# The Effects of Discrimination and Constraints Negotiation on Leisure Behavior of American Muslims in the Post-September 11 America

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This study was intended to give an account of the treatment that American Muslims have been subjected to over a one year period following the events of September 11, 2001, to establish how discrimination has affected their leisure behavior, and to analyze people's responses to discrimination and their strategies used to overcome obstacles to their leisure participation. Qualitative, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 25 individuals from Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Turkey, Pakistan, India, Mexico and Korea. Results indicate that discrimination has affected leisure of Muslim immigrants directly through experiences in leisure-related settings and while engaged in leisure activities, by restricting the range of available leisure options and co-participants, by affecting their willingness to participate in leisure activities, and by restricting their freedom of movement, travel, timing and location of activities. Most of the discrimination experienced by Muslim Americans was of non-violent nature, and included bad looks, verbal abuse, as well as social isolation. American Muslims have been found to employ certain negotiation strategies to adapt to their new environment such as being vigilant and conscious about their surroundings, walking in groups, blending in, restricting travel or modifying travel patterns.

KEYWORDS: *Muslims, September 11, leisure, discrimination, constraints negotiation.*

The events of the September 11, 2001 had a profound effect on average "mainstream" Americans and also on many members of ethnic groups that call America their home. In the days, weeks and months following the events, anger of millions of Americans turned against those who were perceived to be responsible for or in some way associated with the individuals who had hijacked airliners and crashed them into New York's World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and a field in Pennsylvania. Since all 19 hijackers were identified as Muslims, anger of many Americans turned against members of this ethno-religious group. Muslims in the Middle East, Afghanistan, as well as American Muslims, many of whom resided in this country for generations,

became the object of resentment and often outright hate. Public anger was directed not only against Arabs and/or Muslims, but also against anyone who could remotely be associated with people from the Middle East including Indians, Pakistanis, and people from South East Asia.

Muslims had been the targets of discriminatory acts long before the events of September 11. Ongoing conflicts with Arab countries, military engagement of the United States in some, mostly Muslim states, and past terrorist attacks contributed to unfavorable attitudes many members of the American public shared toward this ethnic group. In the 1990s Arabs and Muslims in general were the target of increased discrimination including profiling at universities and in other public domains (Nimer, 2001). Scientific and media sources have reported discrimination in the job market (Nimer, 2001; Sachs, 2002), schools (Associated Press, 2001; Nimer, 2001), public settings (Sachs, 2002), homes (Khan, 2002), and personal businesses (Walkup, 2001). Similarly to other ethno-religious groups, difficulties experienced by Muslims in other life domains have been widely researched and documented. However, discrimination encountered in leisure settings appears to have been completely overlooked. This lack of research is particularly unfortunate given the fact that treatment received during leisure engagements significantly contributes to a person's quality of life and has an effect on the adjustment of ethnic groups in the new country (Rublee & Shaw, 1991; Stodolska & Jackson, 1998).

It is well established in the literature that members of ethnic and racial groups are the targets of persistent discrimination in leisure settings (Blahna & Black, 1993; Floyd & Gramann, 1995; Gobster & Delgado, 1993). Research studies began to systematically trace, report, analyze, and explain the incidents of discrimination in leisure in the late 1980s (West, 1989) and the continued interest in this topic has been present in our literature ever since. Considering the fact that other ethnic groups have been shown to experience negative treatment in leisure settings, and that Muslims have been known to experience significant difficulties in other domains of their life, it seems unlikely that their free time activities would be free from encounters with discrimination. Consequently, the objectives of this study were twofold. (1) First, we intend to give an account of the discrimination American Muslims have been subjected to during the first year following the events of September 11 and to establish how these experiences have affected their leisure behavior. (2) Second, our study is intended to analyze people's responses to discrimination and the strategies that American Muslims use to overcome adversities and to deal with obstacles to their leisure participation.

The goal of this research was to focus on experiences of people who could be singled out as members of the "target group" (i.e. someone of the same ethnicity/religious background as people involved in the September 11 attacks). Evidence points to public resentment against a broad range of minority groups that extends beyond those associated with Middle Eastern geographic region or with the Islamic faith. However, in order to put manageable boundaries on the project, the target population was limited to Mus-

lims who, judging by their racial (physical appearance) and/or ethnic characteristics (dress, cultural patterns, language), could be identified as being of non-U.S. ancestry. Consequently, African American members of the Nation of Islam and Caucasian American Muslims were excluded from the sample.

## Background Information

*Muslims in Contemporary America*

Muslims, in general, can be described as an ethno-religious group. Islam is not a religion of one race or class, but rather a doctrine and a way of life of all who desire to follow this faith (Al-Islami, 1964). There are two basic beliefs in Islam: submission and belief in one God (Allah) and Muhammad, Allah's last and greatest prophet (Kidwai, 1998; Maqsood, 1994). Muslims believe that the Qur'an, Islam's holy book, is a compilation of the revelations from Allah given to Muhammad over the years 610 to approximately 623 AD (Husain, 1998). The Qur'an instructs Muslims to perform five pillars of faith—Faith and bearing witness, Prayers, Fasting, Charity, and Pilgrimage (Kidwai, 1998, Maqsood, 1994). Muslim population in the United States is estimated at between 6 and 9 million, out of which about 1 million live in California (Hasan, 2001). Other large populations of Muslims are located in New York, Illinois, New Jersey, Indiana, Michigan, Virginia, Texas, and Maryland (Hasan, 2001). About 78% of the Muslims residing in the United States are immigrants. Over a quarter of all Muslims come from the Middle Eastern Arab countries such as Palestine, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq, and Jordan, slightly over a quarter from South Asia (Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and India), slightly over a quarter are African-Americans, and approximately 10% come from non-Arab Middle Eastern countries (Turkey) (US Department of State, 2001). The Muslim community in the United States is not limited to individuals of Middle Eastern, North African and South/South East Asian descent. Specifically, proliferation of Islam among American Latino communities has been a growing phenomenon in recent years. Moreover, there are between 10,000 and 100,000 African American members of the Nation of Islam, often referred to as "Farrakhanism" (Hasan, 2001).

A deep-seeded stereotype regarding followers of Islam existed in the American popular culture long before first Muslim immigrants settled in this country. Muslims, and particularly Arab Muslims, have often been portrayed as being wealthy and anti-Jewish supporters of terrorism (Faragallah, Schumm, & Webb, 1997). Arabs, specifically, have been attributed with having violent tendencies, oppressing women, and opposing the West. Muslim immigrants have been traditionally subjected to levels of discrimination rarely observed among other ethnic/racial groups (Kulczyski & Lobo, 2001). The severity of anti-Muslim sentiments can be attributed to their racial and cultural distinctiveness combined with the history of conflict between the United States and Arab countries. Militant Islamic groups constantly receive intense media scrutiny, which in turn promotes the stereotype of a militant

fundamentalist Muslim that is being proscribed to all followers of Islam (Kul-czyski & Lobo, 2001). One source of these stereotypes has been the tension that exists between Arabs and Jewish immigrants caused by the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Much of this feeling is being reinforced by Hollywood movies that tend to portray Muslims and Arabs, in particular, in a negative light (Hanania, 1996; Naber, 2000).

