
Articles

The Role of Ethnic Enclosure in Leisure in the Economic Achievement of Korean Immigrants

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The objective of this study was to examine whether enclosure in leisure among Korean immigrants acted as a drawback to or a resource in their economic achievement in the United States. The theoretical framework for this study was provided by Wiley's (1967) ethnic mobility trap theory and by Portes' and Bach's (1985) and Wilson's and Portes' (1980) enclave economy hypothesis. In the fall of 2002 and spring of 2003, self-administered, anonymous questionnaires were mailed to 458 first generation Korean immigrants residing in the greater Chicago area. A total of 204 properly completed questionnaires were returned. Leisure enclosure was evaluated on the basis of four questions: language in which immigrants engaged in certain leisure pursuits, presence of non-Korean close friends, frequency of participation in leisure activities with people of non-Korean descent, and frequency of leisure interactions with non-Korean co-workers. Economic achievement was measured using the respondents' annual, personal, gross income. The results of multiple regression analysis provide a confirmation for Wiley's (1967) ethnic mobility trap theory. Korean immigrants' level of leisure interaction with mainstream friends and co-workers and the presence of non-Korean friends are positively associated with their economic achievement.

KEYWORDS: *Ethnic enclosure, leisure, economic achievement, immigrants, Korean.*

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Introduction

Ethnic and racial groups constitute a significant and constantly growing segment of the American population. They not only play a very important role in the nation's economy, but they also offer enormous contributions to its cultural and political spheres of life. The growing importance of minorities in the social, cultural, and economic life of the United States has been recognized by leisure researchers, who in the last 25 years focused on the issues of their leisure behavior with increasing frequency (Floyd & Gramann, 1993, 1995; Philipp, 1999; Shinew, Floyd, & McGuire, 1995; Stamps & Stamps, 1985; Washburne, 1978). The role of leisure activities as a venue for ethnic interactions and as a factor that can influence immigrants' economic achievement after immigration, however, has been, so far, largely overlooked in the leisure literature. At the same time, issues of retention of ethnicity, ethnic enclosure and its effect on immigrants' mobility have been the subject of a major theoretical debate and generated a significant volume of empirical research in the fields of sociology and ethnic studies (Boyd et al., 1985; Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach, & Reitz, 1990; Featherman, Jones, & Hauser, 1975; Herberg, 1990; Isajiw, 1990; Isajiw, Sev'er, & Driedger, 1993; Lautard & Guppy, 1990). The majority of this research focused on the relationships between ethnicity, spatial segregation, and the reliance on enclave economy and the economic advancement of immigrants, while the effects of leisure activities on people's adaptation and economic achievement have rarely been tackled. One can argue, however, that leisure activities in which immigrants participate and the ethnic composition of their leisure networks can have a profound impact on other aspects of immigrants' lives, including their economic success after arrival. In particular, the phenomenon of ethnic enclosure in leisure, a tendency of minorities to maintain social networks primarily within their ethnic group and to use ethnic community resources to facilitate their leisure, is likely to play an important role in the process of achievement of ethnic minority members.

Ethnic enclosure in leisure may act as a drawback to economic achievement by reducing the opportunities for social interactions that may be useful for achieving mainstream professional success. Since it is often through social, leisure-related interactions that one learns about job opportunities, ethnically enclosed immigrants who desire employment outside of their ethnic enclave might not have the networks necessary to pursue career opportunities within the mainstream society. Furthermore, ethnic enclosure can remove incentives and opportunities for immigrants to acquire the linguistic and social skills necessary for professional success (Sanders & Nee, 1987; Wiley, 1967). Finally, lack of free time association with mainstream co-workers may also decrease the chances for professional success of those immigrants who are already employed outside of their ethnic enclave (Jo, 1999).

On the other hand, ethnic enclosure in leisure can serve as an asset in the economic achievement of immigrants. Enclosure in the leisure sphere of life can strengthen solidarity within an ethnic group and may act as a

stress-relieving mechanism for immigrants whose professional life is largely restricted to interactions with the mainstream (Portes & Zhou, 1992). It can also provide a coping mechanism for those who experience a significant level of discrimination in mainstream professional settings (Stodolska & Jackson, 1998). Furthermore, for individuals who are dependent on the enclave economy for employment, ethnic enclosure in leisure can help improve relationships with other members of the ethnic group, thus facilitating professional and social achievement within the community. This argument is consistent with a large body of literature that shows the importance of leisure in building social capital and thus improving people's and communities' well being and promoting their economic success (Glover, 2004; Hemingway, 1999).

The purpose of this study is to analyze the role of ethnic enclosure in leisure as one of the predictors of the economic achievement of Korean immigrants residing in the metropolitan Chicago area. The specific *objective* of this study is to examine whether leisure-related enclosure among Korean immigrants acts as a *drawback* to, or a *resource* in, their economic achievement in the United States. This research will expand our understanding of the dynamic nature of the adaptation processes among newcomers and provide a contribution to the body of knowledge on leisure behavior and economic achievement of ethnic and racial minorities.

Korean Americans have been chosen as a subject of this study for several reasons. First, they are a numerically large minority group in the United States (U.S. Census, 2000a). Among the 11 million Asian Americans residing in the United States in 2000, approximately 1.2 million constituted Korean Americans, including 34,536 Korean Americans residing in the greater Chicago area (U.S. Census, 2000a, b). Second, Korean Americans are characterized by large variations in terms of their economic achievement after immigration (Pollard & O'Hare, 1999). That is, while on average Korean Americans enjoy relatively high levels of education and incomes exceeding those of non-Hispanic Whites, the Korean American community in the U.S. also contains a number of underprivileged families with incomes below the poverty line (\$18,810 for an average family of four in 2003) (U.S. Census, 2004). Lastly, Korean Americans are known to maintain strong ties within their ethnic community and a sizable number of Koreans are highly dependent on their ethnic enclave for employment (Jo, 1999; Min, 2000). In particular, Korean Americans tend to be overrepresented in small businesses serving the needs of the ethnic clientele (Jo, 1999; Light & Bonacich, 1988; Light & Roach, 1996; Min, 2000; Noland, 2002; Yoon, 1997). The overrepresentation of Korean Americans in this employment category has been attributed to their lack of English language skills and job information after arrival, to the existence of strong networks within the Korean ethnic community, and to their higher educational background (Jo, 1999; Min, 2000). A large proportion of Korean immigrants work with family members or other co-ethnics, speak the Korean language, and practice Korean customs during their work hours (Min, 2000). Moreover, during the non-work hours, many Korean Americans are known to actively participate in their ethnic churches

and to socialize mainly with other members of their ethnic group (Min, 2000).

