their ethnic heritage in favor of quick and conspicuous assimilation. This relationship could be moderated by the effects of the size of the ethnic group and local support network in the place of settlement. While among teenagers who do not have to interact with mainstream individuals on everyday basis and are comfortable within their ethnic enclave, assimilation tendencies may be retarded, those lacking ethnic support networks and immersed in the mainstream environment will face pressures toward assimilation regardless of their socio-economic status. One may also argue that the education level prior to immigration and the socio-economic background of their families may strongly influence upward mobility among young immigrants. Adolescents of middle-class background would be more likely to leave the safety zone of their ethnic group and try their luck in the mainstream job market. Discrimination or lack thereof as well as the level of acceptance by the mainstream community are also likely to affect the pace of assimilation of young newcomers, particularly from racially distinct ethnic groups. Thus, future research, especially if it employs cross-ethnic comparisons, should not assume homogeneity within ethnic populations, but should account for internal variations within groups.

While during the selection of study participants we consciously strived to choose a group of interviewees that was well-balanced in terms of important socio-economic characteristics, our sample did not include young Mexican Americans of higher socio-economic status, which could potentially affect the findings. While this study has been able to provide some interesting observations, it has also raised a number of important questions. A more thorough, large-scale project would be needed to determine how attitudes of adolescents toward their ethnic heritage change depending on their age at immigration and how they evolve with increasing lengths of stay in the host country and with increasing assimilation levels. It would be useful to trace the patterns of preservation of traditional ethnic leisure pursuits and to study the interplay of leisure and ethnicity at various stages in the assimilation process.

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