When the Unites States is in conflict with an Arab country, negative opinions and views of Muslims tend to intensify. Different types of violence against Muslims were reported at the time of the United States-led bombing of Libya in 1985. Many Muslims and particularly Arab and Muslim immi-grants were physically assaulted, their homes vandalized, and mosques bombed (Naber, 2000). When the United States went to war with Iraq in 1991 and 2003, the violence against Muslims in the United States increased. They became the target of violent attacks, which included arson, bombings, physical assaults, vandalism, hate calls, and murder (Naber, 2000). The first attack on the World Trade Center fueled a wave of negative images of Mus-lims in the popular media. However, it was the events of September 11 per-petrated by nationals of Saudi Arabia, Egypt, United Arab Emirates and Leb-anon that had created the most extreme wave of negative reactions toward the Muslim minority in the United States' history. Texas mosques have been shot at, Arab-owned businesses have been burned and news agencies re-ported threats, firebombs, and name-calling (ABC News, September 16, 2001; BBC News, September 26, 2001; CNN, October 25, 2001). In Texas, a mosque was firebombed, in Wyoming, an angry group of shoppers chased a woman and her children from a Wal-Mart store, a man drove his truck into an Islamic Center in Tallahassee, Florida, while in Huntington, N.Y., an el-derly man tried to run over a Pakistani woman in a parking lot of a shopping center (ABC News, September 16, 2001; CNN, March 26, 2002). In an ABC NEWS/Washington Post poll conducted three days after September 11, 43% of Americans said they thought the attacks would make them "personally more suspicious" of people who appear to be of Arab descent (ABC News, September 16, 2001).

*Discrimination Against Racial and Ethnic Minorities*

It is a well documented phenomenon that not only Muslims or Arab Americans, but also members of other ethnic and racial groups experience a significant degree of discrimination in settings such as workplaces, public offices, housing or even during casual encounters (Bonacich, 1972; Farley et al., 1994; Feagin, 1991; Hirschman & Wong, 1984; Li, 1987; Pearce, 1979; Yinger, 1986; Yu, 1987). Beginning with the seminal article by West (1989) who observed that expectation of negative treatment caused African Ameri-cans to avoid parks in predominantly White neighborhoods, a large body of research in leisure literature had developed that dealt with discrimination issues. Over the last 13 years, numerous research studies reported minorities to experience discrimination in leisure settings such as parks, campgrounds, recreation areas, pools, beaches, golf courses and forests (Blahna & Black;

1993; Chavez, 1991, 1992; Gobster, 1998; Gobster & Delgado, 1993; Mc-Donald & McAvoy, 1997; West, 1989). Discrimination has been shown to affect quality of recreation experience, to prevent people from frequenting leisure places of their choosing, and to force people to isolate themselves during their leisure engagements (Blahna & Black, 1993; Gobster, 1998; Johnson, Bowker, English, & Worthen, 1998; McDonald & McAvoy, 1997; Stodolska & Jackson, 1998). As recently as in 1999, Phillip argued that "many, if not most, leisure activities have embedded racial 'information' associated with them in some way" (p. 397). In other words, not only racial minorities are forced to take into account physical spaces where their presence is allowed and tolerated, but also activities in which they are "expected" to participate. Stodolska and Jackson (1998) observed that ethnic Whites might experience less discrimination in leisure settings than members of easily distinguishable racial minorities. It has been argued that while at work the ethnicity of an employee is largely known to his or her co-workers, in leisure settings people's identification is largely restricted.

## Negotiation of Leisure Constraints

At the beginning of 1990s the foundations of the concept of leisure constraints underwent a major challenge, which resulted in the assumption that constraints prevent people from engaging in leisure activities being largely abandoned. The early studies that pointed out that people's participation in leisure is not always determined by constraints they face, and that people who do participate in leisure activities are often as constrained as those who refrain from participation were those by Kay and Jackson (1991) and by Shaw, Bonen, and McCabe (1991). This research found that constraints are not insurmountable obstacles to participation, but rather that they can be successfully negotiated. Similarly, in his 1991 study on constraints associated with contract bridge, Scott identified several negotiation strategies employed by players. They included acquiring information, altering schedules of games in response to dwindling participation rates, recruiting substitute players and new permanent club members, and skill development.

Since it was first realized that constraints need not lead to nonparticipation, an increasing number of research studies have focused on the issue of constraints negotiation. In fact, one may argue that in recent years the topic of constraints negotiation attracted more attention than the concept of constraints. So far, several studies that tackled the subject of constraints negotiation have attempted to approach it from a conceptual standpoint. Jackson, Crawford, and Godbey (1993) presented six propositions that explained how people could negotiate through constraints they encounter. Moreover, they made an important contribution to the negotiation literature by proposing the existence of behavioral and cognitive types of negotiation strategies.

Early theoretical and empirical research on constraints (Crawford, Jackson & Godbey, 1991) proposed that intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural constraints are experienced hierarchically and only after successfully

negotiating one type of constraint we can move to the next stage and experience another. Raymore, Godbey, Crawford and von Eye (1993) seemed to confirm this prediction. They not only found that constraints are indeed experienced hierarchically, but that people are capable of overcoming them. Nadirova and Jackson's (2000) study showed that constraints might be experienced sequentially not only *between*, but *within* constraint categories. Thus, the negotiation process that was proposed by Crawford et al. (1991) to occur between categories of leisure constraints may in fact occur *within* them. In their 1993 study on the relationship among constraints, preferences and participation of female recreationists, Henderson and Bialeschki (1993a) challenged the Crawford at al. (1991) model. They proposed an expanded model of leisure constraints in which constraints were not experienced sequentially and hierarchically, but rather the relationship among constraints, preferences, and participation was complex and interactive. Henderson and Bialeschki proposed that within the expanded model the negotiation process most likely takes place, but may occur on several platforms. Similar line of reasoning appeared to guide Hubbard and Mannell (2001), who advanced the study of leisure constraints negotiation by proposing four different theoretical models (independence model, negotiation buffer model, constraint-effect-mitigation model, and perceived-constraint-reduction model) to describe possible relationships among constraints, negotiation, motivation and participation.