Literature Review

Leisure Behavior and Social Networks among Ethnic Minorities

Social networks of immigrants and their ethnic enclosure in particular, have been addressed in passing in several research papers (Carr & Williams, 1993; Hutchison, 1987; McDonald & McAvoy, 1997; Stodolska & Jackson, 1998). The majority of these studies have provided evidence that minorities often participate in recreational activities in ethnically segregated groups, usually due to the expectation of discrimination or due to people's cultural preferences. For instance, the results from the Johnson, Bowker, English, and Worthen's (1998) study indicated that there existed "racially demarcated" spaces in the Apalachicola National Forest and that certain areas were to be avoided by Black recreationists. African Americans participated in large, ethnically homogenous groups that served as a deterrent to any possible hostile attacks on the part of local Whites. McDonald and McAvoy (1997) showed that the expectation of discrimination from White recreationists and from the local law enforcement made Native Americans recreate in the remote areas of their own Reservation and spend time in the company of their family members or their Native American friends. Stodolska and Jackson (1998) argued that minorities use ethnic enclosure in leisure to distance themselves from ethnically motivated unfair treatment at work, school, or in public places and that some minorities may prefer to associate with other co-ethnics due to similar cultural and historical backgrounds.

Cultural reasons for the existence of ethnic enclosure in leisure have been alluded to in several research projects. For instance, Hutchison (1987) observed that Hispanic users of Chicago parks participated in leisure in large, ethnically homogenous, multigenerational groups with a significant proportion of women, children, and the elderly. Irwin, Gartner, and Phelps (1990) observed that Mexican-American campground users did not mix with Anglos, and that they participated in markedly larger groups with a significant proportion of them being children. Carr and Williams (1993) also confirmed that Hispanic recreationists with low acculturation levels were most likely to spend their free time with members of their families as opposed to friends or alone and to recreate in ethnically homogenous sites. Additionally, Carr and Williams noted that, "while it is not possible to directly measure the role of social definitions in individual's recreation decision-making, the results seem to support the importance of seeking to recreate in areas where other recreationists have compatible social definitions" (p. 33).

Leisure Behavior of Korean Immigrants in the United States

There are no specific data on the average amount of time Korean Americans spend on leisure pursuits. According to Abelmann and Lie (1995),

however, the vast majority of Korean Americans “live lives of constant work and little luxury” and Korean small business owners typically endure long working hours. As Stodolska and Alexandris (2004) showed, leisure often allowed Korean Americans for the conspicuous displays of their wealth, as well as symbolized the realization of their dreams and a success in the American society. The results of recent studies have also shown that leisure helped Korean Americans adjust to the new society after immigration and preserve their ethnic identity. For instance, Kim and Scott (2000) found that leisure was an important factor that helped Korean adolescents deal with establishment-related problems, enhanced their self-esteem, and reduced stress. Kim (2001) speculated that the uncertainty and loss of control caused by international relocation can prompt immigrants to maintain strong attachment to their ethnic identity and ethnic enclave as a means of self-protection.

Several studies have also demonstrated that leisure can be related to Korean immigrants’ economic life, and to the upward mobility of the second generation Korean Americans. According to Light, Kwuon, and Zhong (1990), many Korean immigrants are actively involved in the so-called *Kye* or rotating credit associations, which function similarly to mainstream banks, in that they collect savings from and disburse credit to their members. Among Korean immigrants experiencing difficulties in obtaining loans from mainstream American banks, *Kye* have been widely regarded as the crucial source of venture capital (Kim et al., 2001; Light et al., 1990). Kim (2001) and Kim et al. (2001) described *Kye* as a leisure activity often practiced by adult Korean Americans. They found that most Korean immigrants held their *Kye* meetings at Korean restaurants or in the house of one of the group members. Besides resolving financial issues, the meetings provided an opportunity to chat, exchange the news on the happenings in the community, reconnect with the past, and relax in an informal atmosphere. In addition, Lew (2001) argued that active involvement in ethnic social networks (entrepreneurship associations, local churches, and community organizations) provided second generation Korean Americans with access to ethnic capital. Similarly, Stodolska and Alexandris (2004) found that participation in recreational sports—such as golf and tennis—strengthened ties within Korean alumni associations that were often indispensable in the early economic success of Korean immigrants.

Furthermore, the results of several studies have shown that, similar to other racial and ethnic minority groups, many Korean Americans experienced prejudice and discrimination during their leisure, and that these experiences made them turn to social interactions with other co-ethnics (Min & Kim, 2000). Under the conditions of racialized American society, in order to overcome limitations of ethnic and racial minority status, Korean immigrants displayed attachment to their ethnic identity as a means of self-protection, self-preservation, and self-empowerment. By attending Korean churches, joining Korean organizations and informal clubs, Korean Ameri-

cans obtained economic gains, social support, and a sense of belonging (Min & Kim, 2000).

Theoretical Background

A significant volume of research exists on the adaptation patterns of ethnic and racial minorities, including much theoretical work on the assimilation processes, ethnic stratification, ethnic enclosure, ethnic enclaves and their relation to the economic and social mobility of minorities (Gordon, 1964; Nagel, 2002; Porter, 1965; Portes, 1997; Portes & Zhou, 1992, 1993; Wiley, 1967). The evidence as to the role ethnic enclosure plays in the economic achievement and upward mobility of immigrants is quite inconclusive. One of the most widely applied models linking ethnicity to economic achievement is the “drawback model,” which predicts that higher attachment to ethnic traits led to lower economic achievement among minority groups. In Canada, a classic formulation of the model was developed by John Porter (1965). Commonly known as the “Porter Thesis,” the model focused on macro-level changes in occupational patterns of ethnic minorities and predicted that the cultural and social dissimilarity of a minority from the Anglo-Saxon mainstream was a determinant of its occupational pattern. The validity of the model has been subject to much debate and preliminary empirical evidence in its favor has been largely contested by more recent studies (Isajiw et al., 1993).

While the “Porter Thesis” applied to ethnic groups as a whole, another approach to the issue of ethnicity as a resource or a drawback to economic advancement was proposed by Norbert Wiley (1967) in the context of the United States. Wiley’s “ethnic mobility trap” theory focused on individual attachment to ethnic community, as opposed to changes in the relative power of ethnic groups at the societal level, as a determinant of success for individual members of ethnic minorities. Wiley (1967) argued that ethnic communities might offer easy opportunities for the short-term success of immigrants, but long-run possibilities within such communities could be quite limited. He used a metaphor of a tree to represent the opportunity structure and tree climbing to represent mobility itself. Individuals who chose a career path in the ethnic economy were portrayed as having climbed onto the limbs. Their career options were limited since “if a person is at the top of an isolated limb, direct ascent may be impossible” (Wiley, 1986, p. 181). Only those who chose to “retreat to the trunk,” or to pursue careers within the mainstream labor market, would be able to realize their full potential for economic success. Wiley gave an example of a boy from the slums who strived to advance within his gang culture by accumulating tattoos, knives and police records. His advancement within the gang was compared to climbing a limb of a tree. On the other hand, spending free time in the settlement house with social workers represented an attempt to return to the trunk. Similarly, for ethnic minority members, pursuing careers as journalists, nurse assistants, or blue collar workers operating within their ethnic community could be compared to climbing the branches of a tree. It is only by upgrading one’s

education, obtaining American certifications, and licenses and serving the mainstream market (i.e., going back to the trunk), however, that minorities may realize their full potential and attain economic success. Wiley (1967) argued that while the opportunities for success offered by the mainstream society are theoretically larger than those available within ethnic circles, pursuing them requires some initial loss of socio-economic status and involves a greater degree of uncertainty. Hence, the ethnic community constitutes a safe haven for those who are willing to accept existing upper limits on their future advancement.

In the 1980s, Alejandro Portes and his associates formulated the “enclave economy hypothesis,” which directly contradicted the thesis that ethnicity and ethnic enclosure may serve as a drawback to achievement and mobility of immigrants. They proposed that immigrants who pursue occupations within the ethnic enclave might in fact be better off, as they gain entry into ethnic networks that can help them in starting their own businesses (Portes & Bach, 1985; Wilson & Portes, 1980). The hypothesis predicted that a concentrated network of ethnic firms offers immigrants an avenue for economic advancement by creating jobs and opportunities for entrepreneurship within the ethnic enclave, as well as providing access to capital and job training (Portes & Jensen, 1992; Portes & Zhou, 1992). Immigrants in an enclave labor market receive returns to human capital that are equivalent to those they would be able to receive in the primary labor market. Thus, “through creation of a capitalism of their own, some immigrant groups have thus been able to circumvent outside discrimination and the threat of vanishing mobility ladders” (Portes & Zhou, 1993, p. 87) and “employment and ownership of ethnic firms offer an alternative to the dead-end jobs in the outside labor market” (Portes & Zhou, 1992, p. 500). Ethnic businesses also provide immigrant workers with a more culturally familiar work environment, more flexible business hours, and opportunities for interacting in their native language and practicing their traditional customs. Most important, ethnic businesses help the more ambitious immigrants accumulate capital and learn the trade that may help them in establishing their own businesses. As such, immigrants create conditions for their own mobility and side-step the difficult process of the initial establishment within the mainstream society.

In light of these two theories, this study will test the following hypotheses:

- H₁: Ethnic enclosure in leisure has a negative effect on the economic achievement of Korean immigrants thus supporting Wiley’s (1967) ethnic mobility trap theory.
- H₂: Ethnic enclosure in leisure has a positive effect on the economic achievement of Korean immigrants thus supporting Portes and Bach’s (1985) enclave economy hypothesis.

The goal of this study is to determine which of the mutually exclusive theories, the *ethnic mobility trap* (Wiley, 1967) or the *enclave economy* (Portes & Bach, 1985; Wilson & Portes, 1980), is best supported. Although the theories

predict opposite outcomes, both Wiley and Portes stressed the role of ethnic enclosure in the *economic* sphere. However, this study will examine the hypotheses that *leisure* choices and leisure-time associations act as the predictors of the economic attainment of immigrants. If the results of this study suggest that ethnic enclosure in leisure has a negative effect on economic achievement of immigrants, Hypothesis 1 will be confirmed, which can be interpreted as evidence to support Wiley's (1967) ethnic mobility trap theory. On the other hand, if it is found that ethnic enclosure in leisure has a positive effect on economic achievement of immigrants, Hypothesis 2 will be confirmed, thus supporting Portes and Bach's (1985) and Wilson and Portes' (1980) enclave economy hypothesis.

Methods

Questionnaire Design and Administration

A self-administered questionnaire survey was used to collect data for this project. In order to create a sampling frame of first generation Korean immigrants, a list of 1280 Korean sounding-names was selected from the telephone directories of the city of Chicago and one of its suburbs with large concentration of Korean minority members (Northbrook). A similar method of selecting minority respondents was successfully used in studies by Stodolska and Jackson (1998) and by Ho et al. (2005). Even though some Koreans do not have what one would consider a typical Korean name, the assumption was that such a selection process would only introduce a slight bias by excluding intermarried immigrants and those who had changed their names. Furthermore, individuals without telephones as well as those with unlisted telephone numbers were excluded from the sample, which might have introduced certain bias by omitting the poorest and the most affluent population strata. In the fall of 2002 and in the spring of 2003, all selected individuals were contacted by telephone to verify their ethnic descent, to determine whether they were first generation immigrants, and to ascertain their willingness to participate in the study. All potential respondents who could not be reached (357), those with disconnected telephone numbers (104), second generation Koreans or Korean international students (95), non-Koreans (6), and those who declined participation (260) were removed from the sample. As a result of this process, a list of 458 individuals was created.

Self-administered, anonymous questionnaires were mailed out to all 458 individuals who agreed to participate in the study. In order to reduce gender bias, respondents were asked that the questionnaire was to be completed by the member of the household who had had his or her birthday most recently. As a result of the first mail-out, 164 questionnaires were returned, including 156 properly completed questionnaires. One week after the first mail-out, reminder postcards were sent out to all 458 individuals. Two weeks after the first mail-out, three hundred reminder notices along with another copy of the questionnaire were mailed to individuals randomly selected from the

original list. The reminder notices yielded 48 additional responses, bringing it to a total of 204 properly completed surveys (a response rate of 44.5% based on the number of potential respondents who agreed to complete the study during the initial phone conversation). Even taking into consideration the high number of respondents who could not be reached, however, the response rate in this study was low, which brings up the possibility of substantial non-respondent bias. To verify that the sample is in fact representative of the population under study, one could perform statistical tests to establish whether there were significant differences between the sample and the population in terms of major socio-economic characteristics. While the apparent absence of such differences would not rule out non-respondent bias completely, it would provide a certain degree of confidence in the representativeness of the sample. Unfortunately, employing such a procedure was not possible in this study given the lack of availability of socio-economic data for individual ethnic groups within Chicago PMSA. One has to acknowledge that response rates for mail questionnaire surveys conducted among minority groups are typically much lower than those for the general population. In some surveys conducted on African American and Hispanic populations, the response rates were below 20% (see Ho et al., 2005). In this research project, all the plausible strategies that could be employed in order to increase the response rate had been followed. Respondents had been contacted by a member of their own ethnic group, phone conversation had been followed by a letter inviting respondents to participate in the project, incentives in the form of a drawing had been offered, two postcards, including one with an additional copy of the questionnaire had been sent out to the respondents, and the questionnaire itself was designed to make it simple to complete. All the correspondence, including the letter, postcards and questionnaires were in the native language of the respondents and included a note stating that an English version of the instrument was available. Hence, although the response rate was undeniably low in comparison to response rates in surveys targeting the general population, it constituted the best possible outcome for this specific population.