While much theoretical development focusing on the nature of constraints negotiation took place at the beginning of 1990s, Jackson and Rucks 1995 study was the earliest work whose explicit goal was to empirically investigate the validity of the concept. Results of the study showed that the majority of respondents adopted behavioral strategies to negotiate constraints and preferred to modify non-leisure aspects of their lives rather than to modify their leisure itself. Many recent studies that focused on constraints negotiation adopted a common approach to the subject. First, constraints experienced by a specific group of people (e.g. women, people with disabilities, adolescent girls) or affecting participation in a specific activity (motorcycling, swimming, adventure recreation) were identified and subsequently the negotiation strategies were analyzed (Auster, 2002; Little, 2002; Whyte & Shaw, 1994). Several studies focusing on constraints negotiation established categories of "negotiators" based on people's approach to experienced constraints or on negotiation strategies adopted. Henderson and Bialeschki (1993b) divided women who negotiated participation in leisure activities into achievers who actively resisted constraints, attempters, compromisers, dabblers, and quitters. James in her 2000 study of constraints related to body image experienced by adolescent girls modified original classification by Henderson and Bialeschki (1993b) and divided people based on their response to encountered constraints into achievers, rationalizers, compromizers, spectators, and avoiders. Similar research objectives guided Henderson, Bedini, Hecht and Schuler in their 1995 study of constraints experienced and negotiation strategies adopted by women with physical disabilities. They

established that women with disabilities experienced constraints quite common among their able-bodied counterparts, but with increased severity. Henderson et al. (1995) classified women interviewees into three categories based on their approach to encountered constraints: passive responders, achievers, and attempters.

## Methodology

A qualitative in-depth interviewing was chosen as methodology for this study. Several reasons guided the researchers in the choice of this method. First, since the topic under study was of sensitive nature, the authors believed they could obtain a better rapport and more truthful responses if the contact with potential respondents was made face-to-face. Second, the researchers' goal was not to provide a detailed listing of actual discriminatory acts perpetrated on these individuals, but to obtain an understanding of the reality from the perspective of interviewees, to uncover how the actual discrimination and the *perception* of discrimination affected their daily lives and choices that they made with regard to their leisure.

### Interviewees

Interviews were conducted with 25 individuals from Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Turkey, Pakistan, India, as well as with one Muslim from Mexico and one from Korea. Interviewees included housewives, undergraduate students, graduate students, social workers, computer scientists, a communication specialist, an electrical engineer, a registered nutritionist, a car mechanic, a nurse, a college professor and an Arab language/culture teacher. They included 13 women and 12 men between the ages of 18 and 64. All of the interviewees were first generation immigrants whose lengths of stay in the United States ranged from 2 to 30 years. Interviewees were initially contacted through primary researcher's contacts in the Champaign and Metro Chicago area mosques. Local community leaders associated with these mosques helped to identify potential candidates for subsequent interviewing. Subsequently, a snowball sampling technique was used to identify the remaining interviewees.

### Interview Process

Interviews took place during the spring and summer of 2002. They lasted between 25 minutes (2 interviews) and 5 hours and were conducted in interviewees' homes, in homes of their friends, and in various mosques and Islamic centers. The original interview guide included questions regarding interpersonal contacts between mainstream Americans and Muslim minority members in the post 9-11 America. These questions were modified as the data collection process progressed. More specific questions regarding their experiences following the events of September 11, the way they affected their life, including leisure, and the strategies they adopted to cope with

personal adversities were added to the original interview schedule. Interviews followed a semi-structured format in which the main topics covered remained the same, but the order of questions varied between the interviews. Each question was followed by a series of probes designed to obtain a fuller description of issues and more detailed responses.

The majority of interviews were tape-recorded and subsequently transcribed; in some instances, however, recording of conversations was not possible. In cases where interviewees were reluctant to agree to the recording, researchers relied on detailed contemporaneous notes. Besides taping a majority of the interviews, interviewees took detailed notes during the course of the interviews. These notes were reviewed and updated immediately following each interview session. Contextual information as well as personal reflections of researchers were noted on sheets that were subsequently attached to the interview transcripts.

*Data Analysis*

The process of data analysis began as soon as the initial interviews had been completed and it lasted throughout the duration of the study. Employing the framework of constraints negotiation had not been planned when the study was conceptualized. However, as soon as the initial tapes had been transcribed and as the researchers began to search for common patterns and generalizations, it became apparent that the framework of leisure constraints negotiation was well suited to organize and interpret findings of the study. The data were analyzed using constant comparison technique (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). First, both researchers read interview transcripts to develop a broader understanding of the topic. Emergent major themes were color coded to aid in the identification and consolidation of findings. Subsequently, each transcript was re-read several times by both researchers in order to identify sub-themes and to ascertain that they truly represented the information gathered during the course of the interviews. New observations, emerging themes and issues that surfaced during the interviews were followed up in subsequent conversations, which facilitated verification of external consistency of the previously obtained material. After the completion of all interviews the transcripts were re-read once again and relevant information that confirmed as well as contradicted emerging themes was identified.

Interview transcripts were sent to the interviewees for verification and feedback. While member validation is a standard practice used to increase the internal validity of the data, it was particularly useful in this study since interviewees could read the transcripts and assure themselves that the sensitive information that they had provided was not altered in any way. In several cases interviewees offered valuable comments and additions to the interview material. Moreover, in order to test for the internal validity of the data, themes that emerged from the study were presented to selected interviewees and their comments and suggestions were followed in the data analysis stage. Two of the initial interviewees were re-interviewed and consulted

during the analysis stage to ensure that the interpretation of the data was accurate. Finally, external sources relevant to the matters of the local Muslim communities were reviewed in order to help in assessing reliability of the qualitative data.

## Limitations of the Study

Several limitations of the study need to be noted. First, both researchers were of European-American background and were unable to communicate with the respondents in their native languages (all interviews have been conducted in English). As a result, only more assimilated immigrants who were sufficiently proficient in the English language could be interviewed. Second, both researchers involved in this project were women, which could have introduced potential bias to the study. It was observed that due to cultural reasons, female interviewees were more likely to be open during the interviews while, conversely, several male interviewees were clearly not at ease to be interviewed by female researchers. Lastly, the very selection of interviewees could have potentially affected outcomes of the study. As the study focused only on Muslim immigrants, ethnic and racial minorities of different faiths, as well as Caucasian and African-American Muslims who could have potentially experienced negative treatment following the September 11 were excluded from the study.

## Findings

The findings of this study were grouped into two main sections: (1) First, we discuss discrimination experienced by American Muslims following the events of September 11 and the way it affected their leisure behavior. (2) Second, we focus on people's responses to discrimination and on the strategies that they employed to negotiate barriers to their travel patterns, leisure participation and enjoyment of leisure.