The questionnaire was initially written in English and subsequently translated into Korean by the third author of this paper. The accuracy of the translation was independently verified by three individuals fluent both in Korean and in English. The questionnaire consisted of 45 questions concerning, among other issues, proficiency in and the use of Korean language, ethnic heritage and ties maintained with the Korean community in the U.S., ethnicity of closest friends and co-workers, changes in employment patterns, and patterns of spending free time with ethnic and mainstream friends and co-workers. Moreover, the questionnaire contained a section devoted to socio-economic background of the respondent. With several exceptions (questions regarding occupations), all the questions were of a close-ended nature. Scale questions were used whenever there was a need to measure level of agreement, frequency, or relative importance.

Survey Respondents

The age of the 204 respondents ranged from 18 to 81 ($M = 51.6$, $SD = 11.6$). The sample included 57% of males and 43% of females. Most respondents (86%) were either married or in a common-law relationship. Their length of stay in the U.S. ranged from less than 1 year to 42 years ($M = 18.1$, $SD = 9.6$). Approximately 13% of respondents could be considered newcomers (five years or less since they settled in the U.S.), while the great majority (76.8%) had resided in the U.S. for over 10 years. In terms of educational attainment in Korea, approximately 44% of respondents held college degrees, 48% graduated from high school but did not pursue college education, and only 8% did not have high school education.

Concept Measurement

Ethnic enclosure in leisure was evaluated on the basis of four questions (see Table 1 for detailed description of questions used in the study). First, respondents were asked about the language in which they engaged in certain leisure pursuits (such as reading for pleasure, watching TV, listening to the radio, and informal conversations at home). This question was previously employed in a study by Stodolska (1998) as one of the measures of acculturation among Polish immigrants to Canada. The response categories for this question ranged from 1 = "Only Korean" to 5 = "Only English." Second, respondents reported whether they had friends who did not belong to their ethnic community (1 = "Yes" or 0 = "No"). A similar, although reversed in direction question was previously used by Floyd and Gramann (1993) and by Stodolska (1998) to measure minority members' levels of primary structural assimilation. Third, respondents were asked how often they participated in leisure pursuits such as attending informal parties and get-togethers, going to lunch, going to the movies, going to a bar/restaurant, having a BBQ, playing sports, chatting on the phone on non-work-related issues, going on vacations together, or going for out-of-town trips with people of *non-Korean* descent. The list of activities provided for this question constituted an expanded and modified list used by Stodolska (1998) in her study on the effect of assimilation on leisure constraints experienced by Polish immigrants to Canada. A 5-point scale ranging from 1 = "Never" to 5 = "Very often" was provided. Fourth, respondents were asked how often they socialized with their non-Korean *co-workers* in circumstances such as going out to lunch, attending parties, picnics, socials or BBQs organized by their employers, as well as going to a bar after work. This question was designed for the purpose of this study in order to evaluate subjects' interactions with mainstream individuals in leisure-related situations that might be tied to their workplace or work-related duties. Response categories ranged from 1 = "Often" to 4 = "Never." An additional category of "Does not apply" was provided for respondents who did not have any mainstream co-workers.

Economic achievement constituted the dependent variable in this study. Consistent with the measures used in research on the effects of ethnic en-

TABLE 1
Questions Format

Question	Statements
Independent variable—leisure enclosure	
<i>Language choice</i>	
One's choice of language depends not only on language proficiency, but also on personal preference. We would like to learn about the choices you make in various informal situations.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Which language do you usually use in casual conversations at home? • In which language do you usually read non-professional literature? • In which language are the newspapers and magazines you usually read written? • In which language are the radio stations that you usually listen to? • In which language are the movies you usually watch?
<i>Choice of friends</i>	
Which of the following statements best describes your closest friends (excluding family, relatives, and individuals with whom you maintain only a professional relationship)?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All my close friends are of Korean descent. • I have at least one close friend of non-Korean descent.
<i>Leisure participation with people of non-Korean descent</i>	
How often do you spend your free time with people of non-Korean descent in each of the following circumstances?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Go for lunch • Attend informal parties and get-togethers • Go to a bar/restaurant • Go to the movies • Have a BBQ • Play sports or games • Go for out-of-town trips • Chat on the phone on non-work-related issues • Go on vacations together
<i>Socializing with mainstream co-workers</i>	
How often do you socialize with your mainstream American co-workers in each of the following settings?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attend parties, picnics, socials organized by your workplace • Go to bar after work • Go for lunch
Dependent variable—income	
In which of the following categories does your annual personal income before taxes fall?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • \$10,000 or less • \$10,001-20,000 • \$20,001-40,000 • \$40,001-60,000 • \$60,001-80,000 • \$80,001-100,000 • more than 100,000

closure in the labor market on economic achievement of immigrants (Portes & Bach, 1985; Portes & Jensen, 1989; Wilson & Portes, 1980), the measure of economic achievement was based on the respondents' annual, personal, gross income. In the last sections of the survey, respondents were asked questions about their age, gender, length of residence in the U.S., age at arrival, marital status, and education that they obtained in their home country.

Data Manipulation and Analyses

The data were recoded in order to facilitate statistical analysis, including bivariate tests and multiple regression. Income, the dependent variable, was converted into a ratio measure using the midpoints of income intervals included in the survey instrument. For the highest income category, \$110,000 was used in recoding. The average annual personal income before taxes was \$50,608 ($SD = \$37,436$). Fewer than 7% of respondents reported incomes in excess of \$100,000, while over 20% indicated that they earned \$20,000 or less. Four measures of leisure-related enclosure were constructed, three of which were based on multiple-item survey questions. The leisure interactions variable was based on a nine-item question in which the respondents were queried about the frequency with which they engaged in selected leisure activities, such as going to the movies or participating in sports, with non-Korean friends. The scale had good internal consistency (Cronbach $\alpha = .90$). The variable was generated by calculating the arithmetic mean of all the items ($n = 185$, $M = 1.6$, $SD = .7$). The second measure, which was intended to capture leisure-related interactions with non-Korean co-workers, was based on a three-item survey question pertaining to leisure activities with non-Korean co-workers. The scale had acceptable internal consistency (Cronbach $\alpha = .82$). Since a large number of respondents were employed at completely ethnically enclosed workplaces, the effective sample size for this variable was reduced to 122. The variable was obtained by calculating the arithmetic mean of the responses to individual items ($n = 122$, $M = 1.9$, $SD = .8$). Approximately 22% of respondents who were employed with non-Koreans had no social interactions with their co-workers. The third index variable measuring enclosure was based on a five-item survey question intended to evaluate the use of English in circumstances not related to work. The scale had good internal consistency (Cronbach $\alpha = .90$). The variable for language use was obtained by calculating the arithmetic mean of the responses to language use individual items ($n = 188$, $M = 2.2$, $SD = .09$). The final measure of enclosure was based on a dichotomous survey question in which the respondents were asked whether they had any close friends who were of non-Korean descent. Out of 201 valid responses, 113 (56.2%) indicated that all their close friends were Korean (coded as 0), while 88 (43.8%) had at least one non-Korean close friend (coded as 1).