## Discrimination and its Impact on Leisure Behavior

Leisure of Muslims in today's America needs to be viewed in the broader context of their everyday lives and their interactions with the mainstream society. When queried about the impact of the events of September 11 on their leisure lives, the interviewees rarely perceived leisure as participation in an isolated recreation *activity*, but rather they conceptualized leisure as an integral part of their daily routines and schedules, feelings and experiences, and equated it with the enjoyment of life and freedom to engage in the activities of their choice. This "freedom to be" (Kelly, 1987) was at the basis of their leisure experience and was a crucial element affecting their state of mind and subsequently other aspects of their existence. The interviewees spent most of their free time socializing with family and friends. They traveled, played games, BBQed, walked and jogged in parks, played soccer and did what other Americans typically do in their free time. It was not the ac-

tivities that American Muslims participated in that were different from the
ones enjoyed by the mainstream Americans, but rather it was their context
that differed, including leisure styles, locations of leisure and leisure co-
participants. In-depth analysis has revealed that leisure of Muslims is influ-
enced by the emphasis on strong family ties, the requirement of modesty in
dress, speech and everyday behavior, as well as the restrictions on mix-gender
interactions, dating, food and alcohol imposed by the Islam. Discrimination
that affected the nature of their leisure engagements, was not however, at-
tributed to the uniqueness of their pastimes. It was rather their racial/ethnic
distinctiveness that made them a target of discriminatory attacks in leisure
settings.

The majority of interviewees reported some instances of mistreatment
in the year that followed the September 11 events. The discriminatory acts
experienced by the study's participants ranged from racist epithets, unpleas-
ant looks, obscene gestures, and avoidance, to more serious acts of hatred
such as threats, vandalism and physical attack. Discrimination was experi-
enced by Muslim immigrants in and in transit to leisure-related settings and
while engaging in leisure activities. It restricted the range of available leisure
options and co-participants, it affected people's willingness to participate in
leisure activities, and reduced their freedom of movement, travel, timing and
location of activities. The following section will provide an overview of various
forms of discriminatory encounters in leisure-related situations and the effect
of discrimination on leisure behavior of American Muslims.

*Discrimination experienced in leisure-related settings and while engaging in lei-
sure.* The interviewees indicated that both they and their children had been
called names, exposed to obscene gestures and negative remarks in leisure-
related settings on a frequent basis. Khadega, a young Jordanian woman,
recalled her visit to the New York City's Central Park a few months following
the attacks:

> They scream at you and they yell at you and say really mean things to you
> especially in NY and it was terrible they were like "you crazy terrorist, you go
> back home. You rag head and you are so backward. . ." We were in Central
> Park and we were just walking around and we got people screaming at us and
> booing us.

Out of 25 interviewed individuals, 20 reported that either they or their close
family members had been looked at in a strange manner, often with obvious
disapproval, anger and hostility. Some of the interviewed women reported
being subjected to intense stares, while others mentioned deliberate lack of
eye contact from the mainstream Whites. This "hate stare" (Feagin, 1991)
accompanied Muslim Americans in their everyday lives, while shopping, walk-
ing on the street, driving a car, doing business in pubic outlets, and while
participating in leisure. Najila, a female Iraqi immigrant in her early fifties,
described the way in which people looked at her wearing a veil while engag-
ing in exercise activities in a park:

> You can see the look of people, sometimes you can tell. . . There are some
> people they have suspicions because they look at you and they see you wearing

like this [wearing *hijab*]. Now I am sick and I have diabetes and my doctor told me I have to have exercise everyday. So I have to go to parks for jogging. I can tell sometimes people look at me . . . with all this thing, you know, she's jogging. . . Sometimes they stop and ask me "why are you wearing like this?" I tell them "I am a Muslim." Two times it happened. Because the media is telling who's a Muslim—those people who cover. Who's the Muslim man? Those who have a beard. And they think everyone with a beard is Osama Bin Ladin.

One of the themes that surfaced particularly clearly in this study was that Muslim women experienced cases of negative treatment in leisure activities and in their everyday lives with a much higher frequency than their male counterparts. *All* interviewed individuals remarked that visibly different dress style and the head covering that Muslim women are required to wear at all times in public, even while participating in leisure, "gave women away," made their religion and ethnic background known to outsiders and thus made them likely targets of discriminatory treatment. An 18-year-old university student of Pakistani background explained this phenomenon very vividly:

Fatima: I don't know why I'm not experiencing it [harassment] that much, but I know a lot of girls that have experienced it. Like the girls that wear the scarf, *I can't stress that more,* they experience it a lot. It's easier to target them just because, you know, they are showing it more. They wear the *hijab,* they wear their outfit, they . . . its just easier. . . You know, people are so uneducated, people don't understand. As soon as they see the scarf they are like "Oh you're Muslim." And they are so uneducated they even target people that aren't Muslim. It's ridiculous, like Sikh people. They just target anyone that looks different that's wearing some different attire. . .

This quote not only points out to the fact that women tended to experience more discrimination than the men, but it also serves as an example of "cross discrimination"—a phenomenon where a person is subjected to discrimination aimed at another ethnic or racial group (Feagin, 1991). As has been shown in the literature, women and Blacks are particularly vulnerable to discrimination (Feagin, 1991; Gardner, 1980). In the case of African Americans, males tend to suffer from the discrimination more often, as they are perceived to constitute a threat (the stigma of "black maleness"). In the context of our study, however, women did not pose a threat, but were merely more readily identifiable as belonging to the target group. While Middle Eastern men could be mistaken for Southern Europeans or Latinos, wearing a *hijab* or *jilbab* by Muslim women was an unmistakable sign of their religious affiliation. Moreover, the interviewed women were more likely to express concerns about their safety. They saw themselves as more vulnerable to attacks, incapable of physically responding to threats and thus easy victims of potential discriminatory acts. These findings parallel the results of research on the effect of fear of crime on women's free time activities conducted by Riger and Gordon (1981) and by Gordon, Riger, LeBailly, and Heath (1981). The fact that leisure activities of Muslims are often gender-segregated can potentially exacerbate the threat to Muslim women, since single women lacked the protection afforded by a mixed gender company.

Another form of discrimination experienced while taking part in leisure activities was related to social contacts of Muslim immigrants. Some of the interviewees indicated they had experienced what can be described as signs of social isolation during informal, leisure-related contacts following the events of September 11. As Aisha, young Algerian nurse from Champaign-Urbana recalled "I was working at a hospital for a year and a half and after September 11 they [her co-workers, friends] were not rude, they were distant. We used to go to lunch together and then they stopped inviting me." Another young man from Egypt recalled the "could shoulder" he was given by his best friend in the days following the September 11 attack. Although the person was described as a "very close" family friend, with whom the interviewee shared "personal stories and participated in family events," the distance and the uneasiness in leisure-related interactions following the September 11 was apparent.