In addition to the income variable and the four measures of enclosure, a number of demographic variables were used in this study. These included age, gender, marital status, length of stay in the U.S., and the highest level

of education obtained in Korea. In terms of gender and marital status, variable females were coded as 0 and married respondents as 1.

The preliminary analyses included tests of bivariate relationships between the measures of enclosure and the income variable by calculating correlation coefficients and performing ANOVA. Similar bivariate tests were conducted for the relationships between income and selected demographic variables, such as gender, marital status, length of stay, and education. While these statistics are of limited value in terms of establishing the underlying causal relationships, they provide some useful insights about the data and aid in interpretation of the regression analysis results.

In order to isolate the effects of enclosure on income from those of other socioeconomic factors, bivariate tests were followed by a regression analysis. A model with income as the dependent variable and a single measure of enclosure along with demographic characteristics as the independent variables was formulated. Since each of the four enclosure variables was intended to act as a proxy for the same concept, enclosure variables were entered individually into the model. The demographic variables were modified to facilitate regression estimation. First, a variable representing age-squared was introduced in order to account for the inversed U-shape pattern of income over the lifetime. Second, the education in Korea variable was recoded into two separate dichotomous variables for high school graduates (1 if graduated, 0 otherwise) and for college degree holders (1 if held a degree, 0 otherwise).

Results

Bivariate Analyses

All the ratio enclosure variables were moderately positively correlated with income. The correlation coefficients between income and leisure interactions with friends, co-workers, and the English language use variable were significant at .23 ($p < .01$), .23 ($p < .05$), and .25 ($p < .01$) respectively, which suggested that a greater degree of leisure interactions with non-Korean friends and coworkers as well as greater extent of English use in leisure situations were all significantly associated with higher income (Table 2). Furthermore, ANOVA analysis indicated that Korean immigrants whose close friends included individuals of non-Korean descent enjoyed significantly higher incomes ($p < .05$) than those who limited their friendships to other Koreans. The difference between the mean incomes of each group was over \$12,000 annually (Table 3). Based on the bivariate statistics alone, one could conclude that for all the measures of enclosure, greater leisure enclosure was associated with lower earnings.

With the exception of education in Korea, all the demographic variables were significantly associated with income when analyzed in the bivariate framework. The education in Korea variable did not exhibit any association with income based on ANOVA tests. The mean income was the highest for individuals without high school education (\$49,852), followed by that of

TABLE 2
Ratio Variables Descriptive Statistics and Correlations with Income

Variable	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Correlation with Income
Length of stay	18.06	9.65	0.00	42.00	0.39***
Leisure friends	1.62	0.67	1.00	5.00	0.23***
Leisure co-workers	1.93	0.77	1.00	3.67	0.23**
Language use	2.22	0.88	1.00	4.60	0.25***

Significant at *** $\alpha < 0.01$, ** $\alpha < 0.05$

TABLE 3
ANOVA: Income vs. Non-Korean Friends

Close Friends	Income		Freq.
	Mean	SD	
Only Korean friends	40.34	33.76	102
Some non-Korean friends	52.89	36.49	83
Total	45.97	35.47	185

$F(1,18) = 5.88$; $\alpha < 0.05$

TABLE 4
ANOVA: Income vs. Education

Education	Income		Freq.
	Mean	SD	
Less than high school	49.85	51.03	34
High school	41.15	32.90	65
College	49.10	31.22	89
Total	46.49	36.11	188

$F(2,19) = 1.09$

individuals with college degrees (\$49,101) and high school graduates (\$41,153) (Table 4). Given the incidence of downward mobility following immigration among Koreans, it was not expected that education obtained in Korea would be a major determinant of their economic standing. Immigrants who hold college degrees from Korea are not likely to derive much benefit

TABLE 5
ANOVA: *Income vs. Gender*

Gender	Income		Freq.
	Mean	SD	
Females	39.80	38.26	113
Males	50.93	31.69	75
Total	46.49	36.11	188

$F(1,19) = 4.36; \alpha < 0.05$

TABLE 6
ANOVA: *Income vs. Marital Status*

Marital Status	Income		Freq.
	Mean	SD	
Single	33.85	20.56	26
Married	48.63	37.76	261
Total	46.58	36.19	187

$F(1,19) = 3.79; \alpha < 0.10$

from their education, which in turn makes their economic prospects in the United States quite comparable to less educated individuals.

Length of stay in the U.S. was the variable most strongly correlated with income (.4, $p < .01$), which suggested that the earnings of Korean immigrants tended to increase following their settlement (Table 2). ANOVA analysis indicated that females tended to have significantly ($p < .05$) lower incomes than their male counterparts. The difference in average incomes for males and females in the sample was slightly over \$11,000 (Table 5). Moreover, married immigrants earned significantly more than did singles ($p < .10$) (Table 6).

Regression Analysis

The results of OLS regression estimations are presented in Table 7. Each of the four columns contains estimation results obtained using a different measure of leisure enclosure—leisure interactions with non-Koreans friends (Column I), leisure interactions with non-Korean coworkers (Column II), presence of non-Korean close friends (Column III), and an index of language usage (Column IV). Considering that a number of variables commonly

TABLE 7
OLS Estimation Results

Independent Variables	Dependent Variable: INCOME			
	I	II	III	IV
AGE	5.41*** (1.18)	5.31*** (1.69)	5.33*** (1.53)	5.38*** (1.16)
AGE ²	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.06*** (0.02)	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.06*** (0.01)
FEMALE	-17.05*** (5.20)	-20.64*** (6.66)	-15.61*** (4.77)	-14.32** (5.58)
MARRIED	7.69 (4.89)	6.06 (7.07)	8.35 (7.17)	8.44 (5.31)
LENGTH OF STAY	2.03*** (0.28)	2.20*** (0.31)	2.09*** (0.29)	2.20*** (0.31)
HIGH SCHOOL	-6.71 (6.93)	-9.87 (9.05)	-8.61 (6.46)	-9.13 (7.11)
COLLEGE	-4.79 (7.01)	-12.72 (9.18)	-5.41 (6.33)	-5.18 (7.36)
LEISURE FRIENDS	7.99*** (3.03)			
LEISURE CO-WORKERS		7.10** (3.55)		
CLOSE FRIENDS			8.06* (4.63)	
LANGUAGE USE				2.87 (3.18)
Constant	-101.32*** (28.41)	-103.12*** (37.03)	-90.57** (36.56)	-96.91*** (26.06)
R ²	0.47	0.49	0.46	0.48
N	185	119	183	172

Values in parentheses represent standard errors. *** $\alpha < 0.01$, ** $\alpha < 0.05$, * $\alpha < 0.10$

considered to be important determinants of income (e.g. experience, education) could not be included in the model due to the nature of the population under study, all four models exhibited reasonably good fit, with the values of R² ranging from .45 to .48. With the exception of the marital status and education in Korea variables, coefficients on all the demographic variables were highly statistically significant. The coefficients on the marital status variable were positive, but not statistically significant in all the model specifications. In the bivariate analysis, married individuals were found to have significantly higher incomes than singles. Since age-related income variations were now controlled for and the marital status is related to age, the effect of marital status by itself could no longer be detected. The coefficients

for the variable representing gender were negative and statistically significant (I-III: $p < .01$; IV: $p < .05$). The estimation results showed that on average female Korean immigrants earned between \$14,323 (Column IV) and \$20,643 (Column III) less than male Koreans with otherwise similar demographic characteristics. Unexpectedly, the income differential was the greatest for model III, which had been estimated for a sub-sample of individuals who had some non-Korean coworkers, suggesting that Korean women might be subjected to more severe income discrimination in the mainstream job market than in the ethnically enclosed one.

The effects of age and length of stay in the U.S. estimated in this study deserve particular attention. The coefficients on the age variable were all highly significant ($p < .01$) and positive, ranging in magnitude from 5.3 (Table 7, Column II) to 5.4 (Table 7, Column I). The coefficients on the age squared variables were also highly significant ($p < .01$). Combining the linear and quadratic effects of age, one can conclude that the income of Korean immigrants follows the inverted U-shaped pattern that is typical to the mainstream population. The effect of length of stay on immigrants' income was positive and highly significant ($p < .01$) (Table 7). After controlling for age, leisure enclosure level, and the remaining demographic variables, on average, immigrants' incomes were found to increase by between \$2,031 (Table 7, Column I) and \$2,197 (Column II) annually. The effects of age and length of stay jointly determine the immigrants' lifespan income patterns. The estimation results indicate that Koreans attained their maximum income at the ages between 58 (Model I) and 64 (Model II).

An example of predicted lifespan income patterns for a single male immigrant with a high school education who settled in the U.S. at the age of 25 using typical values of the relevant leisure enclosure variables is provided in Figure 1. Note that the predicted income levels for Models I and IV are very similar throughout the age range. Income levels predicted by Model III tend to be lower, which can be attributed to the fact that the model includes a dichotomous leisure enclosure variable for non-Korean close friends whose most frequently occurring value of 0, indicating the absence of close friends among non-Koreans, was used. What is most striking, however, is the income pattern obtained using Model III. In Model III, the measure of enclosure was the degree of leisure interactions with non-Korean coworkers. Since only a subset of respondents had non-Korean co-workers, the effective sample size was reduced to 119. As it can be seen from the graph, the maximum predicted income for a hypothetical individual who was employed with non-Koreans peaked at over \$85,000 as opposed to \$71,000 for the entire population. Although formal tests on income differences have not been performed, it appears to suggest that ethnic enclosure in leisure as well as in work-related environments tends to depress economic achievement of Korean immigrants.

With the exception of the language use variable, the relationships between the measures of leisure enclosure and income obtained using regression analysis largely mirrored those established using bivariate statistics. The

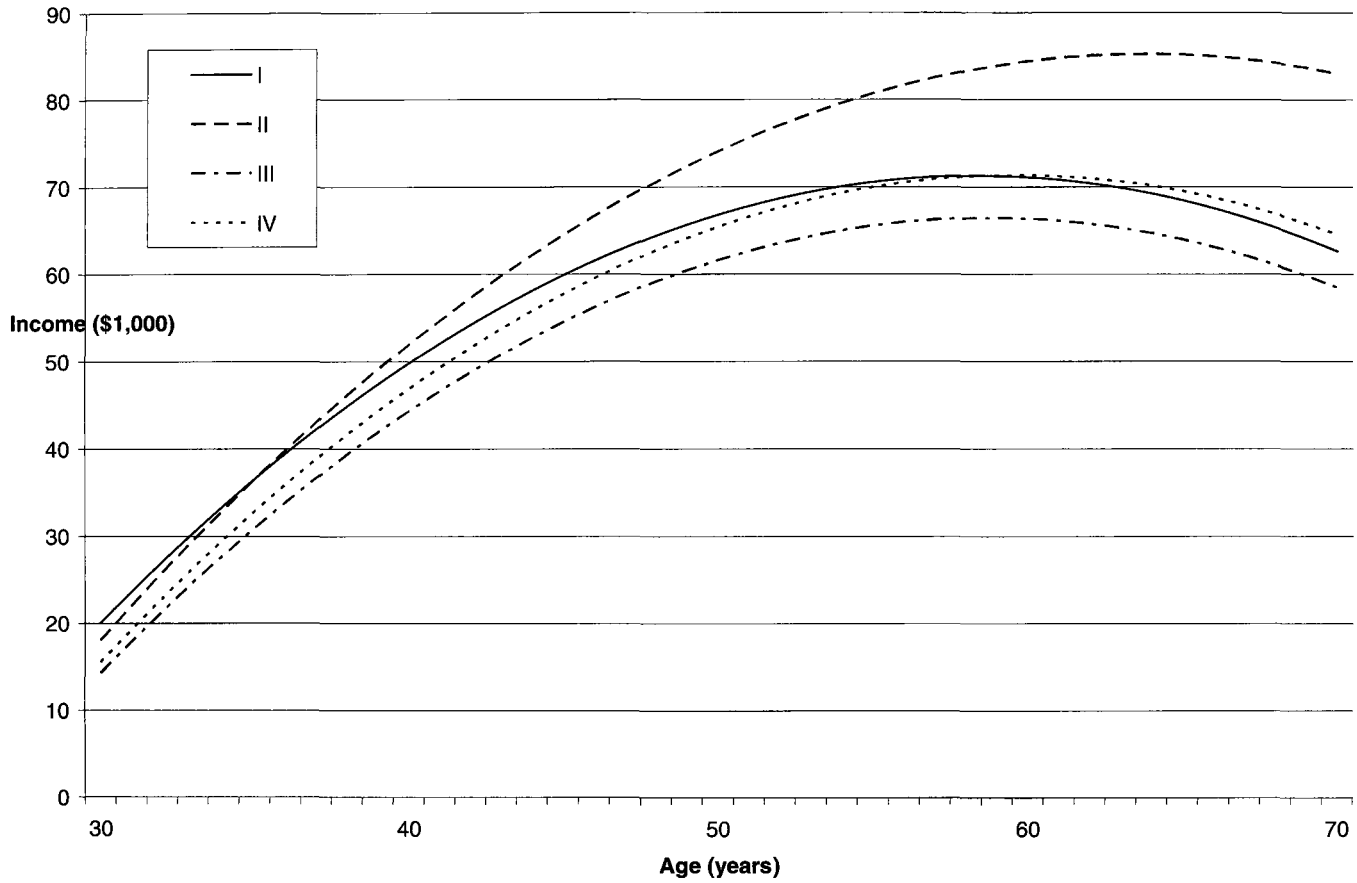


Figure 1. Predicted lifespan income patterns.

coefficient on the leisure interactions with non-Korean friends variable was highly significant ($p < .01$) and large in magnitude. The index of leisure interactions with non-Koreans ranged from 1 (corresponding to never participating in any of the listed activities) to 5 (corresponding to very frequent participation in all listed activities), with a standard deviation of .67. A one-point increase in the index corresponds to the average increase in the annual income of \$7,994 (\$5,370 for one standard deviation) (Table 6, Column I).