Discrimination was not only related to personal, friendship-based contacts of the interviewees, but it also occurred in less personal settings while interviewees were on their way to participate in leisure activities. Talha, a young Egyptian, found himself in the middle of well-publicized Bridgeview riots while driving with his wife and young son to visit a friend on a Friday afternoon:

> I could tell you what I saw there when I went there on the 14th . . . Harlem is a pretty big street, but imagine it being like a demilitarized zone, imagine that the cops have just like maybe . . . two traffic lights north two traffic lights south on Harlem they were not allowing any traffic through. When we were driving, we were going to visit a friend. I was with my wife who covers, I had my son in the back and it was like a . . . people all over the place waving their flags, driving around in their trucks with . . . uh you know, with "Kill all the Arabs, nuke all the Muslims" [banners]. I drove through the crowd. People were all lined up and driving their trucks, they put their big flags and if it was just a flag it was one thing, but I was driving behind a truck with a sign saying "kill all the Arabs" and I was like "wait a second that's me." When I tell people what I felt when I was driving down there . . . in high school, you know, those text books. . . I forgot what the name of the girl was, but when desegregation occurred they were walking with the police escorting her and people all like swearing at her on the side. That was the only image I could get in my head in terms of that.

It is interesting to note the parallel made by this interviewee between the discriminatory attacks aimed at Muslim Americans and the violent forms of discrimination experienced by African Americans during and prior to the Civil Rights era.

*Discrimination restricting the range of available leisure options and co-participants.* Experiences with various forms of discrimination restricted the range of leisure options available to Muslim Americans, made them limit their contacts with mainstream Americans and drew them closer to their ethnic communities. One of the interviewed women described that after September 11 she became "extremely cautious" when establishing new friend-

ships. Young Turkish interviewees who believed that various governmental organizations invigilated them, tracked their movement, readership patterns and private correspondence, had become cautious and vigilant while using public libraries and certain forms of communication. Not only did the expectation of discrimination limit the leisure options of Muslim immigrants, but also the perception of being unwelcome in certain settings served to significantly restrict their free-time behavior. Hanan, a young middle aged woman from India recalled an incidence she witnessed in her middle class suburban Chicago neighborhood:

> There was a girl who went to the public library and she was kicked out from the public library. Because everybody . . . they were looking at her and they wanted her to leave and the library finally asked her to leave.

Experiences with discrimination brought adult immigrants closer together and made them turn to their own families and their ethnic community for their leisure needs, thus further encouraging the already highly family-oriented and ethnically enclosed nature of their leisure engagements. Moreover, experiences with hate attacks made children of immigrants restrict their leisure-related contacts. Several interviewees mentioned that their children or children of their friends had been physically attacked, and were assaulted with stones and other items by their playmates. Najila, a female Iraqi immigrant, recalled an incident her 13-year-old son and 7th grader in the local middle school have been involved in:

> So what happened was that somebody followed him and followed the other [child], you know that Turkish guy. He is with him [her son] in the same class. They were talking after they finished the school. And there was a bunch of, you know, uh students. They started throwing stones at him and say "This is Osama Bin Ladin, it's Osama Bin Ladin." And everybody . . . you know . . . especially my son and Mark . . . they don't look like . . . you know . . . he doesn't have a beard . . . he's just a child.

Another reported incident took place in one of the Champaign middle schools where immigrant children from North African Muslim countries had been abused, items had been thrown at them and they were branded as "Osama Bin Laden" by their classmates in their after-school skirmishes. These racially-motivated attacks made the youngsters withdraw from their school friendship circles and rely more on their contacts with other Muslim children. The interviewed parents noted that they encouraged their children to participate in leisure activities organized by Islamic centers and to stay in the close vicinity of their houses and mosques during the after school hours. Muslim parents are known to put a lot of emphasis on close interactions with their children and to closely supervise their children's leisure behavior, which is both intended to ensure that children do not engage in religiously inappropriate behavior and to promote close ties with the group. Threat of discriminatory attacks seemed to strengthen this closeness and to lead some parents to take certain unusual steps. As Muhamad, a Pakistani man mentioned,

> They don't go out. The kids stay home most of the time. We don't let them out
> to just play outside. I mean if they are biking I'm standing right there. They are
> biking in front of me basically. When they move around they go to play with the
> family. Or people whom we know, people who are very good neighbors of ours.

By closely supervising their children, immigrant parents not only tried to
ensure their safety, but to prevent them from developing emotional scars
caused by the exposure to discriminatory acts at a young age.

   *Lack of interest in leisure.* Discrimination triggered by the events of Sep-
tember 11, coupled with anti-Muslim media frenzy, and often self-imposed
blame, took a psychological and emotional toll on American Muslims. A
common initial reaction reported by interviewees was fear for their personal
safety, fear of physical harm and fear of not knowing what would happen to
them and to their loved ones in the immediate future. In the words of Saad:
"After September 11 I started feeling insecure. I don't want to be treated
like I'm on the other side, while I'm on this side." Similarly to African Amer-
icans who often report severe psychological problems caused by reoccurring
experiences of mistreatment, the interviewed Muslims indicated feelings of
shame, guilt and depression. During the initial weeks following the attack,
the interviewees reported staying mostly indoors, with their friends and
family members and watching the developments on the TV. As one person
put it:

> Noor: I was really depressed because what's happened was really tragic and, you
> know, it affects everybody, everybody would feel bad for those people who
> died. . . We [also] felt attacked at that time so I limited my. . . I didn't go
> anyplace, for awhile I didn't go.

This lack of desire to engage in any out-of-home activities was mainly caused
by their mental state, but can also be partially attributed to the physical
dangers associated with leaving one's home. The interviewed women recalled
staying in touch with their Muslim friends, assessing the situation and eval-
uating whether it was safe to venture outside.

   *Restrictions on freedom of movement, timing and location of leisure activities.*
Media stereotyping and negative reactions from the mainstream Americans
also restricted people's freedom of movement and the timing and location
of their favorite leisure pastimes. Having made the decision to leave the
confines of their homes to go to work, to go shopping and to take oppor-
tunities of outside leisure activities, many Muslim women found themselves
unable or unwilling to go out alone. They indicated that they felt the need
to walk in groups or to seek the company of their husbands, friends or other
male family members. As Hanan put it: "In the very beginning we didn't feel
like going, we didn't feel secure to go out, especially by ourselves. We waited
[with leaving the house] until we really needed some groceries. [Later] I
would go [out] with my husband." Fatima, a young student from Chicago
mentioned "Those girls who wear the scarf, who wear the *jilbab* would have
the Muslim brothers walk them, escort them just because they didn't feel
safe." While our results are consistent with the evidence provided by existing

research (Carrington, Chievers, & Williams, 1987; Glyptis, 1985; Taylor & Hegarty, 1985) that suggests that leisure of Muslim women is more home-oriented than that of their male counterparts, it would be erroneous to conclude that female Muslim immigrants spent most of their time at home—a practice that is quite common among female followers of Islam in rural Egypt or Saudi Arabia. As a result, not only the inability to leave their homes alone at their own choosing constrained women's leisure, but more women than men reported having placed restrictions on their out-of-home leisure activities in terms of timing (they would not go out after dark) and location (avoidance of parks, large open spaces, and not-well-lit areas).

Interestingly, for some people those temporary safety measures became a matter of habit that affected their leisure behavior for prolonged periods of time. As Noor, a Tunisian woman residing in Champaign-Urbana commented,

> This is a small city so I really don't go out a lot. But I also try to be careful, I don't go out at night. I just don't go out in public places a lot. . . I have restricted my activities a lot, but I think I do it now unconsciously because I got used to it. I look to see if there is any suspicious person doing something or trying to do something. I don't feel so worried, but also I try to be careful.

The theme of being conscious about one's surrounding and more vigilant than before resonated quite clearly in other interviews as well. It appeared to have a serious impact on people's enjoyment of out-of-home leisure activities by making them less spontaneous and worry-free.

*Travel patterns.* Numerous interviewees commented that their travel patterns were significantly affected by the events of September 11, by the changes in regulations governing travel of non-US residents, and by the atmosphere that developed in the weeks and months following the attack. Delays in obtaining American visas, having to apply for their visas overseas (and not in Mexico or Canada as it was done previously), and fear that their visas would not be renewed made some Muslims cancel their travel plans and visits to their former countries. As AbdAlRahman, a young middle age man from Egypt commented, "We were planning to go home for vacations, to go to Egypt around Christmas time, but now I'm concerned about getting the visa to come back to America." Other people reported restricting their local travel in order to avoid places where they were more likely to experience discriminatory attacks. In the words of AbdAlah "I heard of some incidents that happened to some people. I am aware that those kind of things happen here. That's why I don't travel to big cities." Other Muslim immigrants were found to modify their travel patterns in order to avoid air travel and having to go through airline security checks. On numerous occasions they voiced concerns they would be subjected to detailed screening procedures, be humiliated, accused of wrongdoing and potentially detained. As Najila, an Iraqi immigrant commented,

> Actually I couldn't [travel], I don't dare to go around really because we heard that especially to fly in airplanes, you know, it's not easy for, especially like us

dressed in Islamic dress or a person that has a beard or something . . . they are going to check him more.

This feeling was echoed in several interviews, including the one with a young Jordanian female:

> Khadega: My dad didn't fly for a while afterwards, for a month, because he fits the profile, because he's from the Middle East, you know, he's not dark; he's actually fair, he has a beard, the dark hair and the accent and he's Arab and all these things. He's like "I know I didn't do anything, but I don't want little children screaming at me, mothers holding their children like I am going to take them away. I'm uncomfortable with people treating me that way so I am going to just give it a rest till people are more comfortable."

Some people also remarked that long lines and chaos that developed at many American airports discouraged them from flying. One may argue that this particular concern was not only present among Muslim immigrants, but that it also discouraged many mainstream Americans from flying in the months following the September 11 events.

Consistently with the findings reported in the existing literature (Kay & Jackson, 1991; Shaw, Bonen, & McCabe, 1991), it was only very few people who had passively accepted their fate. In the majority of cases people were found to devise strategies to overcome or to negotiate their constraints on leisure, to maximize the utility derived from their leisure participation and to cope with negative responses of the American mainstream.

## Negotiation Strategies

American Muslims devised a number of strategies to cope with their fears, anxieties and discrimination. The majority of constraints negotiation techniques employed by interviewees was *short term, activity specific,* and *defensive* in nature. Their responses to discriminatory acts ranged from withdrawal, turning to faith, avoidance, and resigned acceptance, to mild verbal protests. Several interviewees went as far as trying to justify discrimination by remarking that "they would do the same if their homeland was attacked." Others adopted the "resigned acceptance" (Feagin, 1991) strategy and indicated that their faith helped them cope with incidents of mistreatment and with the stress of life in the post-September 11 America. As Rahma, a middle aged Palestinian woman, commented, "My faith is helping. I don't care about the looks, this is their thing." Interestingly, in the interview with Noor, a young Tunisian mother, a typical Muslim attitude of acceptance of faith and God's will resonated very clearly:

> I know that what happens to me is what God wants to happen to me. I always read the Qur'an and do the prayer before I go out everyday. If I don't read the prayer I don't feel safe. If I forget one day I feel "Oh my God, something is going to happen to me." I have to read my prayer everyday so I feel safe. My God is protecting me the whole day every day if I read my prayer every day.

Some of the interviewees indicated that the isolation from the mainstream society that they experienced over the last year brought them closer to their fellow Muslims and in some instances made them search for their cultural roots and strengthened their faith. Such a return to religious roots appeared to have a strong effect on their leisure patterns and on the expectations they placed on the leisure of their children. They not only invigilated their children more strictly (a case of a 31-year-old son having to report his evening outings to his father), but also they imposed strict Islamic rules that, among others, prohibited dating, consumption of alcohol and certain foods on their families.

A great majority of the interviewees chose not to directly confront the attackers, but to avoid discrimination at all cost. Several interviewees tried to *"blend in"* with the American mainstream and avoid attracting attention to themselves. Among women this strategy exhibited itself most commonly through removing *hijabs* and trying to dress in a more "Western" manner. For instance, an interviewed Mexican-American interviewee opted against wearing a veil in the small town where her family lived and only dressed "properly" when they reached the safe environment of the local college town. Blending in to avoid discrimination also meant modifying religious observances by some of the interviewees. As several people indicated, the need to pray five times a day caused certain problems for Muslims in the post September 11 America. One Egyptian man described the anxiety it caused him to find an appropriate place to pray during the 4$^{th}$ of July fireworks event:

> Talha: Then the prayer time came . . . they didn't start the fireworks yet and I was like "I need to find a place to pray" and there's like hundreds of thousands of people around me so I am trying to find a place. So I went to the car and there's a family in front of us and they were sitting there with their lawn chairs and kind of hanging around at the back of the truck. I was like "Okay I am not going to pray right in front of them." So, of course I look kind of suspicious—I was walking around trying to find a place . . . and I sensed that the man who was with this family was kind of like playing it off that he was looking for something, but he was watching me, you know, like I could sense that he was like "Okay what is this guy up to." He wasn't doing anything, but he was much more obvious than that. . . So I prayed [but] it reinforced in my mind that you have to be conscious of the fact that people are more sensitive to these things and so you should act accordingly.

Several other interviewees indicated that the need for frequent prayer collided with their travel patterns. While previously they would just stop at a rest area and pray, this option was no longer available due to overly sensitized onlookers. In the words a Turkish interviewee:

> Umar: We used to pray at rest areas, whenever we could. You would just stop the car where it was safe and pray. Now it is more difficult. I wouldn't pray at a rest area after September 11. People would look at you, they would see it as a suspicious act, somebody could call the police. I would not feel safe.

Most of the interviewees found ways to negotiate this barrier and prayed in their cars or combined their prayers. As one of the female Indian interviewees commented,

> Hanan: We do consider safety so we pray in our car. Also when we are traveling we can combine our prayers. Two of the afternoon prayers, the noon and the afternoon prayers we do together. And the night prayer we can combine. So the night prayer and the sunset prayer [we do] when we reach our destination. . .