The effects of leisure-related interactions with non-Korean co-workers were of a magnitude similar to those of leisure interactions with friends, but were less statistically significant ($p < .05$, as opposed to $p < .01$), which was likely a result of the reduced effective sample size (from 185 to 119) (Table 6, Column II). The additional income associated with a one point increase in the leisure interactions with co-workers index was \$7,102 (\$5,433 for one standard deviation). The effects of close friendships with non-Koreans were less pronounced in the regression results than they were in the bivariate analysis.

The ANOVA analysis indicated a moderately significant ($p < .05$) association between the friendship variable and income, with the difference between the means of over \$12,000. The coefficient on the close friends variable in the regression model was only marginally significant ($p < .10$) and its magnitude implied a difference in average income levels of slightly over \$8,000 (Table 6, Column III). Since friendships outside one's ethnic circle take time to develop, this discrepancy is most likely a result of introducing the length of stay control variable into the model.

Lastly, the language use index, which was highly significantly ($p < .01$) correlated with the income variable, no longer appears to be a significant determinant of income in the regression model (Table 6, Column IV). While the exact reasons for this discrepancy are not clear, collinearity appears to be a plausible explanation given that language is significantly correlated with the length of stay variable ($r = .25$, $p < .01$). While the other leisure enclosure variables are also significantly correlated, in case of language use, the effect may be amplified by variations in the age-related changes of English use.

Considering the fact that all four models, including the one with the language use index whose coefficient was not significant (Table 6, Column IV), exhibited similar goodness of fit, it is reasonable to argue that enclosure in leisure was not the most important determinant of income among Korean immigrants. This observation is not unexpected since major socio-demographic factors, such as life-span employment patterns, education and gender, are likely to explain a large portion of immigrants' income variation as they do predict income differentials for the mainstream population. However, since the coefficients on three leisure enclosure variables are significant and of appreciable size, the effects of enclosure are likely substantial even after controlling for the demographic characteristics, thus showing that enclosure in leisure plays a role in people's economic achievement. This finding is significant as it adds another important variable to consider when

analyzing predictors of economic success among immigrants and, when one considers leisure time associations with co-workers, even among the general population (see further comments in the Conclusions section).

Discussion

Ethnic Enclosure in Leisure as a Mobility Trap

The great majority of studies conducted on the subject of ethnic enclosure and achievement of immigrants focused solely on their enclosure in the job market (e.g., Darroch, 1979; Herberg, 1990; Isajiw et al., 1993; Portes & Bach, 1985; Portes & Jensen, 1989; Sanders & Nee, 1987; Wilson & Portes, 1980). This study, however, has shown that leisure-time associations and other forms of leisure enclosure are linked to the economic achievement of immigrants. The mere presence of such links does not directly imply any specific causal relationship between enclosure and economic achievement. In fact, it is impossible to establish causality empirically within this framework and it is not what has been attempted in this study. The study is based on two mutually exclusive theories—Wiley's (1967) "ethnic mobility trap" and Portes' and Bach's (1985) "enclave economy" hypothesis. In this context, its findings are consistent with the "ethnic mobility trap" theory and contradict the "enclave economy" proposition. One cannot conclude solely on the basis of the results of the statistical analyses that it is enclosure in leisure that affects income and not *vice versa*. In fact, one can argue that it might be that the limited income reduces immigrants' opportunities for integrating with the mainstream in leisure settings as opposed to the absence of leisure related interactions with the mainstream lessening their likelihood of achieving economic success. However, based on the theories used, the results of this study can be interpreted to support Hypothesis 1, which states that ethnic enclosure in leisure is negatively associated with immigrants' economic achievement. As Darroch (1979), commenting on the long-lasting debate among Canadian sociologists on the effect of ethnic identity on the relative position of ethnic groups within the Canadian society, emphasized, "The differences *within* the ethnic groups in occupational status are very much greater than the differences between them" (p. 20). He later added,

If variations within ethnic groups in individual mobility experiences are generally large (. . .), then it is quite conceivable that for some members of a given ethnic population there exist serious "mobility traps," while for other members ethnic identity may be of no consequence to mobility whatsoever. Still others may be able to translate their heritage into distinct occupational opportunities. Moreover, variations *within* ethnic groups in status achievement require explanations in terms of non-ethnic variables, that is, in terms of any number of factors which cannot themselves be broadly subsumed under the label ethnic identity or affiliation. (p. 20)

Based on the results of this study, one can argue that people's leisure choices and leisure-related affiliations may be linked to immigrants' economic

achievement following their arrival to the host country. Ethnic enclosure in leisure may, in fact, constitute one of the "mobility traps" to which both Darroch and Wiley refer.

The results of the study showed that Koreans who were less ethnically enclosed in the leisure sphere of life enjoyed, on average, higher levels of income than those who limited their leisure interactions to members of their own ethnic group and thus were less exposed to mainstream American culture in their leisure engagements. As such, the results of the study failed to support Hypothesis 2 and were in contrast to the suggestions of Portes and Bach (1985) and Wilson and Portes (1980), who argued that by relying on ethnic networks, immigrants gain access to professional opportunities unavailable to those who seek success within the mainstream society and thus increase their economic achievement.

The Mechanisms through which Ethnic Enclosure in Leisure can Affect Economic Achievement

Leisure-time associations with mainstream population. The findings of our study showed that Korean immigrants who socialized with non-Koreans in leisure settings had higher incomes than those who limited their leisure interactions to their co-ethnics. One can argue that people who spend leisure time with mainstream Americans can derive such direct benefits as being able to develop social networks helpful in securing jobs, polish their English skills and familiarize themselves with the mainstream culture, which, in turn, can be helpful in obtaining better employment. Such skills can be valuable regardless of whether their actual employment is in the mainstream or ethnic labor markets considering that even in the ethnic enclaves most, but the very low-end occupations, do involve some degree of interaction with mainstream Americans.