A young Jordanian female mentioned that although her parents (living in Jordan) were very concerned about her safety she tried not to let the events of September 11 affect her life:

> Khadega: My parents were like "Don't pray in public". I'm like "Why? I used to before. . ." "Just go to a department store." I mean before if I was in a mall I would just take out a pray rug from the trunk and put it next to my car and pray, put it back in the trunk and go back shopping. There are like "Go in a dressing room now." I don't care. They are like "What if a crazy person does something" . . . well . . . then that's their problem and Allah will deal with them accordingly. I am not going to change my life.

Avoidance strategies related to travel also included limiting international travel, covering shorter distances and changing the mode of transportation. The theme of traveling by car and avoiding air travel surfaced clearly in many of the interviews. As a female Iraqi commented, "I can travel by car, I don't think it is a problem. I went many times to Chicago, to Detroit, I went to Tennessee, to some places, I even reached as far as New Orleans." Similarly, a Pakistani Muslim commented "Recently we went to my brother in law, he lives in Cincinnati, and we drove. I would definitely take a car rather than fly." Not only people opted to travel by car, but some of them also employed additional safety precautions. In the words of an Indian woman:

> Hanan: My husband said when we were driving, the last vacation we had, "I think that we should drive, but we really shouldn't stay somewhere at night." We were more careful, we were taking precaution. And [we] traveled during the daytime so we didn't have to stay anywhere at night.

Interestingly, few of the interviewed American Muslims responded to discrimination with a verbal counterattack. Only one person reported threats made to her mosque to the authorities and one person verbally confronted a close friend who had displayed some negative behaviors following the September 11. In the words of Talha, a young Egyptian:

> After two days of that [lack of verbal response, getting "cold shoulder"] I just said 'Mike do you have a minute?'. . . And I just told him 'Look Mike I am the kind of guy who doesn't like to hold his feelings in and I sense that there is something wrong. Is there anything I have done or anything that I can help you with?' And now, this is pretty amazing because he actually started crying and then he started telling me like, you know, I just can't handle it, I mean I just don't understand what is going on . . . you know what happened and we started talking about it openly and by the end of the conversation I could feel like this huge weight was lifted off of his chest.

One may argue that such confrontations are costly in terms of time and energy and that only selected individuals felt empowered enough to take pro-active steps to fight discrimination. In the case of Talha, who felt the need to bring the relationship with his best friend back to normal, the engagement strategy was a relatively easy option. Others, however, who faced short-lived forms of discrimination in the form of obscenities shouted by people from their cars, may not have had the opportunity or the courage to verbally confront the abusers.

Apart from the majority of people who undertook more defensive actions aimed at protecting themselves from tangible acts of discrimination and ensuring their leisure participation, several of our interviewees took more pro-active stance against acts of mistreatment and abuse. A vocal minority of interviewees adopted more pro-active negotiation strategies and attempted to contribute to changing broader societal attitudes. They not only tried to prevent everyday incidents of mistreatment and abuse and maintain their leisure participation at pre-September 11 levels, but also they strived to attack and eradicate roots of prejudice and discrimination. They embraced new roles as "ambassadors of Islam" who possessed the knowledge, who could explain the true underpinnings of the Islamic faith and who could serve as intermediaries between the mainstream Americans and members of their ethno-religious group. Such pro-active negotiation strategies ranged from seemingly benign "random acts of kindness" undertaken during leisure activities and intended to change the image of Muslims as violent terrorists, to more long-term and larger-scale efforts toward interfaith communication and outreach activities. An interview with Najila, in which she described everyday efforts she made while jogging in a nearby park, serves as a good example of the manner in which people used leisure to establish positive contacts with mainstream Americans and to combat racism:

> Now, when I jog I have to say "Hi" to everybody. Just to let them feel peace. . . Sometimes you can find, you know, some group that won't answer you, they ignore you. You can find some people, they say "Hi" to you and sometimes you can find . . . like one time a man was riding his bicycle and he's wearing a hat and he's old, he looked like all the Americans and he said "Good evening maam!" I said "Oh, good evening!" I told my husband that it was a beautiful kind of greeting that showed you really peace. . . Because, you know, usually when we greet people "Asalaam Alekum"—[it means] "Peace be upon you."

Similarly, one of the Pakistani interviewees, Muhamad, described his efforts and the way he employed leisure in order to "break the ice" during conversations with mainstream Americans:

> I am more, what you call, aggressive in trying to start up a conversation with people. I really want to do that. I will just pick up anybody. . . I mean if somebody looks at me and smiles I will try to start the conversation with him. I will try to talk to him about different things. I will talk about basketball, baseball, weather just to let them know "hey, you know, I may look different, but I am the same. . . I have the same concerns, the same interests that you have." I have been engaged in interfaith communications and different churches and people and different denominations and tried to open them and tell them that I am

like you and I am not any different than you and I have the same feelings and
the same interests and I have the same hobbies and I do the same things. I
mean I love my family as you guys do, it's the same thing. A lot of people, a lot
of Muslims, got hurt in the World Trade Center.

Many of the people engaged in interfaith communication devoted much of
their free time, effort, and had to forgo other leisure activities in order to
find time and resources necessary to continue their activity. They mentioned
speeches they had given in Christian churches and Jewish temples, main-
stream clubs they joined in order to establish contacts with "other Ameri-
cans," being active on the Internet, as well as visiting local schools and com-
munity centers.

## Discussion

The findings of this study appear to address important problems not
only in regard to leisure constraints negotiation and discrimination litera-
ture, but also in regards to the broader phenomena of leisure itself. Our
study showed that studying leisure phenomena in separation from other as-
pects of people's lives would provide a biased and distorted representation
of reality as one is unlikely to be successful in attempting to separate those
interrelated threads of human existence. Specifically, activity was not per-
ceived as the most salient feature of their leisure lives. In fact, our study
showed that the activity itself was secondary to the *freedom to do the activity* of
choice in an unrestricted manner. Similarly, constraints were neither sepa-
rated from other aspects of people's lives, nor were they immune to influ-
ences of broader cultural ideologies and power structures shaping the lives
of individuals. Constraints were shown not to exist in a social vacuum, but
to be closely immersed in the political, ideological and cultural milieu in
which people operated. Echoing Samdahl's and Jekubovich's (1997) obser-
vations, our study clearly points out to the embededness of leisure activities
in the social and political environment in which people operate. Moreover,
we concur with Samdahl and Jekubovich (1997) and Henderson (forthcom-
ing, 2003) who remarked that emphasis on activity participation was limiting
our understanding of leisure behavior and stressed the need to move away
from framing leisure in its activity aspect.

The results of our study could also be used to confirm, contradict and
in some instances expand previous findings of the constraints negotiation
research. Discrimination evoked by the event served as a *primary constraint*
that started a chain of other *secondary constraints* related to people's fears or
emotional problems that ultimately affected their leisure participation. As
such, the results of this study suggest that constraints cannot be analyzed in
separation from each other. They operate as a complex phenomenon where
some constraints can cause the onset of others, while others, to the contrary,
may result in opening up new leisure possibilities. This complex nature of
leisure constraints was previously alluded to by Nadirova and Jackson (2000)
who observed that overcoming one constraint can lead to the increased sa-
lience of others.

Some of the constraints negotiation strategies identified in this study, such as postponing or rescheduling activities, changing location, participation with a partner, avoiding actions that would attract attention, changing dress patterns, seeking anonymity, networking, sharing information and becoming politically active, were similar to those observed in previous research (Jackson et al., 1993; Jackson & Rucks, 1995; James 2000; Kay & Jackson, 1991; Whyte & Shaw, 1994). They were also employed to counter specific barriers to leisure participation. For the purpose of this study we will label them as *secondary negotiation strategies*. Other strategies, such as turning to one's inner circles (families, friends, community) for help and comfort, as well as prayer and religion, could be considered as strategies universally employed by people faced with adversities and dealing with stressful events (Pargament, 1997). In the case of our interviewees, they provided them with strength and built their resiliency that subsequently allowed them to better cope with and finally overcome barriers to leisure participation. As such, they could be described as *primary* or *core negotiation strategies* as they laid the groundwork and affected all subsequent efforts.

Results of this study also suggest that adopted constraints negotiation strategies are strongly dependent on people's cultural traits and personality types. Ethnic groups are known to differ in terms of their value systems, beliefs, priorities and ways to deal with life adversities (Jackson, 1973). For instance, Muslims who believe Allah makes everything happen and life and death are already planned out by His will, are more likely to use religious approaches to cope with mental and physical hardships (Koenig, 1998). It is likely that those distinct value systems will translate into different constraints negotiation techniques minority groups will employ in their leisure endeavors. Moreover, extensive literature exists in the fields of psychology and social psychology that identifies discrete personality types (Chelladurai, 1999; Rhodes, Courneya, & Hayduk, 2002). It has been observed in our study that the approach to leisure constraints and adopted negotiation strategies were highly dependent on people's personality orientations. While some interviewees displayed a tendency to passively accept the adversities, others could be described as the "effective people"—those who posses favorable set of attitudes toward themselves and others, active problem solving orientations and see themselves as worthwhile and efficacious in their lives (Pargament, 1997). Thus, we can postulate not only that different ethnic groups may display different negotiation strategies, but also that there exist significant variations *within* ethnic groups, which stem from people's different personality types and life histories. Moreover, one may argue that the existing support networks, time available to negotiate the constraint (or elapsed from the introduction of a barrier) and the level of desire to participate in a selected activity would also have an influence on the willingness to engage in the negotiation process and on the adopted negotiation techniques.

The results of our study also provide information that can help to support and extend existing knowledge of issues of discrimination, particularly as it applies to leisure settings. Although our study identified a number of discriminatory attacks experienced by American Muslims, one needs to be

cautious in attributing all the discrimination to the post-September 11 change in people's attitudes. One may hypothesize that the events of September 11 induced negative feelings that previously had not been harbored by unprejudiced individuals or that had been suppressed by societal norms (see discussion of symbolic racism in Kinder & Sears, 1981). September 11 might have acted as a catalyst for the development of negative attitudes which, in combination with the relaxation of social norms guiding intergroup relations, lead to the onset of discrimination. A very strong theme that surfaced in the study was related to the fact that the element of recognition serves as a critical regulator of discriminatory behavior. As Stodolska and Jackson (1998) have previously suggested, distinctive racial features can be partially responsible for the fact that visible minorities experience more discrimination in leisure settings than ethnic whites. Results of this study lend a strong conformation to this assertion. Moreover, similar to West's (1989) findings, our results suggest that it is the *expectation* of discrimination and not the tangible acts of abuse that can motivate people to modify their leisure patterns.

Lastly, the results are consistent with the findings of literature that points to the gendered nature of leisure constraints. Clear differences have been found to exist in the nature and extent of leisure constraints faced by men and women. Moreover, similarly as in other studies (Frank & Paxons, 1989; Henderson & Bialeschki, 1993a), women have been found to experience certain severe and unique obstacles to their leisure participation and their use of public space. While previous research identified gender-specific barriers, such as ethic of care, gender role socialization, and body image (Harrington, Dawson & Bolla, 1992; Henderson & Bialeschki, 1991), our study revealed that women were subjected to much frequent and intense encounters with discrimination than their male counterparts. Whyte and Shaw (1994) and Gordon et al. (1981) suggested that fear of violence is likely to significantly affect leisure participation of women as they may avoid leisure activities or situations which they consider unsafe. Our study lends a strong support to this finding. It revealed that following the September 11 events, Muslim women often sacrificed their leisure opportunities, altered their everyday schedules and had to seek help and protection from their spouses, friends and family members.

## Conclusions

This study provides an overview of the encounters with discrimination experienced by American Muslims in the weeks and months following the events of the September 11 and the negotiation techniques they adopted to overcome the barriers to their leisure participation. This study has allowed us to move beyond the leisure participation framework and to see leisure constrains and constraints negotiation efforts in the broader context of people's lives. It has clearly shown that the lives of individuals, including their leisure behavior, do not take place in a social vacuum, but are shaped by

societal attitudes, as well as existing power structures, cultural discourses and political events. Moreover, it has allowed us to discover how factors such as gender, ethnicity *and* race intersect each other to produce constraining situation.

It has been shown that American Muslims have experienced a range of discriminatory acts in the year following the September 11 events. These findings should not only sensitize recreation service providers to the possibility of hate acts perpetrated against minorities in leisure settings, but also serve as an example of how relatively minor forms of abuse can affect the psyche of the victims and can decrease the enjoyment they derive from leisure participation.

The study had certain clear limitations, among which sensitivity of the subject, cultural differences between the researchers and interviewees, and inability to reach all minority groups affected by the September 11 events were the most pressing. We are hesitant, however, to propose that future studies on similarly sensitive issues should be conducted in a more "objective" manner and using larger samples of participants. We would be more inclined to suggest that people who have already established strong ties with communities of interest should be involved in future projects.

This study helped to shed a new light on the nature of discrimination in leisure settings, leisure constraints and constraints negotiation framework. It suggested that studying constraints negotiation should not be limited to immediate, short-term and activity-specific techniques, but should extend to broader and more long-term efforts. Conversely to the traditional framework that conceptualized leisure as a vehicle allowing people to better cope with negative life events (Patterson & Carpenter, 1994), we should focus on the coping mechanisms that facilitate people's leisure engagement. Moreover, we suggest that future research projects should not only focus on the strategies that individuals employ to overcome barriers to leisure, but also on the factors that affect people's willingness or likeliness to engage in negotiation efforts.

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