Leisure-time associations with mainstream co-workers. Second, the results of this study showed that Korean immigrants who socialized with their mainstream co-workers in leisure-related situations earned more than those who avoided contacts with their non-Korean colleagues. The types of leisure activities used to construct this measure of leisure enclosure included attending lunches, going to bars after work, and attending parties and socials organized by the employers. Such activities are helpful in promoting friendships within the workplace and in many occupations can be considered a prerequisite for professional achievement and success. Moreover, in the case of immigrants, such interactions can make co-workers more at ease with minority employees and may act to reduce discrimination against specific individuals. While no specific tests for the differences in incomes between individuals employed in ethnically enclosed as opposed to mainstream environments have been performed in this study, the results do allow one to make some cautious remarks on the effect of work enclosure. The relationship between income and interactions with co-workers was tested using a sub-sample of individuals who had some non-Korean co-workers at the place of their employment. A strik-

ing by-product of this sample restriction was that the predicted income levels were markedly higher for non-enclosed immigrants than for the combined sample. This in itself can be interpreted to support Wiley's (1967) thesis that enclosure acts to restrict economic achievement of minorities.

Development of close friendships with mainstream population. Our third finding was that immigrants who had close friends among non-Koreans tended to enjoy higher incomes. While one could question whether a mere fact of forming a close friendship can possibly have any impact on a person's professional sphere of life, the significance of such friendships may go much further than a mere vehicle for networking. A prerequisite for maintaining a close friendship with non-Koreans is to develop quite an intimate appreciation of the mainstream culture. This signifies that the person can function within the mainstream environment at a level different from those whose circle of friends is limited to their co-ethnics. As Isajiw (1990) pointed out, establishing contacts with the mainstream and certain degree of assimilation may *not* be equivalent to the simultaneous loss of ethnic culture, but may constitute a simple adaptation to life in the new environment.

Intra-Group Dynamics within the Korean American Population

The results point out to some interesting dynamics within the population of Korean Americans in the United States. For instance, the study showed that even when controlling for education, female Korean immigrants were significantly disadvantaged in terms of their earnings, as compared to their male counterparts. Wage differentials and differences in achievement rates among male and female minority members are well documented in the existing literature on the economic mobility of minority groups (Lautard & Loree, 1984). In fact, due to this reason, the majority of older studies that examined economic achievement of immigrants excluded females from the analysis and focused on male immigrants only (Blau & Duncan, 1967; Blishen, 1970). The practice of excluding females from the analysis, however, has led to a considerable debate among scholars researching ethnic mobility issues (Isajiw et al., 1993; Lautard & Loree, 1984). What constitutes an interesting observation derived from our study is the fact that income discrimination of women may be more pronounced in the mainstream labor market than in the ethnic one.

The study also suggests that, contrary to what can be observed in the general population, formal education might not be an important determinant of economic achievement among Korean immigrants. The apparent lack of association between education obtained in Korea and immigrants' economic achievement is consistent with the findings of existing research that show downward mobility of immigrants and significant shifts in people's occupational patterns related to the immigration process (Erdmans, 1998; Jo, 1999).

Conclusions

This study provides a first step in understanding the role of leisure enclosure in the economic achievement of immigrants—a topic that so far has been largely neglected by the ethnic studies and leisure studies researchers. Although it focused exclusively on immigrants, one can postulate that its results can be applied not only to minorities, but also to the mainstream Americans as well. One can argue that leisure-time associations and positive relationships with co-workers are something that is likely to affect the economic success of people regardless of their cultural and ethnic background and the amount of time spent in America. Such relationships could be further explored by future research.

Future research should also employ cross-ethnic comparisons more extensively in order to examine whether and to what degree minority groups differ in terms of leisure-time associations and economic achievement. As indicated by the existing literature, some minority groups, and non-Hispanic White ethnics in particular, establish contacts with mainstream Americans faster, assimilate more easily, and by the second generation usually become indistinguishable members of the American society (Porter, 1965). For members of such ethnic groups, the speedy establishment of personal networks within the mainstream may be considered the optimal means of achieving economic success. The circumstances might differ for other groups, however, such as Latinos, who constituted the main subjects of Portes' research. Such minorities are not only more culturally distinct from the American mainstream, but also they experience significant levels of discrimination by the mainstream society. It is possible that for such groups, remaining enclosed within their ethnic community or restricting networks to the non-mainstream American populations may be the best avenue for economic achievement. More research is needed to establish the role that leisure activities, and leisure enclosure in particular, play in the socio-economic success of minority groups. The role that constraints and opportunities provided by the mainstream society play as a determinant of immigrants' success should also be explored.

Although this study provided an interesting contribution to the ethnic and leisure studies literature, it has also raised a number of important questions and had certain limitations that need to be taken into account when evaluating its results. First of all, this study has only addressed in passing the role of discrimination as a causal factor behind leisure enclosure. The importance of this factor cannot be discounted since, in many instances, exclusionist practices of minority members cannot be treated as a result of their unconstrained choices, but as decisions that are shaped by larger forces operating at the societal level. In other words, the lack of leisure association between minority members and mainstream Americans and the resulting lower earnings of immigrants may potentially stem from mainstream economic system that operates in such a way as to exclude minorities from the

economic and social advantages. Another limitation of this study lies in the fact that it focused only on the earnings of immigrants and failed to evaluate other, less tangible aspects of their lives such as personal comfort and quality of life. While ethnic enclosure in leisure limits the earning potential of immigrants, it may have other positive outcomes such as providing safety, familiarity, and less stressful environment after immigration. Such alternative outcomes have not been evaluated in this study. Moreover, due to the fact that the sample size used in this study was relatively small and that the study focused on a single ethnic group, its results might not be generalizable to other ethnic populations. Another important limitation of the study is the low response rate. Only 44.5% of people who had agreed to participate in the study and who received the surveys returned completed questionnaires.

Despite its limitations, this study does contribute to the debate on the relationship between leisure and work that had been initiated by Parker (1971, 1983), Burch (1969), and Wilensky (1960). Instead of tackling the issue using traditional models of compensation and spillover (Burch, 1969; Parker, 1971, 1983; Wilensky, 1960) or evaluating how work patterns affect leisure preferences and satisfaction (Bacon, 1975; Chambers, 1986; Meissner, 1971), or job satisfaction and quality of work experience (Hildebrand & Mannell, 1996; Kirchmeyer, 1993; Near, Rice, & Hunt, 1978), it approaches the phenomenon from an alternative perspective. Our study provides preliminary evidence that leisure choices and leisure-time associations may affect people's success in the workplace. It also contributes an innovative element to the work-leisure literature by applying it to the minority groups and by suggesting alternative ways in which leisure can assist in the socio-economic advancement of immigrants.

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